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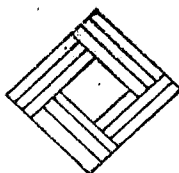


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## "WEALTH AND POVERTY"

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

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The products of the earth, actual or possible, are abundant to supply the need of every human being, and banish want and physical suffering from the world. The fact that any human beings are hungry, or cold, or destitute of material necessities and comforts of life, is a reproach to our age. Long ere this all poverty—all poverty which produces suffering—ought to have been banished from civilized lands.

Every friend of humanity, therefore, should be deeply in sympathy with all efforts looking to a better adjustment of economic conditions, a more equitable distribution of the products of labour, and the creation of conditions such as to insure that, to a greater extent than we now see, the wealth of the world shall be controlled by those who create it, and employed for the benefit of those who need it.

\* \* \* \* \*

And yet, the problems of the right distribution of material wealth, and of the abolition of physical poverty, are not the only ones, or even the greatest, that are before our age. Man is not a body merely; he is a soul. Soul poverty is as real as bodily poverty, and even more serious in its results; and soul wealth is even more important than any possible wealth consisting

in material things. Is not our whole generation forgetting this to an alarming degree?

Do not so-called rich men need to learn, more than they need to learn anything else whatever, that true riches are of the mind and heart, and not of the purse or bank account; and that if they are without these internal possessions, they are really bankrupts and paupers?

And do not so-called poor men need above everything else to know that reallest poverty and reallest wealth are internal, not external; that while efforts to improve their material conditions are legitimate and imperative, yet in spite of material conditions, in spite of any hardships that external poverty can inflict, and in the face of all existing injustices of industrial and social conditions, they may, if they will, be possessors of very real and very great riches,—and riches that nobody can take away from them?

It is as true now as it was in the days of King Solomon: "There are those who make themselves rich, yet have nothing; there are those who make themselves poor, yet have great riches."

\* \* \* \* \*

Is real wealth identical with legal possessions? Is it obtained through, and only through, law-courts and law papers? Or is there wealth, vast, real, splendid and more to be prized than any other

wealth known to men, of which the law takes no cognizance, and which all the legal processes in the world are powerless either to give us or to take away from us?

The truth is, we are all the while calling a thousand things ours which we do not own in any legal way. Yet they are among our truest possessions.

For example, I say "my friend." What do I mean by that "my"? I do not have any legal ownership of that friend, and yet I know that I have a right in some true and real sense to call him *mine*. And my possession in him is very precious.

I say "my wife," "my child." But I do not own these in any such way as I own property. I am not at liberty to sell them, or destroy them. Yet in a sense far more deep and real than that of mere legal possession they are mine.

I say "my country," and if I have any patriotism in my soul the words thrill me. I feel that the country in which I have always lived, and which I have always loved, is mine in a sense very deep and very sacred even though I may not have legal ownership of a single rod of its surface.

With reference to this matter of wealth other than that of a legal kind, perhaps our best teachers are our Poets. Their eyes, better than most, are able to penetrate down below appearances to realities, and to see that man's life is more than meat and drink.

We all have, or may have if we will, large and rich possessions in the world of Nature around us; and possessions there capable of unlimited expansion. Writes Lucy Larcom:

"I do not own an inch of land  
But all I see is mine,—  
The orchard, and the mowing-field,  
The lawns and gardens fine."

Writes Charles Mackay of England:

"Rich am I, if, when I pass  
Mid the daisies in the grass,  
Every daisy in my sight  
Seems a jewel of delight;  
Rich am I, if I can see  
Treasure in the flower and tree,  
And can hear 'mid forest leaves  
Music in the summer eves;  
If the lark, that sings aloud  
On the fringes of the cloud,

Scatters melodies around  
Fresh as rain drops on the ground:  
If the tides upon the shore  
Chant me anthems ever more,  
And I feel in every mood  
That life is fair and God is good  
I am rich if I possess  
Such a fund of happiness!"

Sings David A. Wasson:

"I have a stake in every star  
In every beam that fills the day;  
All hearts of men my coffers are,  
My ores arterial tides convey;  
The fields, the skies,  
The sweet replies  
Of thought to thought, are my gold-dust;  
The oaks, the brooks,  
And speaking looks  
Of lovers, faith and friendship's trust.  
Talk not of store,  
Millions or more,—  
Of values which the purse may hold,—  
But this divine:  
I own the mine  
Whose grains outweigh a planet's gold."

Here are some lines written by John W. Chadwick, telling us of the wonderful wealth that is waiting to be ours in the World of the Beautiful:

"This is the law of beauty,  
That, if we but serve her well,  
All things are ours henceforward,  
In earth and heaven and hell  
All things of the brown old planet,  
All of the deep blue sky,  
All that the ear can harken,  
All that can fill the eye.  
And if we are rich with their riches,  
The world may give or withhold;  
For He who is God of beauty  
Her secret to us has told."

In still another direction is vast wealth offered us. I mean from the achievements of the Great Past. Again let a poet, Julia R. Dorr, tell the story:

"Heir of all the ages, I,—  
Heir of all that they have wrought;  
All their store of emprise high,  
All their wealth of precious thought;  
Heir of all that they have earned  
By their passion and their tears;  
Heir of all that they have learned  
Through the weary toiling years;  
Heir of all the faith sublime  
On whose wings they soared to heaven;  
Heir of every hope that Time  
To earth's fainting sons hath given;  
Aspirations pure and high;  
Strength to do and to endure;  
Heir of all the ages, I,—  
Lo! 'I am no longer poor!'"

Are all these words only idle utterances of disordered minds? or do they speak to us of the deepest of all realities?



Says Ruskin :

"A man's hand may be full of invisible gold, and the wave of it or the grasp shall do more than another's with a shower of bullion. This invisible gold does not necessarily diminish in the spending. Political economists will do well some day to take heed of it, though they cannot take measure."

A little careful thought shows us that ownership is of two kinds, namely, legal ownership, and ownership which we get by knowledge, love and appreciation; and that the ownership conferred by law papers is the lower of the two.

This does not mean, however, that legal possession is to be despised or that it is not important. In its place it is very important. The experience of the race shows that the right of property-possession, guarded and protected by legal forms, is an essential to civilization. Where that right is best guarded—most equitably guarded in the interest of all—society rises to its best; and where it fails to be properly guarded, there anarchy and injustice appear, and civilization goes backward.

And yet, essential as is legal ownership to the stability and progress of society, it is possible and easy to let it crowd out of sight the other kind of ownership which is still more important, namely, that which comes from knowledge, sympathy, love, appreciation, enjoyment.

Of these two kinds of ownership, that which stands uppermost in the public mind, is undoubtedly the legal. Speak of ownership to a hundred men, and ninety-nine will not only suppose you to mean the legal, but will scarcely be able to understand that it is possible to refer to any other. And yet, the kind of ownership which the law is able to create is the more limited, the more superficial, the less under control, and far the less enduring of the two.

There are only a few things which we can legally own. Of the things that enter as essentials into the lives of us all, how few do we buy or sell! Can we have legal title to the sunshine, which gives life to the world? Can we own the air, without which we could not exist? Alas! that by our cruel industrial regulations we can deprive human beings of sunshine, and compel them to live and labour

under shocking conditions of darkness and foul air robbed of their birthright! Can we buy or sell the clouds, or the rains that water the earth, or the great oceans, which are the primary reservoirs from which all clouds, snows and rains come? Can we buy or sell the seasons that come and go in their time? Can we own the day or the night? Can we own the moon and stars that give the night its beauty, the splendour of sunsets, the freshness of dewy mornings, the songs of birds, the endless variety and charm of nature?

Can we own human society, or the great world of human thought, without which our lives would be a barren desert? Can we buy or sell love? Can we, with any mere legal ownership, own poetry, or art, or music, or religion? We may own a book of noble poems, or a grand piano or a fine picture; but if that be all, have we any part or lot in the world's splendid wealth of poetry or music or art? Mere money and law papers give no ownership of this wealth. To inherit this kingdom we must be born again, not of gold or silver or warranty deeds, but of the spirit, which is love, knowledge, desire, appreciation—a soul alive to beauty, to music, to art, to poetry, to religion.

In another way legal ownership contrasts unfavourably with the ownership that is of the mind and character. Since it is external, it is liable at almost any time to be lost. I may have possession of immense properties today, but tomorrow may bring unexpected reverses of fortune and sweep everything out of my hands. Not so with the deeper ownership. What has been made mine by knowledge, by love, and by appreciation, is mine for ever; no changes of fortune can rob me of it. It has become a part of myself.

Still another thing, too, should be said of legal ownership. We need to be constantly on our guard respecting it, or else it will narrow us, contract our lives, and make us selfish. It need not do this, but to multitudes it does, and hence to them becomes a curse. The way it does it is this: before we came to have property which we called our own in the restricted legal sense, our eyes were open to the larger heritage which we have in all things. Our minds were not distracted

so but that we enjoyed all nature, all beautiful things, whatever was lovely—no matter who owned it. But as soon as we got a piece of property that was ours in a special, legal way, our eyes were turned to that, our affection was centred on that, the larger world vanished away, and this little farm or lot, or whatever it was, became virtually our world.

Says the author of the charming little book, *A Tour Round My Garden*, written by one of our eminent architects :

"Property is a contract by which you renounce everything that is not contained within four walls or definite boundaries. When I had nothing of my own, I had forests and meadows, and the sea, and the sky with all its stars. Since I purchased this old house and garden, I have no longer anything but this house and this garden.....Are you poor? The sea is yours with its solemn noises, the grand voices of its winds, the aspects of its imposing rage, and its still more imposing calm. It is yours; it is likewise others. At some future period, when by dint of labour, mental exertion, perhaps business, you shall have become more or less rich, you will have a little marble basin constructed in your garden; or at least you will be eager to buy and keep in your house a vase containing a couple of gold-fishes. But what now of the sea? Will it not be gone? Will it not have contracted to this marble basin, or this glass vase?"

Emerson bought a little farm in Concord which did not narrow his life, but greatly enlarged it. This was because he saw his acres in their larger, their universal relations, and because with them he obtained so much that had more than money value. Writing of his purchase, he said :

"When I bought my farm I did not know what a bargain I had in the blue-birds, bobolinks and thrushes, which were not charged in the bill. As little did I guess what sublime mornings and sunsets I was buying, what reaches of landscape, and what fields and lanes for a tramp. Neither did I fully consider what indescribable luxury is our Indian River, which runs parallel with the village street, and to which every house in that long street has a back door through the garden to the river bank....Still less did I know what good and true neighbours I was buying: men of thought and virtue.....I did not know what groups of interesting school boys and fair school girls were to greet me in the highway, and take hold of one's heart at the school exhibitions."

Do all men who buy farms get as much for their money, so many appurtenances "not down in the bill," as Emerson did? If not, why not?

I went into a great museum. An ignorant rich man, who understood nothing of its

wealth, except what he was told, held the title-deed. A scientist of extraordinary attainment, who had large knowledge concerning everything in it, and whose loving labour of a lifetime had made it what it was, had it in charge. To which of the two belonged the museum, in the true sense of the word?

I saw a splendid picture, painted by a great master. A millionaire who understood nothing about art, and cared nothing except to buy with his gold what would make the world talk about him, purchased the picture and put it in his private gallery, but never went near it except to show it to some rich friend as ignorant as himself. But the gallery was in charge of an artist who appreciated and loved the picture, and to whom it was a perpetual delight and inspiration. Which of the two in the deeper sense owned the picture?

I saw a beautiful garden. The woman who paid taxes on it and called it hers, had no love for it, and only thought of it as something to display. But the gardener who created and cared for it, knew and loved and found joy in every flower that opened within its borders. Which was the real possessor?

How is it that we make books and writers our own? By purchasing volumes and placing them on our shelves? Or by studying the authors, and filling our minds with what they have written? Who really possesses Shakespeare's works,—he who owns the rarest and most costly editions? Or he who has the great dramas in his mind and soul?

How is it that we make the flowers, and plants, and birds,—the flora and fauna of a region—our own? By buying up real estate? Or by long-continued and loving study?

Henry Thoreau had no legal ownership of Walden woods or Walden pond. But he knew and loved every tree and shrub and flower and bird of the one, and every stone on the beach and every changing light and shadow on the mirrored surface of the other. Did that knowledge and that love give him no proprietorship? The world will always think of both pond and woods as a hundred times more Thoreau's than the men's who had legal title to them. And will it not be



right? Was there a richer man in New England than Thoreau?

Any of us who have visited England and have made a tour of the famous Lake Region of Cumberland and Westmoreland, have found there are singularly picturesque stretch of valleys, and lakes, hills and mountains, popularly called "Wordsworth's Country." Why is it so called? Because Wordsworth held title-deeds to it? On the contrary, its title-deeds were held by men whose names we have never heard mentioned, and Wordsworth held legal claim only to a modest hillside home. But everywhere the great poet had stamped himself upon the region, by the fidelity with which he had studied it, under all skies, in all seasons,—every rugged peak, every mountain tarn, every secret nook of every valley, every variety of flower and shrub, every effect of sun and shadow on lake and mountain side, all the highways and by-ways and secret mountain paths, all the homes in the villages and cottages in the far off lonely wilds, every dweller in all the region from oldest grandsire to prattling child, all the history and folklore and old tales of the region—and had woven them all as warp or woof into the cloth of gold of his poetry. Why then should not this region be called Wordsworth's Country? Who owned it if not he? And who had a better right to bequeath it to posterity connected with his name? Of all the great landed proprietors of England, who was so rich as he?

I have spoken of the fewness of the really most valuable things of human life that can be bought with money, and of the great number of the things which give life its sweetness and its worth that are free and that offer themselves alike to rich and poor.

I have never seen this more strikingly illustrated than in a curious and very remarkable paper which has recently fallen into my hands. The paper has had some circulation under the title of "A Madman's Last Will," it having been supposed, whether correctly or not, to be the production of a man named Charles Lounsbury, at one time an able lawyer, in Chicago who died insane and destitute in the year 1900. Its beauty and grace, the distinction of its sentiment and the virility

of its style, make it eminently worthy of attention, entirely aside from the lesson which it teaches with such unsurpassed charm and power as to the real nature of riches.

### THE WILL

"I, Charles Lounsbury, being of sound and disposing mind and memory, do hereby make and publish this, my last will and testament, in order, as justly as may be, to distribute my interests in the world among succeeding men.

'Of that part of my interests, which is known in law and recognized in the sheep-bound volumes as my property, being inconsiderable and of no account, I make no disposal; but, these things excepted, all else in the world I now proceed to devise and bequeath.

"*Item*—I give to good fathers and mothers, in trust for their children, all good little words of praise and encouragement and all quaint pet names and endearments; and I charge said parents to use them justly, but generously, as the needs of their children shall require.

"*Item*—I leave to children inclusively but only for the term of their childhood, all and every the flowers of the fields and the blossoms of the woods, with the right to play among them freely, according to the customs of children, warning them at the same time against the thistles and the thorns. And I devise to children the banks of the brooks and the golden sands beneath the waters thereof, and the odours of the willows that dip therein, and the white clouds that float high over the giant trees. And I leave to the children the long, long days to be merry in a thousand ways, and the nights, and the moon, and the train of the Milky Way, to wonder at, but subject, nevertheless, to the hereinafter given to lovers.

"*Item*—I devise to boys jointly all the useless, idle fields and commons where ball may be played, all pleasant waters where one may swim, all snow-clad hills where one may coast, and all streams and ponds where one may fish, or where, when grim winter comes, one may skate,—to have and to hold the same for the period of their boyhood; and all meadows with the clover blossoms and the butterflies thereof, the woods with their appurtenances, the squirrels and birds, and the echoes and strange noises, and all distant places which may be visited, together with the adventures there found.

"And I give to said boys each his own place at at the fireside at night, with all pictures that may be seen in the burning wood, to enjoy without let or hindrance and without any incumbrance or care.

"*Item*—To lovers I devise their imaginary world, with whatever they may need, as the stars of the sky, the red roses by all the walls, the bloom of the hawthorne, the sweet strains of music, and aught else that may be desired to figure to each other the lastingness and beauty of their love.

"*Item*—To young men, jointly, I devise and bequeath all boisterous, inspiring sports of rivalry, and I give to them the disdain of weakness, and undaunted confidence in their own strength. Though they are rude, I leave to them the power to make lasting friendships and of possessing companions, and to them exclusively I give all

merry songs and brave choruses to sing with lusty voices.

*Item*—And to those who are no longer children or youths or lovers, I leave memory, and I bequeath to them the volumes of the poems of Burns and Shakespeare and of other poets, if there be others, to the end that they may live the old days over again, freely and fully, without tithe or diminution.

*Item*—To our loved ones with snowy crowns, I bequeath the happiness of old age, the love and gratitude of their children until they fall asleep."

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The other day I was reading an account of one who was declared to be "the happiest man in London." Who was he? A millionaire? No. A member of the aristocracy? No. A man who had ease and luxury and leisure? No. He was a labouring man, with very moderate wages, who lived in a small flat of two rooms, with his invalid wife, who for twenty-six years had been confined to her room and her bed, and for whom during all this time, he had cared, doing with his own hands all the work of the precious little home—precious because she was the centre and light and joy of it.

In the morning he arose early, cooked the breakfast for the two, washed the dishes, tidied the rooms, rendered to his wife with tender solicitude such service as she needed, placed her midday meal on a stand beside her bed, and with a loving kiss went away to his day's toil. When his work was over at night, with glad steps he hastened back to her whose smile was his heaven, eager to render still further service, and doubly rewarded when he could add any smallest drop to the cup of her comfort or her happiness.

For twenty-six years this had gone on, the husband never complaining and never wearying,—all his privation and self-sacrifice (what others would call privation and self-sacrifice) a delight to him because prompted by love.

And the wife, bed-ridden though she was, was well nigh as happy as the husband.

What was the explanation? Both were happy, because both were rich with the most precious wealth that this world knows anything about, the wealth of pure and unselfish affection. If any millionaire in London found half the joy in life that they found, it was because he possessed other

kinds of wealth than his money, and better than money can buy.

\* \* \* \*

Let us inquire exactly, what is wealth? Jesus hints the true answer when He says: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose himself?" Muhammad also hints the eternal reply when he says: "A man's true wealth is the good he has done in this world. When he dies, mortals will inquire, what property has he left behind him? But angels will ask him, what good deeds hast thou sent before thee?"

Real wealth is whatsoever deepens, enlarges, enriches or ennobles human life. And it is nothing else.

The seeing eye is wealth. The ear attuned to music is wealth. The alert mind is wealth. Knowledge is wealth. Health and strength are wealth. Hope is wealth. Courage is wealth. Good deeds are wealth. Honour and integrity and spotless character are great wealth. A will in harmony with the Divine will is precious wealth. Love is wealth beyond all words. And the absence of these is poverty, no matter how much of what men superficially call wealth one may possess.

How rich is the man who enjoys and appreciates good music!

How rich is the man who loves good literature, and through the printed page enjoys daily companionship with the great souls of the present and the past!

A scholar with his knowledge, how rich is he!

A lover of nature who finds joy in sun and storm, and companionship in mountains and stars, how glorious is his wealth!

Not less rich is the husband who possesses the love of a true wife, or the wife who owns the affection of a true husband.

A mother presses a sweet babe to her breast, and kisses its cheeks again and again in her ecstasy of affection. How rich she is!

A father looks with pride on his fine growing boys. How rich he is!

A young man sets out upon life, to carve out for himself a career. He is without a dollar; but he has health, courage, a good education, and an ambition to make his life noble and useful. How rich is he!

The man who really owns himself owns

the world. You can put him in no place in which he is not rich. On the other hand, he who owns the world and is not rich in himself, is wretchedly poor, wherever he goes or stays.

There are no poorer man living than some whose worldly possessions are immensely great. The long years and years of effort and strain to get rich, mean almost necessarily the dwarfing of the soul's higher powers and possibilities, the gradual degrading of the soul to the money level, the loss of the power to enjoy the finer and nobler things of life.

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Do any of us ask the question how we may obtain the largest possible possessions? The answer depends upon what kind of possessions we seek. We can get the most of legal possessions, undoubtedly, by living definitely for these; by turning all our faculties and powers into money-making machines; by setting up Mammon as our god, and serving him day and night.

But, if we recognize other possessions as more valuable than the legal, the way to enrich ourselves with the largest amount of these is to cultivate our minds, and store them with knowledge, so that all nature shall be to us an open book; to become acquainted with the great past and its noble life, so as to feel that this is all ours; to mingle heartily and sympathetically in society around us, so as to learn to recognize our fellow-men as our brothers, and their interests as our own; to open our hearts unselfishly to love, to appreciation, to the willing and glad service of every good cause that appeals to us; and, above all, to open our souls to the comfort and joy and strength of religion and of God.

Thus, whether our purses are full or empty, whether our bank accounts are large or small, whether the deeds and mortgages in our strong boxes are many or few or none, we shall have riches that will enlarge and ennoble our lives, which will gladden all our days, which will bless all with whom we have to do, which cannot be taken

from us by thief or cheating fellow-man or business director, or even by death itself, but which we shall carry with us to be our permanent and eternal wealth in whatever future the good God may have for us beyond this world.

The lives of us all would be simply inexpressibly rich if we would appropriate even half the wealth God offers us! Writes quaint and devout George Herbert:

"For us the winds do blow,  
The earth doth rest, heaven move, and waters flow.  
O mighty love! man is one world, and hath  
Another to befriend him."

What we need is the open vision, the appreciative mind, the thankful heart.

Without these there is no joy for us in this world; and, what is even more serious, there cannot be in any other to which God can ever take us.

The inappreciative mind complains of the sun, that there are spots on its surface, instead of seeing with joy his glowing face of kindly fire that fills the whole world with light and life. The unappreciative mind complains of the rose that it is not a lily, and of the lily that it is not a rose; of the spring that it is not the summer and of the summer that it is not cool and fresh like the autumn; and of the starlit night that it is not bright like the noon. With an impoverished mind and heart, the legal ownership of the whole earth would still leave us poor. With mind and heart endowed with knowledge, love and thankfulness, the loss of all worldly possessions would still leave us rich.

"In palaces are hearts that ask,  
In discontent and pride,  
Why life is such a dreary task,  
And all good things denied!  
And hearts in poorest huts admire  
How love has, in their aid,  
Love that not ever seems to tire,  
Such rich provision made!"

Thus it is that the mind builds and the mind destroys, the mind makes rich and the mind makes poor; we create our own heavens and hells, in this and all other possible worlds.

## A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

ORLON laughed but it was a forced laugh and his face and eyes suddenly clouded. I knew that the words of Maruchi sent Orlon's memory rushing back to what he had left behind at the monastery at Opi. He had been holding himself together all this time by his iron will and extraordinary self-restraint, but he winced under Maruchi's jocular remark as under a blow. In a moment the spasm of pain passed and Orlon was himself again, gay, careless, brimming over with rollicking humour.

And so the time drew near for us to leave the City of the Kings. Maruchi held long, earnest consultations with Amelach and his principal supporters, the men who had been entrusted with power over others and who were diligent in discharging their duties. Maruchi gave them detailed instructions as to how the good work that had begun should be continued and how they should go on with unflagging zeal. 'Forget,' he said, 'that you are descended from kings and each one of you is entitled to a kingdom. No man was originally a king by birth. A kingship was won like the other prizes of life and there is no great gift that can descend from father to son as a matter of right. Men tired of kings because while the outer shell of kingship remained all the real qualities of kingliness had disappeared. It is a fallacy to think that greatness can be hereditary. A crown, a throne, and all the other paraphernalia of a king may be maintained from generation to generation, but the regalia alone does not make a king. It is the man in him, the capacity to undertake the cares of a kingdom, sleepless vigilance, unflinching ministration to the contentment and prosperity of the people that make the king. Anyhow the decision of the people to have no more kings is irrevocable. The only birthright of man is his manhood and of this he must prove worthy. Win your own place and prove yourselves to be men.'

To Vanita Maruchi spoke at length. We had all seen that she was a remarkable woman with great strength of character and force of intellect. The pride of royalty still persisted in her and she refused to yield to the depressing and enervating influences around her. Maruchi told her, 'Vanita, there is no need to ask whether you are of the blood of kings and queens. We have found you a queen among women. It was your appeal to us that decided us to do what little we could to help your people to recover not their kingdoms, for that is a little thing, but

their self-respect, which is far more precious. Kings and queens will not be seen again because royalty has been extinguished. But we still have leaders of men and women and they are our rightful kings and queens. You are among them. You will be not only your husband's helpmate but you will keep the men and women from backsliding. You are now working in the city. Go outside and encourage the men as well. Be an inspiring example to all. We found you in a mood of despair. We leave you full of hope. Be the guiding star of your people and show them the way to a new life. It is more than a royal prerogative.'

Afterwards Maruchi called the young men of the city together and bade them a cordial farewell, exhorting them to follow faithfully the guidance of Amelach and Vanita and wishing them all success and prosperity. The parting from Amelach, Vanita and Pavro was not without a pang and the eyes of Vanita filled with tears as we mounted into our machine.

ASHAN

XXVII.

As we flew away from the City of the Kings Maruchi asked me, 'Well, what do you think of the part we played in the city of royalty?'

'It was great,' I replied, 'but if it had not been for you we would have left the city as we found it. It would have never occurred to us to make an attempt to goad them into activity or to lift themselves out of the Slough of Despond into which they had fallen. We would have in all probability left in disgust on seeing the wretched condition of the inhabitants.'

Maruchi shook his head. 'It would be wrong of me to take any credit for anything we have done. I would have done precisely what you would have done if it had not been for the passion in Vanita's appeal. It was she who fired my imagination and set me thinking, but I could have done nothing without the loyal help of you all. In the majority of cases no man falls so low as to be beyond redemption. The men and women were drugged and doped by the memory of the past and they permitted themselves to sink deeper and deeper with the passing of years. So long as the hypnosis remained there was no hope for them. Ordinary measures to rouse them would have failed and I am glad Orlon talked to them as he did. He laid the

lash on them with a will and then Nabor gave them the fright of their lives. Fear is a good antidote for a drugged memory!

Ganimet was in the pilot's seat and Nabor was sitting by us. He was pleased and laughed. Orlon said, 'You wound me up and I merely went off as arranged.'

Maruchi's eyes lighted up with pleasure. 'We have made a good job of it anyhow. We are not here to poke our noses into things that do not concern us, but we were right in not turning away from what we had to do here. We are not likely to pay another visit to the City of the Kings but I am sure it will become a flourishing place in a few years. We knocked all the nonsense about kings and kingdoms out of the heads of these remnants of royalty and they are now on the way to make good citizens.'

Down below the landscape was becoming very attractive. We were passing over rich pastoral lands with large herds of cattle at graze. In many places the land was dotted over with low hills covered with thick verdure. One of the features that we had noticed in our flights from place to place was the rarity of large flat spaces. We had seen nothing like the immense prairies of America, the extensive flat plains of India, or anything that resembled the dreary desert of Sahara. Instead, the land was everywhere undulating like the sea and pleasant to look upon. There were level spaces between lines of mounds, and there were rises and dips all over the landscape. The great wealth of flowers that we had seen in other parts of the planet was not visible here, but nature was bountiful in grass lands and noble trees, not growing thickly but scattered here and here with fine effect. Overhead there were passing clouds which thickened as the breeze stiffened, and then great banks of clouds came up from the north driven before a wind which came in gusts and soon it was blowing a gale tossing our ship about and shrieking and whistling about our ears. Flashes of forked lightning appeared in the clouds followed by deafening peals of thunder. The rain came down like a white curtain pattering on the top and beating against the sides of the machine and affecting visibility all round. The ship was swaying and rocking, and sudden jerks repeatedly threw us out of our seats. Maruchi signalled to Nabor to descend as we did not want the ship to be buffeted about and to be driven out of its course. The air was surcharged with electricity and there was danger to the ship and ourselves in blundering and floundering blindly through the storm.

We were not flying at a great altitude and Nabor had been cautiously descending for some time. Soon we descried the blurred outlines of a line of low hills and to avoid passing over them Nabor swerved in a line parallel to the line of hills and we came down lower and lower until we touched ground close to an overhanging cliff which stood behind

us like a lofty screen. We were not clear of the rain but the force of the wind was broken by the rock. The rain continued for an hour and then ceased, the clouds dispersed and the sun came out. The wind also dropped and we looked about us to form some idea of the character of the country. Of course the land was unknown to us everywhere and so far as the knowledge of the localities was concerned one place was much the same as another to us. But we had not left the City of the Kings on a mere roving expedition. We had a definite objective and though we knew we would have to make a search it would neither be long nor fruitless. We were not looking out for a new country or a new city, but only a single individual, Ashan the Master, whom we were curious and anxious to meet. We did not know exactly where he lived, but it would not be difficult to find him out though he lived away from the haunts of men and in absolute retirement. We had definite premonition that our intended visit to Ashan was of the nature of a pilgrimage and we would find a teacher the like of whom is but rarely seen whether on our planet or any other.

We took out our maps and began scanning them. We knew we were driven out of our course by the rain storm, but how far and in what direction we could not judge. Next we looked at the line of the hills and were at once struck by the unusual character of the hills. They were bleak and barren and black without any vegetation on them. Evidently the rainfall in this region was very heavy for long lines of shallow ravines had been worn down along the face of the rocks which stood grim and frowning and forbidding in the near distance. At the base of the hills and opening out of the rocks there were immense and yawning caves in which the sunlight never entered. And from these caves the rocky ground gradually sloped to a great marshland full of bogs and swamps. There were stretches of ooze and slime, glistening, black and fearful in the thin slants of sunlight that peered through the thick mangroves. The air was foul and reeking with the miasma that rose as an exhalation from the swamps. And there was a fetid odour of another kind, indicating the presence of some large carnivorous animals somewhere in the neighbourhood. We thought of the accounts we had read of monstrous beasts and huge saurians that existed on the earth many thousands of years ago, when the crust of our planet had not quite hardened and beasts and lizards of a gigantic size floundered about in the slush and mire and soft bog. While we were still looking about us, half minded to hurry away from this evil and sinister-looking place we saw something stirring about the mouth of one of the caves and presently there emerged into the sunlight a monster far more terrible than the fabled dragon and the sight of which left us gasping for breath. The head was round and of an



immense size, flattened at the sides, with two eyes like saucers bulging out of the head. The head was followed by a thick hairy neck several yards in length and fixed to a body nearly half as large as a ship. The spine was curved like an arch, high in the middle and sloping down towards both ends. The whole body was covered with scales that looked like plated armour, and the tail was also scaly but not of great length. The monster stood on short, thick legs and was evidently amphibious. It came out blinking its eyes and ambled forward a short distance. The head swayed this way and that, and then the beast emitted a roar which was so terrifying that we actually jumped to our feet panic-stricken. We had never heard anything like it in our lives. It was like a prolonged blast on a deep mouthed steam siren with a sudden, shuddering, quavering flourish at the end that gave us the creeps. It was a call, for the moment it had ceased a number of similar creatures came tumbling out of other caves filling the air with a hideous din and blood-curdling shrieks. They gambolled about with elephantine gracefulness and considering their bulk were extraordinarily agile on their feet. They were trooping towards the morass when one of them saw our machine and pulled up short. It snorted and grunted and moved leisurely in our direction. That was the signal for us to make a move as we had no desire to make a closer acquaintance with the monsters. Nabor blew the shrillest blasts on his syrens and the next minute we were speeding away from that dreadful place.

As we resumed our aerial journey Maruchi said, 'It is clear to my mind that the people living on this planet are not great travellers or explorers. We have visited a number of cities in different countries but no one has ever told us of the existence of such monsters as we have just seen. There may be others of other kinds and there may be regions which have never been visited by human beings. We are not travellers in the sense that it is our object to penetrate into uninhabited regions and discover creatures belonging to another age that may have yet survived. We are not principally interested in the fauna of Mars. We were driven out of our course by the storm and we came across these frightful leviathans by accident. Let us now seek the remarkable personage who is the object of our present quest.'

It was a difficult quest for all that Narga had told us was the Master lived near Raba. By way of direction nothing could be more vague. So far as we could judge there was no large city in the neighbourhood, nor any township of any importance. There might be small towns or villages, but we did not know their names. Of Raba itself we had no conception as regards its extent or size. It might

be something like a volcano in perpetual activity, or a very large opening on the surface of the planet and reaching deep down into its bowels. Would it be safe to go very near the place? What was the vapour we had seen and which was perpetually ascending and spreading in all directions? It might be formed of noxious fumes which might overpower and cause a man's death if he ventured very near the place. What was the explanation of the great sanctity attached to the place and the name? And while we speculated on these subjects our mind went back to what we had seen in the mysterious temple of Raba at Opi. What was the rose-coloured vapour we had seen in the crystal column under the cupola of the temple? What was the vital energy that caused the vapour to twist and coil up and down the pillar-like tube? Was it taken from Raba, and, if so, how was it carried?

For five days we flew in the direction that would lead to Raba. This in itself was no great difficulty for the scarlet fumes rising to the sky could be seen from a great distance. On the fifth day far away on the horizon we saw the red signal of Raba and then we looked down for signs of human habitation.

The geological features of the country over which we were passing had considerably changed. The waving verdure of the undulating land had given place to deep hollows and table-lands interspersed with deep fissures and gaping chasms. At places the soil was rocky and barren and bare except for patches covered with cactus and other stunted thorny plants. At one place there was a steep, frowning cliff, below which we heard the thunder of a cataract and saw a large volume of water falling from a great height and foaming and seething in a huge cauldron of a rocky pit below. There were ibex and chamois leaping from crag to crag while the sunlight wrought broken rainbows in the clouds of spray that hung over the leaping cascade. At other places there were boiling and steaming springs that gushed forth from the face of the rocks. The configuration of this region was altogether different from anything we had seen before. It was full of a wild, sombre beauty varied by tracts of an utter desolation, haunts of loneliness over which the wind swept and moaned like a forlorn, living thing. The weird scenery gripped with a strange fascination and we felt we were on the threshold of some great mystery and soon we might find ourselves in the heart of it. We looked at one another and found that a solemn feeling had come over every one of us. The gay encounter of wit was hushed and no one felt disposed to utter a single word. A sense of awe was stealing over our spirits. It was not fear but an indescribable uneasiness of the spirit that possessed us. We found it difficult to analyse this feeling. We were going to try to meet a single man, a recluse, one who

had withdrawn himself from the haunts of men. All we knew was that he was a remarkable man, but neither Narga nor Karos had told us anything that was likely to fill our minds with awe. Ashan, the Master, must be without doubt a very wise man and most probably he had developed powers far more marvellous than those of Narga, who owed what she knew to him. We could own to a feeling of strong curiosity, a great anticipatory admiration and even reverence, but we could not account for this overpowering sense of awe that held us tongue-tied even before we had located the hermitage of the Master.

At length the prolonged and oppressive silence was broken by the voice of Maruchi, speaking soft and low. 'We must not attempt to fight against this new feeling that is coming over us. It may be the effect of the changing atmosphere around us. It may be an anticipation of the momentous interview we are hoping to have with the wise man who lives somewhere here. What do we know about him, what have we heard about him? Has any one been telling us tales of his incredible powers, or his unbounded knowledge? Remember Narga and Karos were both very reticent about him. They spoke of him with awe but that was only natural, considering Narga was his disciple. But we are hard-headed men not likely to be led away by the enthusiasm of other people even if any one had tried to excite our imagination. It is best to remember that we are on a self-sought quest and we may turn back from it this moment if we like.'

Orlon's voice was heard next, grave and deliberate. 'Can we turn back if we would? If the machine were to break down, or if we were disabled, otherwise, I think we would crawl on our hands and feet to reach our goal. Nothing but death or disaster would arrest our progress. When we left our planet it was on a discovery of something known but hitherto unexplored. Mars was always visible to the eye; the problem was how to reach it. We wanted to see and satisfy ourselves whether the inhabitants of this planet bore any resemblance to ourselves. It was a curiosity of the senses, a desire to see and hear for ourselves. What we wanted was a physical experience. But at this moment we are questing the unknown, for it is an expedition for the exploration of the spirit upon which we are embarked. It is not merely the man that we are anxious to meet, for we have met many men, extraordinarily gifted, but we were never so deeply moved to the core of our being. If we are fortunate, a new world will be revealed to us, the world of the spirit. I think this is the feeling that is weighing with us and has given such a now turn to our thoughts.'

'Orlon is right,' I observed, 'and he has expressed our feelings accurately. We ourselves cannot account for the present state of our mind.

It may be that our external surroundings are reacting to some extent upon the course of our thoughts. I think there is a change in the atmosphere and the air is growing denser. It may be due to the fact that we are coming nearer the neighbourhood of Raba and the gaseous exhalations may have some effect upon the surrounding air. Whether that effect is wholesome or deleterious we do not yet know and have to find out. But it is quite clear to my mind as it is to yours that the change that has come over us is psychological and not physical. What are the discoveries of science compared to the searchings of the spirit? That to which we are now looking forward was never on our programme. Our great object was to undertake an enterprise which had never been attempted and in this we have succeeded. How could we ever dream that we were to stumble upon such an experience? We may be hum-drum men engrossed by our own preoccupations without thought of higher things, but I deny that we are not receptive to other impressions, or that we shy at the turnstile that stands at the entrance to spirit-land. We should be lacking in ordinary intelligence if the passage from the Earth to Mars were to leave us callous sceptics deaf to the call of the spirit. How can we forget the months of mystery, the spirit brooding over the external silences of shoreless space? Chance has brought within our reach something for which we were not looking, though I am doubtful whether it is chance. We do not know whether we shall meet the Master, or whether we shall be turned away. Nor do we know whether, if he sees us, he will consider us more than casual visitors unworthy of his confidence. Why should he give of the treasure of his knowledge to mere strangers? We cannot stay very long and we cannot become his disciples. Still I feel, and our present mood justifies it, that our pilgrimage will be of profit to our spirit.'

## XXVIII.

Down below on the uplands we noticed scattered hamlets. There were cottages and cabins clustering together in the villages. There were pasture lands and small patches of cultivation with narrow mountain streams flowing swiftly close by. Men were at work in the fields, women were carrying pitchers to the riverside, shepherd boys were driving herds of cattle to the pasture and meadow lands. It was a bucolic scene such as could be seen on our own planet. Maruchi said, 'We had better get down near one of these places and make enquiries.'

A landing place was chosen and we alighted noiselessly at a short distance from what looked like a fairly large and prosperous village, for the houses were clean looking and the threshing floors were heaped with unhusked grain. Our airship had been sighted in the sky and as we

dismounted and stood on the ground men, women and children trooped out of the village and came up to us, wide-eyed, and open-mouthed with wonder. They were perfectly peaceful and orderly and stood at a short distance without approaching very close to us. A few elderly men were in front. Maruchi stepped up to them and saluted them courteously. There was some difficulty in carrying on a conversation, though some of them understood a few words that Maruchi spoke. While living in the City of the Kings, which was of necessity a polyglot city, we had picked up a number of words of various languages and Maruchi tried several of them with the result that he made himself understood somehow. When he explained that we had come to seek Ashan the Master, the effect was overwhelming. Those who heard the name prostrated themselves on the ground and afterwards stood for some time with heads bent low in reverence. These simple village folk could scarcely have seen the Master, for we had been told he seldom went out among men, but the potency of the name was felt everywhere it was known and it inspired profound respect. Then the oldest man among them turned round and pointed towards the north-east. Far away in the distance we could see the dim outlines of a range of mountains with a great peak rising in the middle. We understood that that was the place where Ashan lived. It was laboriously explained to us that he did not live high up in the mountain and his retreat was not difficult of access. We would also find some villages but not very near the hermitage of Ashan.

The people were curious to learn all about us, the land we had come from and our magical, flying chariot. But the announcement that we had come from a distant country through the air to see the Master produced a very great impression upon these people. They might have taken us for magicians and wizards, but they knew wicked men could not approach the Master and so we could not be in league with the powers of evil. They pressed us to come into their village and rest ourselves and partake of their hospitality. Noticing their eagerness we agreed and leaving the machine where it was on an assurance given to us that no one would touch it we accompanied them to the village. We were led to the largest and cleanest house where deerskins and clean mats were spread out for us to sit upon and water was brought for us to wash our hands. Some of the men who had accompanied us stood respectfully near the entrance of the room while others busied themselves in ordering food for us. In a little while a number of young women, shy and pretty, came in bearing platters on which we found fresh milk and butter, unleavened bread, newly laid eggs and wild honey. After partaking of this food we thanked our hosts and the girls who had served us, and then we went out for a

stroll in the village. It was a delightful little place, with its single street carefully swept and the air fragrant with honeysuckle, sweet brier, clematis, jasmine and amaryllis that clustered round the cottages. Women and children stood at the doors, curious and somewhat awed, and watched us pass as we leisurely walked down the street. As we came out of the village we again thanked the men who were bearing us company and the whole village came out to watch our departure. As we climbed into the machine and left the ground we waved our hands in token of farewell.

'I consider this a good omen', commented Maruchi. 'We are at the entrance of the castle, as it were, and the gates have not been shut in our face. It has been up with the portcullis and down with the cross-bow. These good village people have given us a welcome which we take as an earnest of what awaits us at the end of our quest.'

We were not flying very fast. The day was still young and a cool breeze was blowing from the mountains. We noted carefully every feature of the country over which we were passing and from time to time we looked ahead towards the mountains which were steadily looming larger and clearer before us. Right in the middle towered the peak as an irregular triangle with its crown of snow glittering as with a thousand gems and flashing in the sunlight. The level of the land was rising imperceptibly and the undulations were disappearing. In a few hours we would be able to locate roughly the hermitage and Orlon suggested that after we had done so we should fly straight towards it.

'Not so,' objected Maruchi, 'we must learn how to keep our distance. In ancient India when a king went to pay his respects to some wise and holy Rishi in his forest hermitage he took care to alight from his chariot at a great distance from the hermitage. He took off his crown or jewelled turban and his costly dress and appeared before the holy man in humble guise and with reverent mien in keeping with the environments of a place where wealth and power counted for naught. We are not kings and we have no trappings of royalty, but we expect to find ourselves in the presence of as great and as holy a man as any ever known on our own Earth. We shall not flaunt our airship before him and we shall approach him in all humility. We shall presently look out for a place where we shall alight.'

Accordingly, we did not make a bee-line for the central peak of the mountain. We made a detour, flying parallel to the chain of hills and keeping the mountains to our right. At a distance of about a mile from the foot of the mountains we saw a few humble dwellings of the hill people and decided to land near it. There was a broad valley, smooth and green and

sloping gently down to the plains below. We chose an almost level stretch of land and came down making a perfect landing.

The sun was setting. In the mountain alleys the lengthening rays of the afternoon sun flooded the carpet of green and glistened on the tree-tops. The light was mirrored in the brooks and the streams that babbled and gurgled down to the lower levels, eddying round the boulders, filling narrow chasms and leaping down miniature falls. The mountain crests were crowned with halos of light which were slowly fading away. There was a slight wind which fell even while we were watching the landscape. The twitter and the even-song of birds had ceased and all nature appeared to be settling down for the

silence of the approaching night. The jutting crags stood like motionless sentinels and wardens who never deserted their posts day and night. Gradually the light disappeared and the shades of evening descended on hill and dale, and the peace of God was around.

The place we had chosen for our landing was in a dip of the land and the little village was not visible from the spot where we had descended. We had passed through the air in perfect silence and had landed as silently. We had not been seen from the village which was about half a mile behind us, and we decided not to go into the village that night. We wanted merely to enquire our way to the hermitage of Ashan and that could keep till the morning.

## WHAT IS ADAPTATION ?

By FRANK C. BANCROFT, Jr.

**I**N an age which is glib, and a little over-armed with words, one is perpetually impressed by the power of terms to lead us astray ; and prominent among those misunderstood is "adaptation." Both in regard to individuals and cultures, it seems to have been bent away from its true meaning into a direction which is conceptually incorrect and socially unfruitful. Three things are involved in an adaptation ; a past, which has conditioned character ; a present dynamic equilibrium, with tendencies toward certain types of thought and action ; and an environment, calling for decision : And the man or nation involved, for purposes of intelligent living, must lose sight of none.

A considerable portion of what one reads, however, seems to do so, and nowhere is this more apparent than in much that is written in contemporary journals about India. There is a great deal which extols the past, which, in addition to the fault of romanticizing about a Golden Age which was probably considerably less aureate than it is painted, violates the law of life, which commands us to go forward. Again, there is more pseudo-romance in the form of effervescences about the present glories of India, scenic, human,

and metaphysical, which is to view life as what it never really is—as stable equilibrium. But by far the greatest mistake is to talk of "modernizing" or "civilizing" India, as if, on the one hand, there were some clearly recognizable standards of what is modern and civilized ; and as if, on the other, India could pour her life into them, like molten iron into a mould. Nothing could be farther remote from the idea which actually resides in "adaptation," and nothing could be culturally more disastrous.

Nevertheless, there arises from these facts no exemption for India from the universal human contingency to adapt, for that which lives must invariably do so. Formerly organic objects which have become static, like petrified wood or diamonds, may have their beauty ; and ones which have deliquesced or vaporized, their permeability, but they have for the time being lapsed into the inorganic, and therefore, according to our present interest, become impertinent. Those who wish to find India in Ajanta or the Taj, or in some lovely but elusive "spirit," are free to do so ; but most of us will continue to seek her in more living and tangible forms, particularly in human beings.

To restrict the problem sufficiently for objectivity, let us concentrate upon Bengal and further, upon that very limited class which has in various degrees, come into touch with the West : What, for them, is involved in the idea of adaptation ? First of all, it must be clearly ascertained that the entity to which they must adapt is not the West, but life as a whole, into which, for better or worse, the West has entered. But again to eschew misleading generalities, let us specify at the risk of over-simplification, the while realizing the complete unwisdom of hanging epithets upon any part of the world.

Most persons who have considered the matter would probably agree that one outstanding characteristic of Occidental culture is its ingenious specialization, its bent toward analysis. One of the sources of this has been our Hebrew conception of holiness, which is specified metaphysics, a science anterior to exact science, but full of its spirit of experimentation, pragmatism, codification, and particularization. God is like this or that, the good life is doing or feeling thus and so, etc., etc. And in the simplest conception behind "holy" is a categorical dichotomy in life, particularly in morals. Exact science, according to some, is the daughter of this concept, and native affinity will at least suggest some deep inherent relationship. Truth is something to be watched for, detected, tracked down, and finally slipped into the bag ; and each man is qualified for the pursuit only of his peculiar species of game. Western business life, most notably American business life, is increasingly an exercise in applied science, leading the ordinary citizen in search of his bread into greater and greater specialization of knowledge and activity, and the intellectual to considerations of technocracy. And, not to labour the point, the reason America monopolizes records in the Olympic Games is that year on end she trains her athletes into highly specialized physical mechanisms.

No doubt it is dangerous to draw general conclusions about peoples from their great, but in India the men of outstanding merit and accomplishment seem more organically related to the social complex in which they are found than elsewhere ; not only are they more

conscious of the common people, but these in turn, are more aware of them. Accordingly, in turning to three outstanding figures of modern Bengal, perhaps we do not entirely forfeit our position of judicial appreciation ; and if not, the contrast between them and men of their calibre in the West is nothing less than striking. In Rabindranath Tagore, Nanda Lal Bose, and Jagadish Chandra Bose one finds a veritable *trimurti* of that amateur wholeness which stands antipodally opposed to our Occidental holiness and specialization. For the purposes of Western readers, and also in the effort to share with Indian readers the impression which they make upon a Western mind, brief vignettes of this formidable trio may be admissible.

What is Tagore ? No doubt he is a poet, and one of the great ones of space and time, as reading his English verse will soon convince most. But he is also a philosopher ; if one is so obtuse as to miss the "philosophy" in "Gitanjali," let him turn to "Sadhana," and he must be silenced. But he is also a teacher extraordinary, as those who studied under him in his best years at Santiniketan will gratefully attest. Further, he is a student of comparative culture of note, a redoubtable champion of internationalism, and a patriot, as his recent visit to Gandhi at the end of his fast clearly proves. But he is primarily a man, as every individual of the constant stream of pilgrims who talk with him on his little verandah at Santiniketan, universally recognize. It would be a difficult task to fasten upon some consideration impinging upon human life which is quite foreign to his interests and knowledge.

About a furlong from him, in the same Ashram, lives Nanda Lal Bose, one of the outstanding artists of Asia. Sublime though his painting on canvas may be—and, if nothing else, one should see his "Imagination and Truth" in the Bose Institute—his real medium of expression is the lives of the young men and women who are under his charge in the Art School of Santiniketan. Nowhere in India has one found so inspiring an example of the ancient Indian ideal of *Guru* and *Chela*, an inextricable union of life and interests between teacher and student. Completely respecting their naïvest conception

and most unfinished execution, he is continually at their disposal for the suggestions which have been solicited. And he is an amateur par excellence; avoiding technical appurtenances, he is unbelievably ingenious in contriving from nature that which he needs, whether it be working materials for aesthetic effort or scenery for the latest of Tagore's plays. And he knows that aesthetic appreciation without exact "scientific" understanding is apt to eventuate in sentimentality, while "science" without "art" is truncated and unimaginative, as Darwin in his declining years sadly came to see.

Down in Calcutta, about eighty miles from them, lives Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, best known for his researches in lightless photography and the sensitivity of plants. But he refuses to be a "scientist," though his name is respected wherever there is a microscope or a growing leaf. His Institute is by all odds the most catholic place it has ever been the privilege of the writer to visit. At the risk of effusion, it is a plain fact that at one and the same time it is a laboratory, school, monastery-garden, museum of art, home, ashram, philanthropic centre, and temple. The laborious findings of exact science, the riches of Hindu mythology and social tradition, the fertility of Bengal nature, the beauties of art (architectural, sculptural, and pigmental), and the solidarity of human fraternity, have all been blended into a unity to which all is organic and nothing added. It is about as remote from the new Rocke-

feller Foundation which has been opened in Calcutta as any two institutions could be.

The contrast between holiness-and-science and wholeness of life has been made with no purpose to extol or derogate either. Life demands both, and neither the mystic's Adwaita (One) nor the Ph. D.'s "Thirty-seventh Left Foot of the Centipede" will satisfy the human spirit. Rather they have been mentioned to point out India's problem of adaptation. And here we arrive at the central nexus. The most priceless gift which India has to offer a distraught and confused world is exactly that thing which, if unsupplemented internally, is calculated to retard her own progress. People in the West have certainly missed the forest of life for the trees of individuality and incident: But it is just as true that, in a sense, India's realization of the general has been her curse in the particular.

The wisdom of individuals is not far remote from that of corporate groups, and what life needs today is both persons and cultures who are at once poised enough to know, accept, and be themselves, and vital enough to incorporate inwardly increasing measures of their environment. If India, carefully eschewing both the inferiority and superiority complexes, can at once be true to herself and to life, which is larger than any person or people, there is no estimating what her future contribution to the life of the world may be.





## SECOND CHAMBER FOR BENGAL

By NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A.

**I**N the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the second chamber held a place of peculiar sanctity in the mechanism of representative government in every country. The theory of checks and balances had an irresistible appeal to the statesmen in the new as in the old world. However zealous they might be for democratic advance, they never pinned their faith absolutely to the unbridled demos. Nor could they ever support the idea of a single-chamber legislature that would draw its inspiration from the popular electorate and might in a fit of enthusiasm embark on a policy, revolutionary and subversive in its effect. There must be a provision, they demanded, in the constitution of the legislature for an appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. Uni-cameral legislature was regarded by them as the apotheosis of democratic rashness. They wanted a brake on the wheel and invariably set up a counterpoise to democratic fervour. "The same reason" observes John Stuart Mill, "which induced the Romans to have two consuls makes it desirable that there should be two chambers: that neither of them may be exposed to the corrupting influence of undivided power, even for the space of a single year." Such being the opinion of thinkers and practical statesmen, it was natural that there should be a provision in the constitution of every democratic country for a bi-cameral legislature. The gilded house at Westminster might be a survival of medieval institutions. But the second chamber in the legislatures of other modern states was a deliberate creation.

This loyalty to bi-cameralism did not long survive the passing of the nineteenth century. Even before the war, people lost a good deal of their confidence in the utility of the second chamber. It was found as a result of experience to be more a hindrance than a help to the cause of progressive and efficient legislation. The disillusionment of

the English people as to the value of the brake power of the Upper House was evidenced by the Parliament Act of 1911 which reduced the chamber of peers to impotence and nullity. The step that was taken in 1911 was practically confirmed in 1917-18 when the problem of the second chamber came to be tackled by the best constitutional minds of the country in a conference presided over by the late Viscount Bryce. The sense of the conference was so hostile to a really effective second chamber that it seems that it was only out of respect for tradition that this body did not advocate the experiment of a uni-cameral legislature for England. In post-war Europe, people were found to be further alienated from the principle of bi-cameralism. In the states of Germany single-chamber legislature now became universal. In the federal legislature the show of a double-barrelled body was indeed maintained but the second chamber was reduced to such a secondary position as to make it a nonentity.

The world has, in fact, travelled far from the time when a second chamber was regarded as an indispensable factor of a well-balanced constitution. It has now come to be taken only as a clumsy and complicated addition to the structure of government, a fifth wheel in the administrative coach. If, in unitary states like Great Britain and Ireland, the second chamber has fallen into disrepute and is maintained more by courtesy than for utility, how much more useless it may be regarded to be in the component states or provinces of a federal union! In the federal government, there may yet be some utility for a second chamber. It is said that the federal idea is enshrined in this house. Of course, even this theory is getting untenable every day. But as in the present article we are concerned only with the legislature of a component province, we shall refrain from discussing the usefulness of the second chamber in the federal government.

The legislatures of the American States are no doubt still bi-cameral. But a distinct movement has been for some time on foot in the States for abolishing the second chambers which are now regarded as a nuisance. It seems that the days of bi-cameralism in the component units of the American federation are numbered. In the Australian Commonwealth, the principle of bi-cameralism that is still observed in the States is only a survival of the pre-federation constitutional system of the colonies which in the middle of the last century modelled their legislatures on the British Parliamentary arrangement. But under the bi-cameral system, the struggle between the two Houses in every State has become so frequent and so bitter as to alienate the sympathy of the people completely from this arrangement. Chronic deadlocks in administration goaded the people of Queensland to bid good-bye to bi-cameralism in 1922 and since then this State has experimented successfully the mono-cameral system. The other States may any time follow suit and turn to a simpler legislative constitution. In the Dominion of Canada, all the provinces except Quebec and Nova Scotia have been long content with single-chamber legislatures. The cantons of Switzerland have also never gone in for the luxury of bi-cameralism. It is now in fact on all testimony a discredited and exploded principle. The people of Bengal should think many times before accepting an arrangement which has been condemned by the political experience of other countries.

The question of an Upper House in the Indian provinces invited the attention of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford when they were shaping their proposals of reform in 1917-18. After a due investigation, however, they saw very serious practical objections to the idea. They were convinced that proper materials were not available for the composition of a provincial second chamber. Only the landed and the monied interests might be represented in this body. They would, however, make the upper house too effective a barrier against all liberal legislation. They consequently decided against the introduction of a second chamber in the provinces. But while making this decision, they kept the

door open for the reconsideration of the question in the future. The Government of India Act, 1919, accordingly provided for the examination of the problem by the Statutory Commission to be appointed ten years later. This Commission (Simon Commission) after examining the problem in detail did not find it possible to make a unanimous recommendation one way or the other. Some of the members of this body were in favour of introducing a second chamber in the provinces while the rest could not agree to the proposal. This division in the Commission would suggest only one thing and that is that there is no overwhelming reason why a second chamber should be added to the provincial legislature. And second chamber is a luxury which should be undertaken only when its utility is proved beyond doubt. In view of this fact it looks like a puzzle why His Majesty's Government went out of their way to embody in the White Paper a proposal for establishing a second chamber in three provinces of Northern India including Bengal.

If the uni-cameral legislature set up under the Government of India Act, 1919, proved to be really injurious to the vested interests of the province, that might have justified the enthusiasm of the British Cabinet for a revising chamber. If it showed too much of haste and rashness, the demand for a counterpoise might have been in order. But the records of the Bengal Legislative Council will convince even a casual investigator that if it has erred during the last twelve years, it has erred on the side of tardiness and not of hastiness. It breathed more the spirit of *status quo* than the spirit of change. Modification in the tenancy system of Bengal was long overdue. The Act of 1885 was in many particulars hopelessly out of date. Everybody expected that with the inauguration of the new legislative council under the Reforms, the question would be taken up and some improvement would be made in the status of the tenants. But it was not before five years of the new regime had passed by that the Council came to discuss seriously the problem when the Maharaja of Nadia, the Revenue Member, introduced a Bill to amend the Act of 1885. But even this Bill was not allowed to be placed on the statute book.

Objection was taken to some of its provisions, and it had to be withdrawn, so that the people of the province might have time for a dispassionate consideration of this vital problem. After about two years when the thoughts of the people were supposed to have settled down, a new Bill was brought into the Council. Amended and modified by this body through the help of a select committee, it became an Act in 1928. No question perhaps evokes greater controversy and generates greater heat and passion in this province than the question of the right relations between the zemindars and their tenants. That the legislative council gave cold shoulder to the extremists of both sides and cut out a *via media* between the extreme demands of the landlords and the tenantry at once establishes its claim to moderation, reasonableness and even to statesmanship. That it took eight years to make even these moderate changes in the system of tenancy would give the lie direct to any charge of rashness on its part. The educational organization of the province also required overhauling. On the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, the universities in other provinces have either been remodelled or newly organized. But the University of Calcutta continued to be where it had been. It was expected that the new legislative council would take up the question and reform this seat of learning. But twelve years of the new regime have rolled by without bringing any statutory change in the organization of the University. As the subject was a controversial one, the Council thought it prudent not to take it up. Two non-official Bills introduced in 1922 were given such a cold reception that their authors withdrew them without further ceremony. This attitude of the council to an urgent question of educational organization only establishes the reputation of the council for tardiness. It thought it right not to do anything at all rather than pass a hasty, ill-digested legislation which might do more harm than good to the University. The attitude of moderation and compromise which was noticeable in the tenancy legislation of 1928 had also been earlier brought out into relief when the Calcutta Municipal Bill was on the anvil

of the Council. The Bill almost broke down on the rock of Moslem representation. The joint electorate that was provided for in the Bill was unacceptable to the Moslem members in the Council and the separate representation which they demanded was most unwelcome to the Minister in charge, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea. A deadlock was created, the council came to an *impasse*. At this juncture, the late Mr. Langford James came to the front with a proposal of compromise. The olive branch thus held out was accepted both by the Minister and the Moslem members. The Calcutta Municipal Act went into the statute book with the blessings of all the groups in the council chamber.

In all controversial subjects, the Council thus acted with fairness and caution. If the past is an index of the future, the vested interests stand in no danger at the hands of a uni-cameral legislature. Besides, the assembly proposed for Bengal in the White Paper would be such an evenly-balanced body with every group economic, political and social, separately represented that there will be little opportunity for any subversive measure being introduced without sustained opposition from one side or another of the House. A legislative assembly as that planned for Bengal cannot but be a potent instrument of tardiness and delay. His Majesty's Government again seem to belittle the value of the select committees as moderating and revising bodies when they propose a second chamber to act as a check upon the first. Every measure of any significance should after introduction in the assembly be circulated for opinion. This way the affected interests will have ample opportunity for voicing forth their opinions on the provisions of the proposed legislation. Several months later when these opinions are in, the Bill should be sent to a select committee for scrutiny and detailed examination and modification. On this committee should be represented all the different groups and interests in the legislature. The Bill examined and amended by this body will lose much of its partisan character and meet to a considerable extent the demands of true public opinion. Many of the controversial measures tackled by the Bengal legislative

council were subjected with considerable profit to this procedure. Henceforward it may be definitely laid down that all the measures which may evoke some controversy should be first circulated for opinion and then submitted to a select committee for detailed examination. The potentialities of such committees as revising and improving organs are being appreciated by all statesmen in the West. It is time that the advocates of a second chamber in this province should put more emphasis on the circulation and select committee stages and if after ten years they do not find them sufficient for healthy legislation, they will be at liberty to agitate for a second chamber. In the meantime they should allow the uni-cameral experiment to continue.

The champions of a second chamber appear, in their enthusiasm for a double-barrelled legislature, to have forgotten the power of veto which is being given to the Governor and in some cases to the Governor-General by the Constitution Act. This power is meant to be exercised and whenever some legislation not in the interests of the province is undertaken in a fit of temper by the legislative assembly, it is sure to be turned down by the head of the province. So long as this veto power of the Governor will continue to be real and will be exercised even over the head of the responsible ministers, the second chamber, even if otherwise necessary, will be a useless addition to the legislative machinery.

There may be scope for a second chamber when the lower house is so overwhelmed with work as to not find time to discuss many important problems of the country. In a country like England the pressure of work in the House of Commons is so great that some important debates on foreign policy may be held to the advantage of the nation in the House of Lords. Some minor Bills again may be introduced in this chamber and detailed discussions thereon for which the lower House can spare no time may also be undertaken there. In a province like Bengal however, the duties of the legislature cannot be expected to be very onerous. Many of the functions of government which are of a complicated nature and invite the

greatest amount of attention from the public will be vested in the federal legislature and the assembly at Calcutta will have nothing to do with them. In their absence, the provincial legislature will not have a burden of responsibility beyond the capacity of one House to discharge at ease. One of the main arguments assigned by the Bryce Conference for the continuance, though in a shrivelled and attenuated form, of the English second chamber cannot, therefore, be cited in favour of the introduction of an upper House in Bengal with similar powers and authority.

The second chamber that has been proposed in the White Paper is intended to be an arsenal of delay. A measure passed by the lower House must be submitted to the upper chamber for reconsideration and revision. It will there be subjected to fresh discussion and scrutiny. The Legislative Council will not, of course, differ much in respect of the character of its composition from the assembly. There are advocates of bi-cameralism who expected that it would be constituted on a non-communal basis and would be an effective antidote to the communal proclivities of the lower house. They have, however, been sorely disappointed. The principles which underlie the composition of the assembly have also been accepted as the basis on which the legislative council is to be set up. The different communal and racial groups are to be represented in the upper house practically in the same proportion as in the lower chamber. But although in respect of communalism, the two houses may see eye to eye, otherwise they may be imbued with opposing ideas. The property qualifications of the candidates and voters will be higher for the legislative council and ten out of its sixty-seven members will be nominated by the Governor. This House may consequently be expected to be more conservative than the assembly. Thus the very fact that a measure must run the gauntlet in both the chambers will make for delay, even if the upper House after discussion accepts the bill as it has come out of the lower body. But if we take into consideration the fact that the council will be more conservative in outlook, we may expect that many of the controversial bills

will be amended and materially modified by the upper House. The bills thus amended and modified will come in for fresh consideration in the Assembly and if it rejects the amendments, a deadlock will ensue, the way out of which is the joint session of the two Houses to be called after at least three months by the Governor. Even in the existing uni-cameral legislature it has been found to be exceedingly difficult to have a new law passed on a controversial subject. If now another chamber is set up to criticize, to modify and to reject the measures accepted by the Assembly, that will practically amount to a permanent veto upon all healthy changes. The last twelve years in Bengal have been a period of stagnation. All reform has been held over for financial stringency. If this province is to march with the time and is not to lag behind the other provinces of India in economic improvement and cultural progress, the next ten years must be devoted to constructive legislation on a large scale. But if a second chamber is now set up, that will be an obstacle to the passing of these necessary laws and will consequently be a menace to the progress of the province.

The additional expenditure that the establishment of the upper House will involve

should also set people a-thinking. In these lean years, when for want of money so many necessary reforms are being postponed from year to year, it will be a criminal folly to undertake fresh expenses for the working of a second legislative chamber. The establishment charges of the council and the travelling and halting allowances of its members will make quite a heavy toll upon the none-too-long purse of the Bengal Government. That by itself should cool the enthusiasm of the bi-cameralists.

It is time that the people of Bengal should speak with one voice against the attempt to foist upon this province an institution that has been experimented and found wanting in other parts of the world. The less we take to the cast-off clothes of other peoples, the better certainly for our future. Mahatma Gandhi as the accredited spokesman of the Indian National Congress placed himself in opposition at the second Round Table Conference even to the proposal of a bi-cameral legislature at the centre. If a second chamber is useless in the eyes of the Indian people in the central legislature, how much more useless it will be in a provincial government!

## RUSTOMJI COWASJI

THE PARSİ MERCHANT AND PHILANTHROPIST OF CALCUTTA

BY JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE Parsis are known all over the world as an enterprising and commercial race. Wealth and prosperity have followed them everywhere. India, as she is today, owes not a little to the zealous industry of the Parsis. The Parsis of Bombay are noted not only for commerce and industry but for education, liberality and philanthropy as well. There was a Parsi gentleman in Calcutta a century ago who compares favourably with his brother Parsis of Bombay. He carried on trade in the East and, like the Parsis of Bombay, took an active part in the public affairs of the city.

Though originally an inhabitant of Bombay, Rustomji Cowasji settled in Calcutta and started business there even before 1821. It appears from a notice in the *Samachar Darpan* of November 17, 1821 that Rustomji Cowasji, a partner in the firm of Rustomjee Byramjee\* Company in Calcutta, severed connection with it on November 14 and started a company after his own name. A friend of Dwarkanath Tagore, Rustomji co-operated with him in all public

\* Brother of Rustomji Cowasji, who died in Bombay in 1833.

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affairs. There is no direct evidence of Rustomji's acquaintance with Raja Rammohun Roy. But there is enough indication of his having imbibed the advanced ideas of the Raja in matters social, political and economic. During my search in the files of the newspapers of the early nineteenth century, I have come across much information about Rustomji Cowasji.

I shall try to describe on the important aspects of his life and character in this paper.

#### FAMILY AND PARENTAGE

Banaji Limji, founder of the family, and ancestor of Rustomji, came from Bhagawandi near Surat and settled in Bombay in 1690. He some times acted as an agent to the East India Company. He soon gave up the job and began to trade independently. It was mainly through his efforts that commercial



Rustomji Cowasji

relations were established between Bombay and Burma. He made a great fortune. The 'Adarian' or Fire-Temple near the Bombay fort still stands to his credit. Dadabhai Byramji, the grandson of Limji, was the first among the Parsis to come to Calcutta. He was an intimate friend of John Cartier, Governor of Bengal (1769-1772), and christened a ship after him.\*

Rustomji's father, Cowasji Banaji, carried on

business in Bombay. He was known throughout the city as an 'honest trader'.\* He had seven sons, of whom the best known were Framji Cowasji Banaji, Rustomji Cowasji and Kharshedji Cowasji. Framji Cowasji's was a many-sided genius. Besides doing business in Bombay, he was engaged in agriculture in his famous farm at Pavai, a few miles off. He contributed much to the well-being of the city and the province. He was a promoter of learning. He sat on the Western India Education Board and subscribed liberally to the Elphinstone College of Bombay. He was one of the founders of the *Bombay Times* (now, *Times of India*).† Kharshedji Cowasji, the youngest, was a successful business man in Bombay. He was very popular in his own community and gave a lakh of rupees for the erection of a fire-temple.

#### A BUSINESS MAN

The second of the brothers, Rustomji Cowasji, was born in Bombay in 1792. In his early life he received only preliminary instructions in the three R's. He joined the firm of his eldest brother, Framji Cowasji, as an apprentice when still a boy. From 1806 up till his settlement in Calcutta, Rustomji acted as an agent to his brother's firm. During this period he visited Madras, Calcutta and China, residing in the last-named country for three years. He made himself acquainted with the tastes, manners and customs of these places. This was very helpful to him in after life.

It has already been mentioned that Rustomji started an independent company after his own name in Calcutta in 1821. His business acumen and foresight attracted the attention of his brother traders. He served as a banian in the Cruttendon Mackillop and Company for some time. Rustomji Cowasji was the first among Indians to conduct trade in partnership with Europeans. He founded the Rustomji, Turner & Co. We find the earliest mention of this company as "Rustomji, Turner and Co. Parsee Merchants" in *The Government Gazette* of Feb. 5, 1827. Dwarkanath Tagore opened the Carr, Tagore & Co. on Oct. 4, 1834. Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, congratulated Dwarkanath Tagore as he (Bentinck) thought he was the first among Indians to

\* Sir Henry Evan A. Cotton wrongly gave to Cowasji Banaji the credit of being the founder and head of the Rustomji Cowasji and Company in Calcutta. (*Calcutta Old and New*, 1907, p. 766.) *The India Review*, a Calcutta monthly, (December, 1839) in an article on "Rustomji Cowasji said: "The Firm [Rustomji Cowasji and Co.] consists of himself and his second son." Again, in a notice on the launching of the *Cowasji Family*, *The Calcutta Courier* (Dec. 7, 1835) mentioned Rustomji Cowasji, and not Cowasji Banaji, as her principal owner.

† *Vide* Framji Cowasji, *Famous Parsis*—Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co.

\* *History of the Parsis* by Dosabhai Framji Karaka, 1884, Vol. II., pp. 34-35.



start business in partnership with the Europeans. A controversy naturally arose. *The Calcutta Courier* (Sep. 8, 1835) published a letter under the signature of P. G. H., questioning the correctness of Lord W. Bentinck's statement. It gave the credit to Rustomji Cowasji and in this, the editor also joined, adding, however, that among the Hindus Dwarkanath Tagore was the first to show the way.

By 1828 Rustomji Cowasji became one of the leading merchants in the city. *The Government Gazette* of April 3, 1828 published a list of persons eligible for special jurors in the Supreme Court of Calcutta with their necessary qualifications. Rustomji was described in it as a merchant owning properties worth two lakhs of rupees.

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce was founded in a meeting held on February 17, 1834. The Executive Committee was divided into three sub-committees: (1) General Committee of twenty-one, (2) Committee of Management and Correspondence and (3) Committee of Arbitration. Dwarkanath Tagore and Rustomji Cowasji were the only Indians taken on the executive committee. Rustomji served in the first and the second sub-committee.

#### AN ENTHUSIAST IN THE CAUSE OF INSURANCE

Insurance is scarcely a hundred years old in India. Indian contribution to the building up of this line of business cannot be overlooked. Raja Rammohun Roy perceived clearly that the salvation of India lay, among other things, in her industrial development on modern lines. He advocated the cause of insurance through his *Sambad Kaumudi*, a vernacular weekly, so far back as early 1822.\* Rustomji Cowasji and Dwarkanath Tagore tried to realize the ideas already preached by the Raja.

Rustomji's connection with insurance business dated as early as June 1823. We find him this year on the Committee of the Union Insurance Company. This committee was formed of five persons among whom Rustomji was the only Indian. Its function consisted in issuing policies on river risks. Rustomji held other responsible posts either as a director or as a proprietor in the following insurance companies, viz., the Laudable Societies (1833), the Sun Life Office (1834), the New Oriental Life Assurance Company (1835), the Universal Life Assurance Company—Indian Branch (1835), New Laudable Society (1840) and the Indian Laudable and Mutual Insurance Company (1841). His connection with the Sun Life Office was rather intimate. This office was started on January 1, 1834. Under Rustomji's guidance the company greatly prospered. It declared a dividend of Rs. 500 per share on January 22, 1835. Another of the same amount was

declared on August 1, 1836, and still another of the same value on February 21, 1837.\* Rustomji's eldest son, Dadabhoy Rustomji, was the agent of this company in China, and Framji Cowasji, his eldest brother, the sole agent in Bombay.

Rustomji's activities were not confined to the actual administration of this or that particular insurance office. He promoted the cause in other ways. Like the insurance associations of today the insurance companies of Calcutta of that time formed themselves into a committee to promote their common object. Rustomji was an active member of this committee. We find in *The Calcutta Monthly Journal*, 1835.

"The committee of Insurance offices have deputed Mr. Wm. Carr and Rustomjee Cowasjee to receive and distribute the funds, and they paid the amount of salvage on the 25th September without waiting for the bills of lading, etc.,—which were remitted from China to the Agent of Captain Hawkins, being delivered into their possession."

Rustomji also figured prominently in determining the question whether the insurance offices would not cancel the policies written by the *Sherbourne* as she had been found unseaworthy at the time of sailing. He invited the committee to his office on the 13th October, 1835 and the matter was decided in favour of cancellation.†

Most of the Agency Houses of Calcutta, partners of insurance companies, fell in 1833. Early next year the Government of the day proposed to establish a public insurance company. The insurance offices took alarm at the proposal and bestirred themselves to oppose this move. They contended that the people had immense confidence in the stability of the State and, therefore, would naturally flock to the company established by it. This would reduce the non-official companies to nullity. The effect also would be baneful. The business life of the city and, for that matter, of the East, would be disorganized. The Government's proposal, however, did not materialize. It goes without saying that Rustomji played an active part in this matter of protest and lent his signature to the memorial which was sent to the Government on behalf of the non-official insurance companies and business firms.

#### A PROMOTER OF BANKS

A prominent business man of Calcutta, Rustomji must have taken keen interest in the banking concerns of the day earlier than we can ascertain from newspapers still extant. The Union Bank was opened in 1829. We can

\* *Vide The Calcutta Journal*, Feb. 26, 1822, and also *Insurance World* for September, 1931.

\* *The Calcutta Courier*, January 20, 1838.

† *The Calcutta Monthly Journal*, 1835, Asiatic News, p. 327.

presume that Rustomji was connected with it for a long time as a proprietor and made a name in that capacity. Because in a meeting of the proprietors of the bank held on the 14th July, 1834, we find him elected to the responsible post of director.\* Information about his activities for the bank at that time is very meagre. But it is admitted on all hands that the Union Bank prospered greatly during this time and became the first bank in the East. Rustomji must have resigned after some years. For, *The Friend of India* noticed his re-election to its directorate on the 16th July, 1842 in its issue of the 21st July. Rustomji gave up the post in favour his son, Manockji Rustomji, in 1844. Rustomji remained one of the biggest shareholders of the bank.

Owing to intrigues of interested parties including its European directors, the bank had to pass through many a storm till it collapsed in 1848. In the half-yearly meeting of its proprietors held on the 15th January, 1848, the winding up of the bank was resolved upon. The immediate cause of the crash, ascertained in the meeting, was that (1) ninety lakhs of its capital was invested in "properties" some of which were acknowledged even by the directors not to be worth a tenth of their cost; (2) nearly sixty lakhs of rupees had been surrendered to two houses, which were on the verge of bankruptcy for the previous two or three months.†

In those days when the banking system was in its infancy and the law with regard to it very elastic, shareholders of a bank were always held responsible for its failure. Creditors could sue for the realization of their amount any and every shareholder individually or collectively. Hence, the solvent shareholders were always the worst victims. Rustomji had to relinquish his all for the satisfaction of creditors' claims. Once a merchant-prince, he was reduced to a street-beggar after the crash. He proved a martyr to the cause.

It appears from *The Calcutta Courier* (January 17, 1838) that Rustomji was also a proprietor of the Bank of Bengal.

#### A SHIP-BUILDER

Ship-building was a lucrative business in the early nineteenth century and the Parsis of Bombay took to it in right earnest. Rustomji Cowasji turned to it in 1837. The Docking Company was established in Calcutta at a meeting held on January 16, 1837. Rustomji and his second son Manockji Rustomji were its principal partners, and the former was appointed Secretary. Rustomji invited the first annual meeting of the Company on Feb. 1, 1838. He got the Khidirpur and Salkia docks purchased at six lakhs of

rupees. Some of his ships, and some others of the Carr, Tagore and Co. were built in these docks. One of his ships, *Rustomji Cowasji*, was very beautiful and built at the Khidirpur dock with skill by a Parsi ship-builder, Dhunjeeboy Rustomji. Under his management the Docking Company flourished. *The Friend of India* (Oct. 26, 1843) offered the following comments on the 13th half-yearly meeting of the Docking Company :

The 13th half-yearly meeting of the Docking Company was held at the office of the Secretary, Rustomjee Cowasjee, Esqr. To all appearance, this is the most flourishing company in Calcutta. It works with a capital of about six lakhs, pays its secretaries, as it is said 2000 Rupees a month, and is yet able to divide a profit of sixteen per cent. There were eight gentlemen present and it was unanimously resolved that the accounts were very satisfactory.

Rustomji resigned his post of secretary to the Company in March, 1847.\*

#### A SHIPOWNER

Rustomji Cowasji was also a prominent shipowner in his day. We have already noticed him as the principal partner of the *Cowasji Family* which was launched in December, 1835. By this time he dissolved the Rustomji, Turner and Co. and started another in the name of Rustomji Cowasji and Company, with his second son Manockji Rustomji as a partner. This company was solely devoted to shipping business. It owned about forty ships. Pearichand Mitra gave a list of twenty-one of them.† These ships were engaged in carrying on trade between Calcutta, Madras, Ceylon, Bombay, Singapore, China and Melbourne.‡

The ceremony of launching these ships was noticed in contemporary newspapers. These accounts give us an insight into the character of the ships, the high qualities of their builders, and the nature of the social intercourse between Indians and Europeans, obtaining at that time.

Rustomji's ships were of a much better type than most others. *The Friend of India* (Dec. 19, 1839) wrote :

*The Rustomji Cowasji*, which was launched at Kidderpore in July last, has established a character for sailing, which few even of the clippers, have attained. She arrived at Macao on the 5th of October, after a passage of only eleven days from Singapore. She has beaten the *Sir Edward Ryan*, the best of the clippers, six days in the passage from Singapore.

Rustomji's ships were not only engaged in trade, but about half of them were chartered by the British Government from 1839 onwards for

\* *The Calcutta Monthly Journal*, 1834.

† *The Friend of India*, January 20, 1848.

\* *The Friend of India*, March 25, 1847.

† *The National Magazine* for April and May, 1908.

‡ *The India Review* for December, 1839, p. 751.

war purposes in the East.\* The *Goleconda*, a ship of Rustomji, was destroyed in the China War.

Some of his ships used to carry mails between different parts of the East. The *Calcutta Courier* (Feb. 15, 1838) wrote to the effect that the *Cowasji Family* had brought the canton mails up to January 6. The *Friend of India* of July 1, 1847 wrote :

We have received our files of Mauritius journals to the 2nd June by the *Rustomji Cowasji*.

Some of these ships were also hired for sending Indian labourers to the Mauritius islands.†

Being a prominent shipowner, Rustomji Cowasji was considered an expert in all matters concerning shipping. The route to the West via Suez was discovered by this time. Rustomji Cowasji, Dwarkanath Tagore, Motilal Seal, Ram Comul Sen and nine Europeans started a company called the "Precursor Scheme Committee." Its object was to engage steam vessels to carry mails between Suez and Calcutta. About three-fourths of the shares had been disposed of by March, 1842. But the floating of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company under the auspices of the East India Company to carry mails on both sides of Suez forced the committee to abandon its project.‡

The introduction of steam vessels into the river system of Bengal and Upper India owed much to the genius of Rustomji Cowasji. Thirty prominent Indians and Europeans met in the Town Hall of Calcutta on Feb. 23, 1844 and appointed a provisional committee of ten persons to draft a prospectus for an inland steam navigation company. Rustomji was a member of this committee. On the 8th May of the same year, a public meeting was convened in the Town Hall to ratify the prospectus framed by the committee. At this meeting the "Indian General Steam Navigation Company" was declared open. Rustomji Cowasji was the only Indian elected to the board of directors.\*\*

#### A SOCIAL REFORMER

It is now clear that Rustomji Cowasji was a leading merchant of his times. We now take up the other phases of his life. His philanthropy and public activities in matters social, political and intellectual were of far-reaching character.

Rustomji was far in advance of his age. The Hindus were averse to sea-going. Though the Parsis are a seafaring race, their women folk had imbibed the aversion of the Hindus, and it was not customary for them to embark on a sea

voyage. It was due to the reforming zeal of Rustomji that the women of his family could come down to Calcutta by sea as early as 1838. The advanced Press of Bombay and Calcutta hailed this bold step with joy. On the departure of the family, The *Bombay Gazette* (July 16, 1838) wrote :

Our Parsee friends, who have so long been foremost among the natives of this country in everything connected with commercial enterprise, are now about to set an example in what may at first sight be considered a purely domestic matter, but which will in all probability in its ulterior results, from throwing aside the trammels of ancient prejudices, mean the production of singular changes. The lady of Rustomjee Cowasjee, the distinguished and liberal-minded merchant of Calcutta, is about to sail from Bombay for that port in a few days, accompanied by the wife of his son, and a cortège of female attendants. To those who remember that but a few years ago no Parsee female of respectability would proceed even to the Deccan, the contemplated trip of these fair voyagers will afford such food for speculation upon the rapid change which the march of opinion has affected.

*Samachar Darpan* of August 18, 1838 welcomed the arrival of Rustomji's family in the following terms :

We are happy to hear, that the lady of our worthy citizen, Rustomjee Cowasjee, Esqr. has just arrived by sea from Bombay. The ladies among the Parsees have the same aversion to going on board ship, which the Hindoo and Mahomedan ladies feel. This therefore is the first instance in which the tyranny of custom has been overcome. We think that Rustomjee deserves great credit for the boldness with which he has broken through this pernicious custom.

Rustomji gave every facility to the women of his family to relinquish the *purdah* and mix with men. The *Englishman* (April 19, 1852), in the obituary notice of Rustomji Cowasji, laid special stress on this aspect of his character. It wrote :

.....he breaking through the restraints usual among his countrymen, did not hesitate to introduce the ladies of his family to his guests, among whom the Governor General has more than once been present.

#### A PATRON OF LEARNING.

Like his eldest brother, Framji Cowasji, of Bombay, Rustomji Cowasji allied himself with educational movements. William Wilberforce Bird, acting Governor General, abolished slavery in India in 1844. He did much for the dissemination of learning among the people. To commemorate his departure "The Bird Testimonial Committee" was formed. Its object was to devise ways and means for the propagation of education. Rustomji Cowasji sat on the committee and assisted its work with his mature experience, tact and intelligence. We find him again attending a special function at the Hindu College (Oct. 9, 1844) where medals were distributed to Arun

\* *Calcutta Old and New*, 1907, p. 766.

† *The Friend of India*, March 9, 1843 and *The Eastern Star*, Feb. 20.

‡ *The Friend of India*, Dec. 14, 1843. Proceedings of the Steam Memorial Meeting.

\*\* *The Friend of India*. May 16, 1844.

Chandra Basu, Rajnarain Basu and Iswar Chandra Mitra for proficiency in English literature.

Rustomji Cowasji encouraged scientific education. The *Sambad Bhaskar* of April 7, 1846 wrote to the following effect :

We cannot say too much of the merits of Rustomji Cowasji. The canal on the other side of the Bahir Road [the Upper Circular Road], which owes its existence to his munificence, is now adorning the city. Besides, he has done many good works, especially he has now awarded gold medals to the students of the Medical College. Everyone will, therefore, congratulate him on this noble action of his.

In memory of Dwarkanath Tagore the "Dwarkanath Tagore Endowment Fund" was opened in 1846 to give cultural and technical education to a fixed number of boys in the University College of London. Rustomji Cowasji was one of the trustees of the Fund, which included eminent officials and non-officials.

The Agricultural and Horticultural Society was formed by the Rev. William Carey in the early nineteenth century to provide facilities for the improvement of agriculture of the country. Rustomji's connection with the society dated from 1837, and we have it on the authority of Pearichand Mitra that he was one of its Vice-Presidents. Rustomji contributed liberally to the society. When the society failed to meet its share of expenses in building the Metcalfe Hall, its permanent abode, Rustomji came to its aid. *The Friend of India* (Nov. 20, 1845) reported the matter as follows :

At the last meeting of the Agricultural society it was announced, that two of its members Rajah Suttchurn Ghosal and Babu Ramgopal Ghose had agreed to advance each the sum of 1000 Rs. and Dr. Hufnagle and Rustomjee Cowasjee 500 Rupees each for two years without interest ; to assist the society in liquidating its share of the debt on the Metcalfe Hall. The secretary was then authorised to borrow the remaining sum on a deposit of Company's paper. These various sums will be gradually repaid out of the additional subscriptions from individual members recently agreed to.

Pearichand Mitra says that Rustomji lent the Society Rs. 1000 but never realized it.\*

Rustomji Cowasji was a subscriber member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1844 to 1848. His son, Manockji Rustomji, was elected a member of the Society in 1846.

The fund for the establishment of the Calcutta Public Library (predecessor of the Imperial Library of Calcutta) was opened in 1835. Rustomji contributed Rs. 200.

#### A PHILANTHROPIST

*The Englishman* of April 19, 1852 observed :

Rustomjee was extremely liberal while he had the means, and there must be many yet living

\* *The National Magazine* for May 1908. Rustomji Cowasji (2). P. 173.

who have felt his kindness when it was of the utmost value to them.

We learn of his acts of philanthropy from contemporary papers. He subscribed handsomely to the famine fund organized for the relief of the Cuttack people in 1831. We again find him taking an active part in giving relief to the famine-stricken people of the Western provinces in 1838. Rustomji collected subscriptions on his own initiative this time, his contribution amounting to a thousand rupees to it. His charities were not confined to the land of his birth. He subscribed to the Ningpo Missionary Hospital in China in 1844. Ireland was faced with a terrible famine in 1846. Representative Indians and Europeans of Calcutta formed themselves into a committee in order to provide relief for the distressed. Rustomji Cowasji was a member of this committee and did for the relief of the Irish people as much as he could from such a distance.

What Rustomji did for the improvement of the city of his adoption will be discussed later. I only refer to his endeavours for supplying water to the people of eastern Calcutta. *Sambad Bhaskar*, a vernacular daily of Calcutta, in its issue of 2nd *Jaistha*, 1251 B. S. wrote :

What Rustomji Babu is doing by the eastern side of the Bahir Road, will not be extinguished so long as Calcutta lasts. No one dared to begin the work as it would entail large expense. But Rustomji Babu, not even being asked, has come forward to perform it. He saw for a long time that the people in the neighbourhood of the road suffered from want of water. He, therefore, has commenced the digging of a canal along the eastern side of the Baitakkhana Road. It will stand as a memorial to Rustomji Babu. The people will derive benefit from it and sing his praise for generations to come.

Rustomji Cowasji erected a fire temple at 26, Doomtallah (now, Ezra Street) for his Parsi brethren of Calcutta. *Samachar Darpan* of March 23, 1839 wrote :

We learn from the public papers, that Rustomjee Cowasjee, Esq. has purchased a large plot of ground in Doomtallah, on which it is his intention to erect a large temple for his own Parsee sect, who are worshippers of fire.

The ceremony of its dedication was performed on the 16th September, 1839.

#### A FRIEND OF THE POOR

Rustomji Cowasji endeared himself to the people of Bengal by his works of charity and public good and won the title of "Rustomjee Babu" from them. He helped the poor but his philanthropy was not of an ordinary type. He always wanted to remove the cause of the distress of the people. The District Charitable Society of Calcutta, therefore, provided a medium for his work according to his lights.

This society was instituted in 1830 for the

relief of the poor Christians of Calcutta. Public opinion demanded inclusion of the poor natives as well into the scheme of its relief work. The society was reconstituted and took in representatives of the people of Calcutta. Rustomji Cowasji became one of its Vice-Presidents since he joined it early in 1833. The "Committee for the Relief of the Native poor" was established this year under the auspices of the society for the proper administration of relief among the poor natives of Calcutta. Rustomji was a member of this committee also. The society divided the city into twelve districts, each of which was under the supervision of two or more of its members. They were called visitors. Rustomji was one such visitor, and a district\* in central Calcutta was placed under his charge. We find Calcutta split up into new divisions in 1840 and Rustomji Cowasji elected a visitor in the southern division.

Collection of funds and distribution of them among the poor constituted the primary function of the society. The native committee perceived from the very beginning that payment in cash had no permanent salutary effect on the poor. They, therefore, started a movement even in the early thirties to explore better avenues of administering relief. It transpired from a speech of Dwarkanath Tagore in a sitting of the Society on the 30th April, 1840 that the Indian members had resolved in a meeting to establish an alms-house where the poor and the destitute would reside and work for their subsistence. He also added that Motilal Seal had offered land for the purpose and Rustomji Cowasji came forward to bear all the expenses of the tiled houses to be built there. The society however took up the matter into its hands in 1840. It appointed a special committee of eleven members to correspond with the Government in order to induce the latter to pass the "Vagrant Act" (meant for the arrest and putting together of the vagrants) and help the erection of the Alms House. Rustomji Cowasji was a member of this committee. The Government proposed by an act to punish those who would cause the greatest annoyance to the people. The committee remonstrated that a partial act of this nature would be of no avail to the Society in its work of permanent relief. It would be almost impossible to distinguish those who caused greater annoyance from those who caused less.

The Government could not resist the demand. They passed the "Vagrant Act" on Nov. 20, 1840, and made a gift of the plot 34 Amherst St., for the furtherance of the Society's object. Rustomji Cowasji gave Rs. 2,000 for the construc-

tion of the Alms House. Besides occasional help, he subscribed Rs. 200 annually to the Society.

The District Charitable Society also maintained a leper-asylum. Rustomji's contribution to it deserves mention. *Samachar Darpan* of March 16, 1839 wrote:

.....We have been obligingly informed that Baboo Muttelall Seal has bestowed a parcel of land in Mirzapur for the Leper Asylum, and that Rustomjee Cowasjee, Esqr. has offered to build the huts for the purpose.....\*

#### A CITIZEN OF NO MEAN CITY

Rustomji's contribution to the improvement of Calcutta cannot be over-estimated. Tiled huts, streets, tanks, drainage, hospitals, ferry system etc. bear testimony to his love of the place and the people even to this day. No narrative of Rustomji's life can be complete unless his activities in this field are referred to.

Calcutta had a notoriety for disease, filth and insanitary conditions a hundred years ago. Fever and cholera vied with each other in levying a heavy toll of lives every year. So, with a view to providing ready relief for the suffering people the Native Hospital of Dharmatala appointed a sub-committee to devise ways and means for the establishment of a fever hospital in the centre of the city. To popularize this object the sub-committee held a public meeting in the Town Hall on June 18, 1835. Rustomji Cowasji attended it and gave three thousand rupees to the fund. Along with other leaders of the native community who also subscribed handsomely he was taken on the sub-committee. The Government of the day in June, 1836, on being approached by it, said that they would recognize this as a committee of their own provided the latter so widened its scope as to include all matters pertaining to the welfare of the city and agreed to take two government nominees on the committee as experts. The committee consented and remodelled in this light, at once set to work. This committee came to be known as "The Fever Hospital and Municipal Enquiry committee." For the sake of convenience the committee divided itself into three sub-committees, their duties being thus apportioned: The first sub-committee took charge of framing a plan of city management and taxation, the charge of investigating the sanitary state of Calcutta and its suburbs together with suggestion of local improvements devolved on the second sub-committee, while the third was entrusted with the establishment of a fever hospital. Rustomji Cowasji was a member of the parent body as well as of the second sub-committee. Though a member of the second sub-committee, his advice was sought by other two sub-committees also,

\* Bounded on the south by the Jaun Bazar Street, north by the Bowbazar and the Baitakkhana St., east by the Circular Road and west by the Strand Road.

\* The reports of the District Charitable Society of Calcutta have mostly furnished material for this chapter.

and his suggestions were considered appropriate and practical and incorporated in the decision they reached.

Fire broke out off and on in April and May in Calcutta and hundreds of huts were burnt to ashes, rendering the inmates homeless and destitute. The First Sub-committee set to investigate the causes of and suggest remedies for such outbreaks. An estimate of the ravages done by fire will not be out of place here. The committee found after investigation that between January and May of 1837 fifteen per cent of the huts of Calcutta were reduced to ashes, and one-eighth of the total in April only. Rustomji gave evidence twice in May of the same year before the committee. He emphasized therein the necessity of excavating a line of tanks in the locality susceptible to fire and compelling the people to build tiled, instead of straw, huts. In this connection he observed:

Having been present at several of the late fires that have devastated the city, I beg to lay before the meeting a statement of facts that came under my personal observation. During the great fire that extended all along the Upper Circular Road, I particularly noticed the scarcity of water. There being few, if any, tanks in the vicinity of the fire, the consequence was that there was nothing to check the fury of the flames which went on consuming every hut and building in the way with fearful rapidity.

So he recommended

that a line of deep, large tanks should be immediately dug, at convenient distances, all along the Upper Circular Road, where water is more scarce than any other part of the town. The ground might now be purchased at moderate prices before the proprietors have time to erect new huts on the site of those burnt down. I think the government ought to bear expense; but as an inducement for them to come forward, I will undertake if Government will buy the ground, to excavate at my own expense four large tanks between the Boitaconnah, Mirzapore and Manicktollah, and I am sure that many rich landholders will readily do as much or more in other parts of the town.

Rustomji Cowasji was not a man to wait and see what the Government would do. He himself had many tanks excavated in his land at his own expense. In connection with the question of excavation of tanks which arose in the second sub-committee he said:

I have made a good many tanks in different places in my own ground in Calcutta, and consequently have considerable experience in this matter.

Fires had been frequent in Bombay and Madras. But since 1805 they became scarce as tiled huts were introduced there. The contention that tiled huts are less healthy than straw huts did not stand. Because, in those two cities people did not suffer more from diseases since 1805. Rustomji Cowasji argued on this line from his personal experience of those places and

convinced the committee of the necessity of building tiled huts. Rustomji while stressing this point was not, however, oblivious of the miserable plight of the poor folk. A committee with Rustomji Cowasji, Dwarkanath Tagore and others was formed to help the people with necessary funds to build tiled huts. Rustomji contributed Rs. 1000 to the fund opened for this purpose.\*

Rustomji's work as a member of the second sub-committee was not less important. Rustomji Cowasji and Sir John Peter Grant, Justice of the Supreme Court, both members of this committee, visited the native part of the town, ascertained its insanitary condition and submitted a report to the main body.

The second sub-committee perceived that the general health and condition of the city would never be improved so long as this state of things continued. They suggested opening of wide roads and excavation of tanks throughout the city. For, free air and pure drinking water are the two first requisites to ensure a healthy existence. When the question of expenses arose, Rustomji offered practical suggestions. He said that the money laid out by the State for the acquirement of land would be amply repaid. The acquired plots on the high road would give about double the cost of purchase inasmuch as their demand would be very great. Regarding tanks Rustomji's advice was also solicited. Tanks in his opinion must be thirty instead of twenty feet deep. Otherwise, water would go down to the bottom in the hot season, thus frustrating the very purpose for which they were made. The committee accepted his suggestions.

The third sub-committee proposed, and all the members of the main body concurred, that the amount collected for the establishment of the Fever Hospital should be made over to the Council of Education. The hospital was established on Sept. 30, 1848. It has since been attached to the Government Medical College of Calcutta. The committee considered some other questions affecting the life and property of the people. In those days the ferry system over the Ganges was very defective. There were no fixed *ghats* either to land, or to moor boats, which were therefore often sunk wilfully by boatmen, and the belongings of passengers were robbed. Rustomji suggested that, over and above fixing *ghats*, ferry boats should be numbered and registered, and the name of the owner, together with the number of passengers it was permitted to carry, should be painted in legible characters on some conspicuous part of the boat. It would also be provided that heavy fines might be stringently enforced, boats should be classified and the rate of hire fixed; and both boats and

\* *Samachar Darpan*, May 13, 1837.



boatmen should be examined as to their efficiency every month.

The report of the committee embodying these suggestions of Rustomji was duly submitted to the Government. Many of the suggestions took years to materialize. Still, this report marks the beginning of the modern Municipal Government in Calcutta.\*

#### RUSTOMJI COWASJI'S DEATH

Rustomji Cowasji died on April 16, 1852. His death was noticed both in the English and vernacular newspapers. Extracts have already been made from his obituary notice in *The Englishman* (April 19, 1852). It is worth quoting in full :

\* I have collected facts for this chapter from the Report "Fever Hospital and Municipal Enquiry Committee."

Rustomjee has resided about 33 years in Calcutta and for a greater part of that time carried on a very extensive business as a merchant and a shipowner, and for his activity and enterprize was well known to men of business all over the East. During his prosperity he sought the European society and breaking through the restraints usual among his countrymen, did not hesitate to introduce the ladies of his family to his guests, among whom the Governor-General has more than once been present. When what is called a commercial crisis visited Calcutta, Rustomjee shared in the misfortune of his neighbours, and lost nearly all that he had been working for during a long and laborious life. He has since that time lived in a very retired manner, and as his health also declined, he utterly withdrew in a great measure from business. The cause of his death is stated to have been disease of heart, which at his advanced age could not be expected to have other than a fatal termination. Rustomjee was extremely liberal while he had the means, and there must be many yet living who have felt his kindness when it was of the utmost value to them.

## LONDON LETTER

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

### A TROUBLED EUROPE

SCIENTISTS are always reminding us that during the present century they have changed the tempo of our lives out of all recognition. They point out, for instance, that there was very little difference in the methods by which Cæsar and Napoleon, separated by nearly two thousand years, travelled about their empires. Today the discovery of the slow combustion engine means that any empire can be traversed in a few days—while every part of the world can be in instant touch with every other part through the development of the telephone and wireless communications.

The ultimate nearness and one-ness of all nations which these discoveries imply is something to keep in mind in the present difficult times. For the moment it seems so much more obvious that although distance has been annihilated, *differences* have not.

### EXAGGERATED NATIONALISM

Europe is now reaping the bad harvest of the Peace Treaties. Poor Europe, she has been unlucky! Many of the conditions forced upon Germany and Austria were vindictive, not in accordance with President Wilson's Fourteen Points, on the basis of which Germany laid down her arms, and were bound to come home to roost. But even those inspired by the best intentions have proved unfortunate in their results. Who could have thought that the application of the principle of self-determination—the giving of freedom and independence to many oppressed minorities—would mean the springing-up on every side of an intense and exaggerated nationalism? Aggressive nationalism has appeared on both sides, in the newly created States and in the States who lost territory under the Peace Treaties: the former fearing to lose what they have gained and the other seeking to recover lost position and prestige. Nationalism is ever

ready to fall into the hands of a "saviour" or dictator.

### THREE INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Public attention at the present time is concerned with three international issues—the Nazi dictatorship in Germany, the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, and the forthcoming World Economic Conference. The Nazi dictatorship overshadows everything, not only because a militant Germany disturbs the whole European system, but because this latest dictatorship is causing everyone to ask: Is democracy going to survive?

### REASON OR FORCE

It is a tragedy when real leaders are dead and dictators usurp their place. If Herr Stresemann had lived, or if only the Great Powers had treated Germany then with the magnanimity he prompted, the position might be very different today. But again we refused to yield to reason what we may be compelled to give—at least in part—to force. His were the days of the Locarno spirit, when Germany relinquished the idea of ever seeking to recover her lost territory by force of arms. How far removed that seems from what is happening now.

Germany has two principal objects in view; Treaty revision and re-armament. So far Treaty revision is concerned, it is safe to say that the methods of the Nazi terror towards their own nationals have put that clock back for a generation.

### THE FOUR-POWER PACT

It is almost incredible to note how the Nazis have thrown away with both hands their chances of securing Treaty revision. Two months ago Signor Mussolini, who has ever favoured Germany (because Italy is jealous of France and her influence in the Balkans and Mediterranean) was sponsoring a Four-Power Pact, the very object of which was Treaty revision. Our peripatetic Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, was persuaded to come to Rome. Signor Mussolini submitted to him a draft pact by which the four Powers—Germany, France, Great Britain

and Italy—would "confirm the principle of the revision of the Peace Treaties, in accordance with the clauses of the League of Nations Covenant. . . ."

The Mussolini-MacDonald attempt at a Four-Power Pact failed, it will be remembered, because of the opposition of Poland and the Little Entente. They learned that although Treaty revision "within the framework of the League" had piously been agreed upon, Signor Mussolini had discussed in advance and without consulting them a whole series of proposals for Treaty revision to be made at their expense! The only proposal which need concern us here, as affecting Germany, would have given her a corridor transversing the present Polish Corridor from the Polish town of Chojnice to Marienwerde in East Prussia.

Although the Roman attempt at a Four-Power Pact proved abortive, the idea was not given up. Britain approached France, the ally and champion of Poland and the Little Entente, with a new draft. In this greater stress was laid upon disarmament than upon Treaty revision; and it was made clear that there would be no question of imposing revision on smaller Powers.

### HITLER'S HORRORS

What emerges from all this is that at last the idea of revision was beginning to lose its terrors. As was pointed out in the *Economist*, even the Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, Dr. Benes, who is described in Germany as "the most obstinate and inveterate foe of Treaty revision," actually made a speech in which he accepted the possibility of some measure of agreed revision. And yet this was the time that the Hitler dictatorship in Germany chose to inaugurate a reign of terror within its own borders! Socialists and Communists have been brutally manhandled; pacifists interned merely for being pacifists; the Social Democrat Party broken and their 135 newspapers suppressed. Above all the Jews in Germany have been deprived of their rights as German citizens and virtually been made into a *new minority*. This last point raises very serious problems and has done

more than anything else to alienate other nations.

It is the curse of the Germans that they have always been unable to see themselves as others see them. Worse than that at the present juncture they are using every means in their power—by suppressing their own Socialist and other newspapers and banning every foreign liberal newspaper that protests against Nazi excesses to make sure that no breath of criticism shall come in. The Nazis are even hoping to stifle at home the criticism that might arise from the "soul's self" by making their bonfires of suspect books.

#### DANZIG AND THE POLISH CORRIDOR

In this state of heady intoxication they are doing their best to make trouble in the Polish Corridor and at the moment of writing have made a *demarche* in Danzig. Danzig is not in the Corridor but of it. It was made a Free City under the Peace Treaties in an attempt to strike a compromise between Poland and Germany. In the past Poland ruled over Danzig for three and a half centuries. She required it as her only outlet to the sea. On the German side, on the other hand, it was plain that Danzig had become a purely German city—with only a tiny Polish minority. And so it was made a Free City under the League.

In such a compromise the odds were overwhelmingly on the German side and Poland for some years has been facing facts. She has built a new port for herself opposite Danzig, called Gdynia, and gradually she has been diverting her trade from Danzig. From Gdynia she is developing a trans-Atlantic service, the Gdynia-America line.

Everything pointed, then, to the ultimate return of Danzig to the Reich. And so the Nazis must needs make trouble in Danzig, seize the Trade Union headquarters, and run up the Nazi flag in the Free City! No wonder Poland and the Little Entente and their great ally France are rejoicing that the Four-Power Pact is a dead letter. The Polish point of view has been stated in the Pilsudski Press in a leading article as follows:

No Government of Poland will ever discuss revision of any of her boundaries. The only

method of discussing this problem with Poland is the method of gunfire.

Poland, in short, is in that dangerous-confident mood which says: If you want the Corridor, try and take it! She is riding confidently on the wave of European solidarity which the Nazi terror has created against Germany. Her first act has been to ratify a pact of non-aggression with Soviet Russia—to close the back door in the event of war arising. In London Russian and Polish Ambassadors are exchanging courtesies. (And no doubt Poland is collecting here on the spot some of those many thousands of pounds worth of orders we have lost through our Russian embargo!)

Such then are the first-fruits of Nazi "diplomacy." War might arise at any time from "incidents," if Germany were in a position to fight. Herr Hitler seems to be that destructive kind of demagogue who fills his followers with an emotion and ambition to do they know not what. And the only result is that the old diplomacy has triumphed. Poland has seen to it that diplomatic visits have been made in Berlin and Warsaw. These have been followed up by the publication of simultaneous statements that the respective Governments intend "to keep their attitude and their actions strictly within the limits of existing treaties and dispassionately to examine their common interests." Hitlerite sound and fury has brought Germany back to exactly where she started from—"within the limits of existing treaties."

But this is not the end of the tale of the Four-Power Pact. Italy, its principal begetter, is now thoroughly alarmed by Nazi intrigues in Austria and the possibility of an Austro-German Union under the Nazi flag. This would not suit her at all. It would bring Germany right into the Balkans, with one eye on Trieste and the local German minorities.

#### AUSTRIA'S POSITION

For years of course it has been plain that Austria is going to fuse with someone. It must either be with Germany, in the *Anschluss* as it is called, or in a Danubian Federation. She is a head without a body and cannot indefinitely continue an existence

dependent for its survival on subsidies from outside.

The present Government in Austria, a government of the Centre under Dr. Dollfuss, is opposed to fusion with Nazi Germany but all the signs are that it will be swept away in the storm. A week ago the Nazi Prime Minister of Bavaria, speaking at Lindau near the Austrian border, made an intensely significant and resented speech in which he said :

Here where free and unstained the Rhine flows into Lake Constance we will take an oath never to rest or relax until the Rhine flows to the sea once more as Germany's river, not as Germany's frontier.

We will not allow ourselves to be robbed of the feeling that Germany and her illustrious brother-in-arms, Austria, belong together. We will not interfere with internal conditions in Austria, and will from without respect the sovereignty of Austria. *We can afford to wait* until the Austrian people itself brings to realization the ideal of a single big Germany.

The Nazis' allusion to respecting "from without" the sovereignty of Austria is strange. Because the German Nazis are in fact directing the activities of the Nazis in Austria. The Vienna correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* points out that the leader of the movement in Austria is Herr Hitler himself and the local Austrian leader has only the rank of a district officer.

This week-end the Austrian Government has revealed its weakness for all to see. It has been powerless to prevent the arrival in Vienna of a contingent of Bavarian Nazis to take part in a monster Nazi demonstration. Willing to wound but unable to strike it could only meet the invader with an insult. So when the Bavarian Minister of Justice descended from his aeroplane he was greeted by the head of the Vienna political police department who stepped forward and said to him : "I have to inform you, in the name of the Austrian Government, that your visit here is not desired ; nevertheless, all precautions have been taken for your safety." After which the Bavarian Nazis held a mass meeting at the Vienna Skating Rink, where "tens of thousands occupied every inch of standing room, and police cordons held back thousands more." ... Is a Nazi coup in Austria being prepared ?

## GERMANY AND DISARMAMENT

Germany is certainly giving the statesmen of Europe an anxious week-end. The Disarmament Conference was adjourned by Mr. Henderson today until the middle of next week. The reason for this was the deadlock created by Germany's opposition to the British plan for a Disarmament Convention.

Germany objects in particular to proposals which would change the character of her army from its present long-service professional type to that of a standardized conscript militia. She bitterly resents, also, the latest turn of events at Geneva when it was decided in the Effectives Committee of the Conference to include the Nazi unofficial armies (the Steel Helmets and the Brown Shirts) in reckoning up effectives.

The critical event at Geneva, however, has been the publication of an article by the German Foreign Minister, Baron von Neurath, in which he stated in terms that Germany intends to re-arm, Conference or no Conference. His words were :

whatever general limitation and reduction of armaments, if any, is reached within the framework of the British Plan, it will compel us to supplement our armaments.

## DISHONOURLED PLEDGES

This challenge, for as such it was taken up, carried Europe back for the moment to the atmosphere of the days of the Rhineland occupation. A debate took place in the House of Lords in which Lord Hailsham, the Secretary of State for War, stated that if Germany carried out her threat, and re-armed in contravention of her undertakings in the Versailles Treaty, then the sanctions of that Treaty would come into force. In other words, parts of the German Rhineland would again be occupied. All this is very grave and necessary talk perhaps—and yet ! As Lord Cecil reminded the House of Lords, the Versailles Treaty also contains the pledge of the Allies to disarm as they have disarmed Germany. If that pledge had been honoured by us and our allies, there might be no Nazi regime in Germany today and no threat to European and world peace.

One good thing seems to have come out of this crisis and that is that it has somehow inclined Herr Hitler, if only momentarily, to a more constitutional way of life. The German delegate at Geneva has been recalled to Berlin for consultations, and it has been decided to call the Reichstag together on Wednesday to hear a pronouncement on foreign policy. As the Reichstag had been adjourned until November, and thereafter was to meet only for a fortnight each year, this is news indeed. But will the Socialists be free to attend, express their views, and vote?

#### THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

And what effect will all this have on the World Economic Conference which is to open in London on June 12th? Some fear that the failure of the Disarmament Conference—or the virtual failure by a long adjournment—would doom it from the beginning. Certainly such a breakdown in international bargaining would be a discouraging prelude to a World Conference.

America has been watching this point. This week Mr. Norman Davis, Ambassador-Extraordinary, has seen Dr. Rosenberg, Herr Hitler's Envoy in London, and informed him of America's keen disappointment at the attitude of Germany towards the British Disarmament Convention.

President Roosevelt, the one leader in a

world of so many dictators who has already brought his own country out of a panic situation, may yet intervene and transform the situation. That he is willing to co-operate with Europe he has already made plain, when he assured the British Prime Minister that America would join in future with the other nations in forming consultative pacts.

#### THE INDIAN WHITE PAPER

The Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament has been meeting more or less regularly for a month.

Most of the invited Indians have arrived in this country. Indeed, some of them have been here for ten days or more.

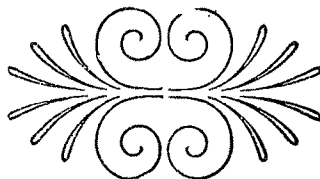
It is reported that the meetings of the Committee so far have been concerned with questions of procedure.

The first meeting at which the Indian delegates will attend will be on Tuesday, 16th May.

If the Committee takes a whole month merely to settle matters of procedure, it is an interesting problem as to how long they will take to go over the whole of the White Paper.

They certainly seem to have taken aptly to the principle: hasten slowly.

13th May, 1933  
Westminster.



## WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

[Continued from the previous issue.]

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND.

### III

I pass now from races to *Nations*. If inter-racial brotherhood is important, no less is international. As already pointed out, no nation can prosper by seclusion and certainly not by antagonism. It used to be thought otherwise, and there was some ground for the thought when the countries of the world were isolated and unrelated fragments. But now since they have become united into one world, the situation is wholly different. Now isolation is weakness, it is poverty, it is absence from participation in the world's life and the world's prosperity. And as for fighting others, that is simply suicide. From this time on that nation will be the most prosperous, the most influential and the most safe which has the fewest antagonisms, and the closest and most friendly relations of every kind with the other nations of the world.

It is most unfortunate that our modern idea of nationality is so narrow. There ought to be nothing in nationality antagonistic to other nations. I love my home. But that is no reason why I should hate or seek to injure other people's homes. So, the fact that I love my own nation is no reason why I should hate or distrust or encroach upon other nations. "Larger than any nation is humanity."

Why is it that two men who are friends, who respect each other and have perfect confidence in each other when living together as neighbours on the same side of an imaginary line called a national boundary, should grow distrustful of one another or become enemies as soon as they come to have homes on opposite sides of that line? What is there in nationality or national boundary lines that should destroy human brotherhood? If kindly feeling is desirable and possible between man and man and between community and community in the same nation, why is it not equally so between different nations? Is it not just

as important that two neighbouring nations should be friendly, as that two parts of the same nation should be?

We see men making strange uses of the word 'patriotism.' He who takes part in a war that his country carries on, is likely to be called a 'patriot' regardless of the character of the conflict, however unjust or inhuman its method or purpose. He who devotes his whole life to his country in ways of peace, rendering her service of the highest possible importance—for an example, as a wise educator of the young, or a great and unselfish scientist, or an honourable and upright business man and developer of the country's industrial resources, or as a just and incorruptible judge—such a man is seldom pointed to as a patriot. And yet which is the truer patriot?

In the long history of the relations between France and Germany, involving so many bloody struggles, those Frenchmen have always claimed to be most patriotic who have been the bitterest foes of Germany and have done the most to keep alive hostility towards Germany. And those Germans have always claimed to be most patriotic who have been the bitterest foes of France and have most fanned the flame of hatred towards the nation beyond the Rhine. But it was false patriotism. Such patriots, so-called, were really enemies of their countries. The real friends of France and Germany, the men in both nations who have been real patriots, have been those who have laboured to allay enmity, and to create between the two nations sentiments of goodwill, mutual respect and fraternity. So everywhere.

During the last half century there have been no such enemies of England as those men who have stirred up in the public mind of Britain constant distrust of the nations of the Continent, and thus have pushed on the Government to the building of more and ever more warships, with the money so deeply



needed for feeding and clothing and housing and educating the British people. And in America there are no such enemies of the United States as those who try to kindle among our people distrust of England, or distrust of Germany, or distrust of Japan or distrust of Russia as an excuse for creating a great navy to menace other nations and to get us into entanglements with other Powers.

Among the nations today, we have world-wide finance. Financial cheques or drafts drawn by men in England or America or China or Australia, are cashed by banks in every part of the globe. Why is this possible? It is possible only, because we have world-wide financial confidence. The same degree of political confidence among the nations would give us world-wide arbitration, and that would mean world-wide peace, with such resultant prosperity as the nations have never known. Why should we not have the same degree of political as of financial confidence among the nations? The great majority of the people who make up every civilized nation are trustworthy, honest, peace-loving. They do not want war. They do not want to wrong other peoples. They would like to live in as friendly relations with their neighbouring nations as with their neighbouring communities or neighbouring families. Why should they not be permitted to do so?

The late awful war in Europe grew wholly out of mental conditions—out of fear and suspicion. The European nations did not want to injure one another—I mean, the people of those nations did not. But they had all been taught to distrust and suspect one another, and so they kept themselves armed to the teeth against one another. The result was inevitable. Sooner or later the armies and navies were certain to be put to use, and such an Armageddon as we saw was sure to come. What was needed? International trust instead of international distrust.

Unquestionably the most prolific begetters of international distrust within the last fifty years have been great armies and navies. The greater these have become, the greater has been the mistrust, and the greater the distrust, the greater has been the danger. Instead of great armies and navies preventing war, as we

have foolishly dreamed, they foster it; they foster it because they create a spirit of suspicion and fear and therefore of hostility. Vast armaments, instead of being called—as militarists everywhere insist on calling them as “insurance against war,” ought to be labelled “assurances of war.” This the terrible European conflict has made for ever clear.

All the leading nations in the great European war seem to have believed that they were forced into it. But if they were, it was their own preparations for war that forced them.

Let us make two suppositions. First, let us suppose that at the time the late German Kaiser came to the throne, in 1887, he and the German nation had been wise enough to issue to the world the following proclamation:—“Germany sincerely wants peace. Germany believes in peace. Germany invites all nations to set out with her upon honest, determined, permanent careers of peace. In the interest of peace we, the German Government and people, solemnly declare and promise to all nations that from this time on we will maintain no army except one simply sufficient to perform necessary police service at home, or—in connection with other nations—in unprotected regions abroad. We will maintain no navy except what may be necessary for strictly police ends, on waters for which we are responsible. Our policy hereafter will be peace. We will commit no aggressions. We will try to treat all nations justly and fairly and we shall confidently trust and believe that other nations will treat us with corresponding fairness and justice. We shall cultivate among our people a spirit of respect for other peoples. We shall do what in us lies to promote goodwill and brotherhood among all nations. If ever trouble or misunderstanding arises between us and any other Government, which we cannot peacefully settle between that government and ourselves, we will submit the case for settlement to a competent and trustworthy court or tribunal of arbitration which shall be agreed upon by the two governments, and abide by the decision of that tribunal.”

What would have been the result of such

a stand for peace taken before the world by Germany? Would her safety have been imperilled? Rather would not her security have been greatly increased? Would any nation have dared to attack her? Would any have wished to attack her? And being thus relieved from the staggering burden of modern army and navy support, how she would have forged ahead in industries, in the sciences, in the fine arts, in literature, in education, in wealth, in the comfort and prosperity of her people! She would have become the admired and the envied land of the whole world.

My second supposition is that had Great Britain twenty-five years ago issued a similar proclamation of peace, goodwill, and justice to all nations, with a determination to submit all questions of international misunderstanding to arbitration, what would have been the result in her case?

She would have been as safe as Germany. She and Germany would have been the two most secure, honoured and prosperous nations in existence; and long before the present time every other nation would have been compelled to follow them—nay, would have been glad to follow them. This would have been the condition of things in the world during recent years, and this would have been the condition today, instead of a war which raged four years, slaughtered ten millions of men, wounded far more than ten millions, pauperized a still greater number of women and children, and left behind it a ruined Europe.

Nothing on earth is more certain than that wars can never be prevented by the madness of filling the world with armies and navies. If nations would have peace, they must prepare for peace, not for war; they must do those things which create between them—not suspicion, hate and fear—but trust, goodwill and the spirit of brotherhood.

As there is no course so safe for an individual man, as to do right and trust his fellows, so there is no course so safe for a nation as to be just and trust other nations. And as there is no course so dangerous for a man, as to distrust everybody and go about arrogant and defiant and armed to the teeth, so no course is so dangerous for a nation as

to distrust and antagonize other nations and depend for safety on armies and navies. The time has fully come when armies and navies should not be tolerated for any other purposes except strictly those of national and international police.

#### IV

I come now to a consideration of Brotherhood between *Classes* and *Individual Persons*.

Social brotherhood in our day appears in many interesting and excellent forms. The chief trouble is its limitation. We have social sets restricted to chosen circles, social clubs for the few. We have social and benevolent fraternities of many names, some of them with very large memberships, all of them excellent so far as they go. But the great need is for brotherhood not limited by social restrictions, brotherhood based on simple manhood and womanhood, brotherhood wide as humanity.

In times past in England, in Russia before the late revolution, and in many other lands, we have seen brotherhood prevented, or very seriously limited by the existence of kings, lords, hereditary aristocracies, privileged classes, who on account of birth and ancestry have arrogated to themselves positions above the people, and have claimed for themselves special rights and immunities (often divine rights) for which they have made no adequate return. Against all this the people everywhere are more and more revolting, and justly so. The spirit of democracy is rising in all lands, and democracy means not special privileges for certain classes, but equality of privileges for all.

In all ages militarism has been a great destroyer of human brotherhood. In the nature of the case, armies are autocracies. The officers command, the soldiers obey. The business of the soldier is not to think for himself, but to subordinate his thought wholly to that of his commander. An army to be efficient, must be a machine, every part moved by the will which is at its head. An army is a caste system. The higher officers look down upon the lower, and the lower upon the private soldiers. There must not be democracy, there must not be the spirit of brotherhood; these destroy authority and weaken

discipline. The most perfect army is one where there is least democracy. This is why militarism is so great an evil. Men everywhere who love liberty must learn to distrust and to fear armies and navies. If democracy, true democracy, democracy that means human brotherhood, is to prevail in the modern world, armies and navies must be reduced to the very lowest possible limits.

In India, we see brotherhood broken up in a serious way by caste. Her millions of "untouchables" are at once her disgrace and her peril. How can she expect national unity; how can she hope to become a democracy or a government in any sense "of the people and by the people" so long as these millions are robbed of their manhood and of the most elementary and fundamental rights of life? Their existence in her midst alienates from her the sympathy and regard of justice-loving men in all lands. The rights of these unfortunates must be restored to them if India is to be free or worthy of freedom.

Happily the Indian people themselves are realizing this and are beginning to act in accordance with the realization. It is one of the signs of the nobleness of Mahatma Gandhi that from the first he has borne the banner of equal rights for all, and has risked his life to insure that India shall have no untouchables. Reforming bodies like the Brahmo Samaj have been working towards the same end for years past.

Perhaps the most widespread, the most rapidly increasing and the most serious danger to brotherhood in the modern world is wealth. This danger is greatest in the West; but it is not absent from the East. Wherever wealth appears, it tends to create a caste; it tends to separate its possessors into an artificial and anything but a noble aristocracy, the existence of which destroys brotherhood very effectually.

How can this peril to modern society be counteracted? For one thing, all that is possible should everywhere be done to create a public sentiment which will make it a disgrace for rich men to use their wealth for merely selfish ends, for mere personal pleasure and self-aggrandizement. We must help them to understand that the public has a just partnership in all their possessions. They did not create any part of their wealth out of

nothing. They were able to obtain it only because the community helped them to obtain it in a thousand ways. Compelled to spend their lives in a desert, or on an island of the sea, separated from their fellow-men, they would have been able to accumulate as little wealth as the beggar who asks alms of them. They have been able to become rich only because they have been widely ministered to and richly aided. Therefore, their wealth is theirs only in part. The law of the land gives them the privilege of directing its use; but there is a law higher than any act of Congress or legislature or parliament or decree of monarch, which declares that they are only trustees. The community has claims upon the possessions they hold, and upon them. They themselves are not their own. They belong to God. They belong to their country. They belong to their fellow-men.

Society in its real interests is a solidarity, and is coming to be more and more so as it grows more complex. This all men need to understand. No man can injure another without injuring himself; no man can benefit another without benefiting himself. Each needs all. We are all "our brothers' keepers." Every man's wealth, as also every man's talent is a trust.

In ancient Athens it was regarded as a disgrace for a rich man to live in personal luxury, or to lavish wealth upon his family. Public sentiment required him to employ it for the public good. There should be such a public sentiment in every country today.

But it is not enough to prevent unbrotherly *uses* of wealth; we must guard against unjust and therefore unbrotherly *accumulations*. Whatever we can do in every land to protect the rights of the people as a whole in public lands, mines, forests, water-power, water-ways, highways, all natural monopolies, valuable franchises, unearned increments, is just so much done to prevent the accumulation in the hands of the few, of that wealth which of right, belongs to the many, and therefore just so much to checkmate those forces which tend to destroy human brotherhood.

The whole world is reaching out after industrial democracy. Much of its effort is crude, half-blind, unintelligent, blundering.

But the impulse is true, and sooner or later it will succeed. Old feudalism has long since passed away. Our new capitalistic feudalism must follow. Manhood, character, must be re-valued, must come to be the true purpose of all material development; and the mere massing of material possessions—now called 'wealth', must be rated at its true level, as childish, an atavistic instinct carried over from a very primitive and unintelligent stage of human evolution. Money as a king must be dethroned. Unjust special privilege must be destroyed. Rich idleness must be branded as a disgrace. Labour must everywhere be honoured.

It is unfortunate to have labour men and capitalists organized separately for rival and antagonistic purposes. Capital and labour need each other as much as do eye and ear, hand and feet. Neither should seek to dominate the other, but each to supplement the other. Not the capitalist above the labourer, dictating terms to him as in the past, but the capitalist hand in hand with the labourer, the two planning together for the common advantage—this is what the better future will require. Co-operation, industrial partnership, sharing of responsibility, sharing of management and sharing of ownership by capital and labour conjointly—in other words, brotherhood among all concerned—is the imperative need of the industrial world, and there can be no cessation of conflicts until brotherhood is achieved. Here lies the only possible road to permanent industrial peace. Brotherhood, industrial as well as individual and social, is God's law, written in the very nature of man and of human society, and any group of men who try to thwart its development, imperil their own existence as well as the well-being of society as a whole.

## V

I come now in conclusion to brotherhood between *Religions*. It would seem natural to suppose that religious brotherhood would arise earliest of all, would set the example for the rest of the world. But as a fact it has been one of the last to make its appearance, and even yet the world has little experience of it.

Religion began in the world low down.

Early people believed in very imperfect gods, and generally in large numbers of them. They attributed to their gods their own characteristics and passions. If two nations or peoples were hostile towards each other, their gods were regarded as hostile. Under such conditions there could be no brotherhood between religions. And even after men had come to believe in better gods, or in one supreme God, there were many obstacles to overcome. Men have always been prone to believe that they were special favourites of their deities; that their god or gods had given a true religion to them but not to any other people; that supernatural and infallible inspiration had been vouchsafed to their prophets and religious teachers, but not to the prophets and religious teachers of any other land; that their own sacred books were true and divine revelations, but that the sacred books of all other peoples were false; that the 'way of salvation' which their teachers showed was the only true and safe way, and that nations or peoples who trusted to any other would be lost.

This kind of thinking has always been divisive; it has always prevented religious brotherhood, and always will so long as it continues. Happily, little by little, the larger view is dawning on men's minds, that, notwithstanding the many names, the Power and Wisdom that is over all is One; that God does not have special favourites; that all men in some true deep sense are his children; that his providence embraces all lands and peoples; that his inspiration is not confined to any age or race, but is universal; that his revelation is larger than any single book or set of books and embraces all truth; that he has raised up prophets and saints and teachers of righteousness in all lands; that no religion has a right to claim that it alone is true and all others false. As soon as men begin to think in this large way, then religious brotherhood begins to appear, and grow, and bear its beautiful fruit of love and peace among men.

Are all the leading religions of the world today effective in producing religious brotherhood? Certainly they ought to be. But are they? I will not attempt to express any judgment concerning the influence in this

respect of any of them other than my own. But regarding Christianity I will say that, as it manifests itself in non-Christian countries at the present time, I very much fear it does not always tend to create brotherhood between itself and the faiths with which it comes into contact.

If Christianity comes to a non-Christian land, like India, for example, and recognizes the historic and venerable faiths there as sister religions; if it takes pains to make itself intelligent concerning them, keeps eyes open to discover their truths and excellences; is ready to overlook their imperfections (remembering its own); and seeks to co-operate with them in all good works and all efforts to uplift the spiritual and moral life of the people—then the presence of Christianity unquestionably tends to create religious brotherhood. But if Christianity, coming to a non-Christian land, seeks to conquer its historic faiths and endeavours to put itself "on top" instead of by their side, how can this produce brotherhood? Is this any better than if Britain or France or Russia or Japan seek to conquer other countries? Is it any more brotherly to seek to destroy Buddhism, or Hinduism, or Muhammadanism, or Confucianism, than to seek to destroy a neighbour nation?

There is no religion that is free from imperfections. But it is also true that no religion which for centuries has nourished the spiritual faith of millions of human beings, can be declared to be devoid of good.

"Children of men! The Unseen Power whose eye  
For ever doth accompany mankind,  
Hath looked on no religion scornfully  
That man did ever find.  
Which hath not taught weak wills how much they can?  
Which hath not fallen on the dry heart like rain?  
Which hath not cried to sunk, self-weary man:  
'Thou must be born again'?"

These are things which all religions must bear in mind if they would create among themselves and in the world, the spirit of brotherhood. The world needs religions that appreciate one another's excellences, that are quick to find grounds of unity; that are eager to co-operate. Religions that are blind to one another's merits, that fight and antagonize, by that very fact

condemn themselves. The universal need is for religions of good-will; religions that propagate themselves not by the sword, by antagonism or controversy, but by the beauty and self-evidencing quality of their truth, by the elevation and purity of their ethics, by the breadth and kindness of their spirit, and by the excellence of their good works. As such faiths spread and take possession of men's hearts, wars will become impossible, hatreds and bigotries will pass away, antagonisms will cease, men will learn to walk together hand in hand as brothers, and peace will come to this distracted earth.

The world needs nothing else so much as it needs brotherhood—not of one kind only, but of all kinds, racial brotherhood, national brotherhood, social brotherhood, industrial brotherhood, religious brotherhood, brotherhood between all classes and peoples—the spirit of brotherhood to pervade all human life.

The finest dream that ever rose on the prophetic vision of humanity is the dream of human brotherhood. Human brotherhood means the "Commonwealth of Man." Human brotherhood means the "Kingdom of Heaven" coming to practical realization on the earth.

I have asked: Is world-wide human brotherhood only a dream? I reply again: It is more than a dream, it is a vision from God, showing to men what ought to be realized, what will be realized, because the ideals of men are the promises of God. As surely then, as that God is God—in other words, as surely as that truth is stronger than error; as surely as that right is stronger than wrong; as surely as that love is stronger than hate; as surely as that good is stronger than evil;—so surely must brotherhood, wide as humanity, come. To doubt this is both cowardice and atheism. But because God works through human agencies, therefore it is also both cowardice and atheism if any of us to whom the divine vision has been revealed, fails to do his part, fails to join hands with God and his fellow-men to help to make the dream of Human Brotherhood come true.

"Alas, how much sweet life is lost,  
How much is black and bitter with the frost,  
That might be sweet with the sweet sun,  
If men could only know that they are one.

But it will rise—Love's Hero-World—at last.  
 I see the arches of the Pit depart,  
 The Creeds, the Fears, the Hates,  
 The carnal, wild-haired Fates  
 That sunder, bruise and mar.  
 The crest and crowning of all good,  
 Life's final star, is Brotherhood.

Come, clear the way, then ; clear the way ;  
 Blind creeds and kings have had their day.  
 Our hope is in heroic man,  
 Star-led, to build the world again.  
 To this event the ages ran ;  
 Make way for Brotherhood ; make way for Man."

(Concluded)

## BERNARD SHAW IN AMERICA

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

### I

ONE of the biographers of George Bernard Shaw says that you never know whether he is a mountain of conceit or a mouse of modesty.

As far as America is concerned, there is little doubt of the impression he has created here. Since his recent visit to the United States, most Americans believe that Mr. G. B. Shaw is a mound of egotism. They regard his audacity merely as bad taste, his ripost only bad manners. They believe that his talent in finding the foolishness of the human race is now only a genius in revealing it in himself. Once admired as a wit, he is discovered in America as a clown.

George Bernard Shaw, who claims England as his country by "adoption and conquest," has long been America's unofficial critic. Though he has never been to these shores until now, he admitted "knowing almost all about America." The old gentleman, with his mind—but not his voice—lost in his whiskers, has accused the American people of being ignorant, stupid, dull, preposterous and almost unthinkable.

It was Victor Hugo who said that every man has the right to make a fool of himself. But why abuse the privilege? "You dear boobies," Shaw once saluted America. When he met the blind and deaf Helen Keller, he said: "All Americans are blind and deaf—and dumb." It was the same boorish, uncivil and impudent St. Bernard who gave his flashy accolade of approval to notorious Katherine Mayo of *Mother India* and poured

torrents of abuses and insults upon the Indian people.

Ever since his *Mrs. Warren's Profession* was suppressed for obscenity by the New York police thirty years ago, playwright Shaw had been scoffing at America and bragging off and on that he would never visit this country of idiots. Why then come here now? He said that he had a mission, and that it was important to the world. He regarded the mission to be so important that he put aside the resolve never to come.

The mission was unfolded in a lengthy speech delivered in the pompous Metropolitan Opera House of New York City. His speech was not a speech at all, but a rambling, unrounded pouring out of ideas that were neither new nor striking. Of those 16,000 words with which Mr. Shaw regaled the Opera House and radio audience, very few can be reproduced here. Most of us, of course, listened in. "Your country is run by financiers," he said in half-English and half-Irish accents, "and at the present they have run it into the ditch." He informed Americans that they are all anarchists at heart, that they ought to have a new constitution and that President Roosevelt "will inevitably be as great a disappointment as Mr. Hoover." He also told Americans that their country has a natural genius for politics and that perhaps this will save them and the world ultimately. That Americans must be saved pretty soon was apparent to historian Shaw, because five or six civilizations progressed to the same "artistic," "capitalistic" and



"feminist" climaxes as Americans have, and then went "broke" because "internal strains were set up within which shattered them—and civilization went back practically to primitive life." The main hope he saw for the American future was that the typical 100 per cent American of the past was giving away to a new type. He thought that this new type might develop into a 100 per cent statesman and might pull America and the rest of the world out of the ditch. The great and immediate remedy for the impending doom, according to prophet Shaw, is to practise the Fabian brand of Socialism.

Mr. Shaw's 100-minute monologue did not take well. He himself admitted his lecture to be a failure. Many of his hearers, who expected to enjoy a series of sparkling epigrams mixed up with insults, got instead a long and tedious political harangue, worthy of a dry-as-dust college professor. It is reported that several hundred radio listeners telephoned to the station broadcasting the Shaw speech to say that they were terribly bored. They wanted to have him turned off and out. They were disappointed, because, as a critic put it, "It was Shaw the schoolmaster more than the showman who addressed America." Expressed in another way, the Shaw show was a flop.

## II

The next day after his Opera House performance, George Bernard Shaw bade farewell to America in a mass interview with reporters on his boat, the *Empress of Britain*. Now and then exasperation broke through his dealings with camera men and the Press sleuths, and many of his replies were inconsistent with one another. He declared his belief in his own immortality, but he also said later that if he were as famous in 500 years as he is now it would mean the world had not advanced. "I will be satisfied if only the royalties last as long as I do," he reflected.

G. B. S. discussed all subjects mentioned to him and some which were not. Here are some of the questions and his replies:

"Well, gentlemen," said Shaw, the near-millionaire Socialist.

"What do you like about New York?"

"I like getting out of it. I don't know enough about New York to like it."

"Where do you think civilization is going?"

"Civilizations grow up and then disappear, to be replaced by other and stronger civilizations. For all I know, the next great civilization may come from the Negro race."

"Do you think the literary great could organize their efforts and suppress war?"

"Why suppress war? There are a great many people who ought to be killed. That includes a great many Englishmen, all Irishmen. I don't know about newspaper men, since I am one of them."

"How did you form your opinion, expressed in your lecture last night, that the American Press was interested chiefly in the concealment of the truth?"

"That is a simple fact. I-er-I say, have you ever—don't you know that big money controls the Press?"

"I know no such thing," replied the reporter. "I want to know, if you please, how you formed your opinion."

"If you have not found it out, let me tell you the first opportunity you have to find it out."

"How did you come to the conclusion expressed last night that Americans were developing?"

"It's merely a matter of opening your eyes."

"When did you open yours?"

"Better ask the Almighty."

"It is not generally known that you have any relations with the Almighty."

"But the Americans have. Let them ask Him."

"Where do you think you will go when you die?"

"I sincerely hope that when I die there will be an end of me. If you ask me how I would like to contemplate an eternity of George Bernard Shaw, I would like to know how you yourselves would like to contemplate George Bernard Shaw going on for ever. You would have a shriek of despair and horror rising from humanity."

"You are reported as placing yourself in

the same niche, and slightly higher than Shakespeare."

"That's the sort of story that makes the rounds and torments an author. You cannot write a better play than *King Lear*. You can only write another play."

"Then you really recommend Shakespeare?"

"Now-a-days Shakespeare's ideas are of no use to young persons trying to learn about the world they live in. They have got to read Shaw. If they read all my works from beginning to end, they would get a liberal education."

"Do you really believe there is more liberty under Communism in Russia than in England?"

"I really believe it; and now, gentlemen, I have an appointment in my cabin. I have had enough."

During the Press interview, Shaw was a playboy. He kicked his heels, wriggled his hands, flew in a temper at sound microphones, refused to talk for sound cameras, and poured forth a torrent of Shawisms. He said the American people were "wild with enthusiasm" about him; but it was observed that his departure was attended principally by reporters and camera men. There was no visible evidence of any other Americans pressing on him. Apparently he did not win many customers for the Shavian gospel. His inflated ego must have been punctured.

### III

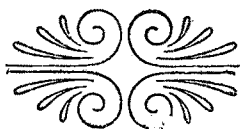
George Moore put Bernard Shaw down as "the young man in the boarding house." Huncker said Shaw was "a wingless angel with an old maid's temperament." De Casseres classified Shaw as "fifth carbon copy of Voltaire, who could never be great because his humour is not tragic." And H. G. Wells once remarked that Shaw has drawn only a single character—George

Bernard Shaw. So he has. And what a character!

Bernard Shaw's novels are duller than neglected pewter. Shaw himself has said that only a fool would like them. His chief contribution to western civilization is his plays. They will, as some one has said, probably fade soon enough, but they have taught intelligent dramatists a great deal about the theatre, and their influence will persist for some years to come. His rôle is hardly that of a philosopher, but that of a mocker of philosophies. As he once told his American official biographer, Archibald Henderson:

"The difficulty is not to induce people to accept new ideas: on the contrary, they are so eager and uncritical in their love of them that they are always running after novelties that are neither new nor true. But they never dream of scrapping the old ideas that the new ones supersede: they just plant them in the old garden and never do any weeding. I am a first-rate weed-killer."

It is doubtless, in that rôle, Shaw has done some useful and exhilarating work. His ribald croaks have made the English a great deal less cocksure than they used to be about all the great axioms of the stuffy Victorian theology and metaphysics. He is one of the most amusing fellows ever heard of. Shaw at 76 is still in full eruption. He still gives his I's to the Press at the rate of a thousand a week. It is dreadful to imagine how dismal England would be today without him. Nevertheless, great indeed is the difference between George Bernard Shaw and the really great—the great who in any country are about as common as a flock of white blackbirds. St. Bernard in his first, last and only American appearance was a sight to make the angels weep or laugh.



## A NEW METHOD OF ANTI-INDIAN PROPAGANDA

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE following was sent to me, through my publishers, Messrs. Allen & Unwin, by a gentleman living in a sea-side town in England, who has given me full permission to use it. It shows to what lengths this invidious anti-Indian propaganda is now being carried on in Great Britain. It also reveals the extraordinary ignorance about India on the part of the average reader in Great Britain, and the obtuse mentality which is not uncommon about India especially in a provincial town. It shows at the same time that there are Englishmen who thoroughly object to this crude form of propaganda, and are doing their best to put an end to it.

The memorandum reads as follows:

"The other day I borrowed from a well-known circulating library a copy of C. F. Andrews' book, *India and the Simon Report*. I found that a previous reader had given vent to violent anti-Indian sentiments by annotations in the margins. I was glad to think that these remarks were written in pencil so that I was able to remove them entirely before the book reached another reader. And I also had an opportunity of drawing the attention of the library assistant to the danger of allowing books to pass out to subscribers in such a condition. Thus I hope, in this instance, the offence will not be repeated.

"But what a method of propaganda! How unspeakably mean and underhand. Not deliberate perhaps, but actual! Such a book is probably going to be read by hundreds of people afterwards; and in every case a seed is to be sown which may bear tragic fruit in producing or at least encouraging an anti-Indian mentality. These are some of the comments (there are too many to produce *in extenso*) which I have collected. In inverted commas I have put Mr. Andrews' own words taken from his

book. Then, in brackets, I have put the comment of this reader upon what Mr. Andrews has written.

"The title-page: 'By C. F. Andrews' (comment: 'The Renegade.')

"P. 51: 'Gandhi ... is always practical' (comment: 'The most impractical visionary alive.')

"P. 80: (*General comment*: 'You can do nothing with such a stupid race, which gets head over ears in debt when a near relative dies, and keeps millions of superannuated cows in a parched land.')

"P. 94: 'India a conquered nation' (comment: 'No, a vast mass of tribes.')

"P. 105: 'Indians...as wards of the British Government...had become entirely helpless and defenceless' (comment: 'they were always so') 'a whole people (India) who had once been so great and noble' (comment: 'what a lie.')

"P. 107: 'Villages and bazaars were still overhung by a cloud of poverty and squalor' (comment: 'they always have been so, it is their own fault and could be cured by altering their habits') (*general comment*: 'they never could and never did defend themselves.')

"Such were a few of the chief comments pencilled in the book which came into my hands. There was also a plentiful sprinkling of such words as 'Rot,' 'Bosh' and 'Nonsense.' Comment on such a method of propaganda seems superfluous, but perhaps a warning may not be out of place."

It is hardly necessary for me to add a single word to what this friend of India has written. Here in Great Britain the battle has to be fought and won against an insidious campaign carried on by weapons such as these. Many times over, in the course of the past year, I have cabled to Mahatma Gandhi and also to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, seeking advice as to whether it would be better for me to

return to India or to stay here in England, carrying on the necessary work which has to be done here. On each and every occasion they have cabled back to me and written in letters that they have no question whatever that my work has to be done in England rather than in India at this crisis. More than once I have actually booked my passage and cancelled the order again later on receiving such messages from India, and on such

occasion the outcome of events has proved conclusively how wise and right the instructions which I had received were. No one in India, I am sure, will question these decisions which have been made only after the most earnest search to find out what is best for the Indian cause itself.

Meanwhile the uphill work here which has to be done in order to counteract this vicious propaganda is enormous.

## PALIT MANSIONS

By SITA DEVI

**A**BHA was very fortunate in the choice of her name. Her father, old Dinanath, possessed the unenviable lot of being the father of seven daughters. So neither of her parents had the least bit of enthusiasm left for their youngest. They had only one boy, and he too was a weakling. He was ailing all the time, and kept all the attention of the family permanently engaged. The first two girls had been given away in marriage, but they spent most of their time in their parents' house. Dinanath was poor and had not been able to spend much on the girls, and so had been unable to secure good matches for them.

First came four daughters in succession, then the much wished-for son, then three daughters again. Before the birth of the last baby, everybody was fervently hoping that it would be a male child. Her aunt was sitting at the door of the lying-in room, with a conch-shell in her hand, and an expectant smile on her lips. As the child cried out, she put her head in and asked eagerly, "What is it?"

"What else, madam?" replied the midwife. "These hussies know their way to your house quite well."

The aunt dashed the conch-shell on the ground violently and left the place.

Seeing that the mother of the child was

weeping, the midwife tried to comfort her. "What's the use of crying, mother?" she said. "All this is written on your forehead. But look, how exquisitely beautiful the girl is! She is not a bit like your other daughters."

"A daughter is nothing but a noose round her parents' necks," said the mother Biraj-mohini. "Beauty does not make her any better."

But though her aunt and her father wanted to give her nasty names, signifying their hatred for the unwanted daughter, she was finally given the name Abhamayi (the radiant one). Her eldest sister Binodini chose the name. "She is the only fair one in this family of dark faces," she said. "I won't let her be given an ugly name. Let her be called Abha."

"Yes, indeed," said the second sister Pramodini. "I wonder where she got such a dazzling complexion from. Father is positively dark, and mother too is hardly any better. I think she is like our grandmother. People say, she was very fair."

Like a streak of lightning in a dark cloud, shone Abha in this ugly family. They lived in a small mofussil town. They were poor and needy. Village people do not mind poverty so much, as they get many things free, together with air and light. But in a town, one had to pay house-rent and

buy the smallest bit of vegetables! Though there was no strict purdah system, yet the women could not go about freely, as they did in villages. They had to stay at home. Even if the home was a poor and unhappy one, there was no escaping out of it into the fields.

Abha was brought up by her sister Binodini. Binodini did not live long in her husband's family. Her husband was uncultured and boorish, and he soon picked up a quarrel with his father-in-law about some payments which Dinanath failed to make. So he turned out Binodini and took another wife. Binodini returned to her parents.

All the work of the house was done by the womenfolk, as they could not pay servants to do them. But Binodini vainly sought for something here that could keep her mind engaged. At this juncture Abha was born.

Abha's mother took care of her only for those few days that she had to remain in the lying-in room. When she came out, she laid the child down on the floor, on a bed of rags, and ceased to pay any more attention to her. She was harnessed again to the family machine and worked on mutely. So Binodini adopted the child completely. They were all in all to each other.

Binodini had no child of her own. So she had no experience and had to depend on love alone. Abha was kept scrupulously neat and clean, even her curly locks were never disarranged, but sometimes her sister forgot about her meals. As long as Binodini remained awake, she kept Abha with her. Sometimes her mother would have pity on the sleepy child and order Binodini to put her to bed. Abha was the last of seven sisters in a poor family. So she had small chance of getting any finery. But even in this, Binodini came to her help. She herself was afraid to dress well, as she was in the position of a widow, though her husband was alive. So she cut up all her silk *saris* and had them made into frocks and tunics for small Abha. She even parted with her gold bangles and had a pair of small bangles and a slender chain made out of them for her sister. Her mother

scolded her, though she wiped her eyes in secret. Her aunt was more outspoken. "What made you part with your bangles, you idiot?" she stormed. "These were all that you had got. Where on earth shall you find a shelter, when your father dies? Will your spoilt doll of a sister stand by you then? Look at the way the little wretch is dressed up! As if she is a Mem Sahib!"

Abha was trotting about in great glee showing off her finery to everyone. Her aunt's shriek of rage bewildered her completely. Seeing the pitiable state of the child, Binodini dragged her away. Nobody knew, perhaps she herself did not know, how the longings of her unsatisfied womanhood were struggling for fulfilment through the life of this small sister of hers.

Binodini began to learn sewing and embroidery at the local girls' school, because she wanted to make Abha's dresses herself. She had to neglect her household duties a bit, and had to endure much abuse on that account. But she did not mind it. She used to take away Abha with her to the school, lest anyone in the family might try to vent her rage on the child.

The school teacher was very pleased at Binodini's diligence and said, "Why don't you try to educate yourself? Sewing alone is no good. We are thinking of opening a class for married girls from 12 o'clock to 3. If we get three or four pupils like you, we can begin at once.

But Binodini was not for it. "I have no chance of being learned in this life," she said bitterly. "But if you take in Abha, that would be a real good thing. I cannot pay her fees, and neither will my parents. But she is so intelligent, she is sure to do credit to your teaching."

"But why don't you want to learn?" persisted the teacher. "It is more necessary for you, than for Abha. She is a child still. Don't you want to be self-supporting?"

"Are you mad?" said Binodini, laughing away the proposal in scorn. "I am too old now to learn the alphabet."

Abha was not admitted into the school, but she picked up some crumbs of learning here and there. Her brother, being the only boy in the family, was much thought of. He

went to school and had also a private tutor. Abha sat by him, and learnt, though no one taught her. Binodini secured old books, broken slates, etc., for her from the neighbours. Abha's brother showed her the way to write once or twice, when he happened to be in a magnanimous mood. But mostly he gave her slaps and turned her away. Still Abha learnt to read and write.

The aunt did not like Abha at all. She was too pretty. Everyone jested about this at the expense of the family. "How did such a pretty girl come into your family? Is she really your child, or have you stolen her from somebody else?"

Some would say, "Abha looks like Sita in the midst of the demonesses."

All these made Aunt sore beyond measure. She had the darkest complexion of all in the family, so these jests touched her to the quick. Whenever she saw Binodini combing Abha's hair, or dressing her up in fine clothes, she went for them tooth and nail. "Yes, yes, teach her all these! Are you a Hindu woman of good family or are you something else? Why should the girl be dressed up like a picture all the time? Is she going on the stage? She has not done a stroke of work ever. The man who marries her, will take her in through one door and turn her out through another."

These tirades made Binodini more stubborn. She would not let Abha go near the kitchen, and would do all the work herself, single-handed. She dressed Abha's hair twice every day, and performed her toilette with borrowed powders, 'snows' and scents. Abha shone resplendent. But she felt afraid and tried to restrain her elder sister. "Please sister," she would say, "aunt is getting angry."

"Oh, let her," Binodini would say, stiffening for a fight. "Lord alone knows what fate awaits you. For the few days you are in my charge, I shall try to make you happy. My childhood was spoilt by that witch of an aunt. She would never let me have a piece of good cloth or a trinket, saying it was sheer waste of money on an unmarried girl. But see what happened to me after marriage. Am I not living like a queen? Who knows what will happen to you? We are born of the

same parents. I was the eldest, and see what a good marriage they arranged for me."

Abha had no reply to these words. She was old enough now to understand her sister's unsatisfied longing for fine dresses and ornaments. These things were of disproportionate value to Binodini, because she had been denied them. Abha was only a young girl, but she had caught the contagion from Binodini's mind. She had accepted enjoyment as the height of earthly bliss.

Abha was growing older everyday, but she had still two elder sisters unmarried. So no one yet had any thoughts to spare for her marriage. For the last four years her age had remained the same officially—Abha was only ten! The neighbours smiled crookedly, but did not object in any other way.

There was the annual prize giving ceremony at the local girls' school. The teachers called upon Abha to take the part of Shakuntala, in a small tableaux the girls were going to stage. Before anybody could make any comments, the aunt rushed forward, like a fury.

"Oh, she is to dress as Shakuntala, is she?" she shrieked. "Lord, lord, what else shall I have to see with these eyes? Next she will want to dance on the stage. When shall the lord of death relieve me of this life? I am afraid to live any longer."

Binodini was a match even for her aunt. She too advanced to the affray with equal determination. "Why are you making such a row over a simple affair?" she asked. "All the school-girls are taking part in these things. Are they not gentlemen's daughters too? Sitting by the oven, with pots in one's hand, seems to be the only accomplishment, according to you, fit for girls of good family. God has given you a fate worthy of your intelligence!" This last hit was cruel.

The aunt was indeed unfortunate. She had never been accepted by her husband's family, and had to pass her days, mostly in her brother's kitchen. So the taunt in her niece's words cut her to the quick. Seeing that the quarrel would come to blows soon, Abha's mother rushed between the two angry ladies, and pacified them somehow. The aunt returned to her kitchen and Binodini to her bedroom. She opened the trunk in which she



kept Abha's clothes and began to take out some things for dressing Abha up.

Her mother was still feeling upset over the recent quarrel. "Let Abha stay at home," she said. "She does not really belong amongst the school-girls. Perhaps people may talk about this."

"You don't understand," said Binodini. "It will come in very useful in the end. Because the teachers love Abha, they are teaching Abha music and sewing gratis. And these things count for much in the marriage market. When any party will come to see her and question you about her accomplishments, what will you answer? That you taught her only to scour brass utensils and sweep the kitchen? And won't you get a fine bridegroom for her! Some people never learn."

The daughter's eloquence stopped the mother most effectively. Abha dressed up and went away to the school for the rehearsal. Binodini went with her.

The head mistress smiled when she saw Abha. "It is fortunate that we have got Abha," she said. "We did not really know whom to choose for Shakuntala. The other girls are so hopelessly plain, people would have laughed at us."

Abha beamed radiantly at this tribute to her beauty.

"Why don't you admit her to your class?" Binodini said. "She is acting as a pupil. I do want her to learn everything. All the rest of us are perfect ignoramuses. We cannot even read a novel."

"We might," said the head mistress. "There is a proposal for creating some free seats."

Shakuntala looked wonderful. Everybody sang her praises. One amongst the spectators presented her with a silver medal. Binodini felt as proud as if Abha had really been elected to be an empress.

Abha gained something more than a medal by joining in the performance. She was admitted as a pupil in the school. But she did not go in for learning everything. Binodini did not want Abha's youthful beauty to fade through over-study. So Abha joined only the classes for music, sewing, drawing and Bengali. The school building stood very

near to their house. So Binodini went up and fetched her home everyday. Binodini's will was supreme in everything that concerned Abha. Not even her mother dared to remonstrate. The aunt had lost much of her power through old age. Binodini now reigned in her stead.

Binodini had been cherishing an unsatisfied desire for a long time in her breast. It was to read novels. Now that Abha had learned to read, she could get books and read them to her sister. The book market was flooded with Bengali novels of various kinds, sizes and appearances now. The outside charmed the eyes, the inside charmed the mind. How delightfully these modern novelists wrote! Binodini had heard readings from these at her neighbours' houses during the afternoon, when the womenfolk enjoy their leisure. As she heard those words, her blood seemed to catch fire, she heard celestial music and she was transported to paradise from this ugly desolate earth. There she received everything for which her heart craved. There was no struggle, there was no conflict. It was the land of her heart's desire.

But she tumbled back to earth only too soon. The world called with insistent voice. To work! The reader would jump up in consternation and the listener too would escape hastily. But she dreamed with her eyes open still for an hour or so.

Now Abha could read. So Binodini did not have to go to other people's houses to listen to novels. She had only to borrow some books and then she would close the door and make Abha read on. Nobody else was admitted there. Her mother intruded once forcibly. But after a while, she left in amazement. "What kind of a book is this, my dear?" She said. "Do you call it a novel? I have heard Bankim's books in my youth, they were not like these."

Binodini turned up her nose at her mother's antiquated taste and closed the door again.

A few years passed off. Abha was now a gloriously beautiful young maiden. She could no longer be passed off as a child, and it became necessary to get her married. But

there was another sister, older than herself, still unmarried.

But suddenly a bridegroom appeared for Abha. The man was much too old for her, but he was very rich. Her mother began to fret about this, but Binodini stormed at her. "What does his age matter? Did not you get a young husband for me? And did not he play the tricks of a devil? If you give Abha to this man, she will live like a queen. She won't have to tread on bare earth. Have you thought of that?"

"I understand that, my dear," said her mother mildly. "But your father says, it would be difficult to give Abha in marriage before Uma. After all, she is the elder."

"I wonder at your denseness," said Binodini. "Do you think such a good match will await your sweet pleasure for ever? He will go away, and marry some one else. Let us go to Calcutta and solemnize Abha's marriage in secret. Then we shall come back and say that we have put Abha in a boarding school."

Her parents agreed. They went, to Calcutta and young Abha was married off to a husband some twenty years her senior. His name was Ananda Roy. There was no pomp and splendour. But Binodini's heart filled with joy at the sight of Abha glittering all over with diamonds, sapphires and pearls. When Abha was about to go away Binodini clasped her in her arms and wept. "I have brought you up as my own child. May you be as happy as I had been unhappy. God has amply rewarded me for all I had to do for you."

Abha started for her husband's home, dressed in gold tissue and brocade, and loaded with diamonds. She did not have to put up with any undesirable relatives. Her husband rented a very modern, up-to-date flat, in Palit Mansions, one of the newest and splendidest edifices of the metropolis. Here he meant to spend his honeymoon with his young wife.

Ananda Roy was not good-looking and he was far from young. But for these two defects, he would have been the ideal man, according to Binodini and Abha. For such a one Binodini had been longing for ages, not for herself of course, but for Abha. Now

that she had been able to place Abha in his hands, she deemed all her efforts successful.

Palit Mansions stood at the junction of three roads, lifting its proud head high. It was brand new, still reeking with the smell of lime and paint. It was a huge building, divided into innumerable flats, some of which already contained tenants. The rest, too, were being rapidly filled up. It fascinated the eyes of the beholder and they did not mind paying the rather high rent. It was built according to the most modern architecture, containing lavish fretwork and decorations of concrete, electric contrivances of every kind, telephone, tube well, and a lift. It looked more like a big hotel or office rather than a residential house.

The people who lived in it were mostly Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Armenians and such like. There did not seem to be any Bengali or other Indian family about. The balconies did not sport washings of every description, neither did the windows contain beddings of questionable cleanliness, which had been put there for an airing. Naked or semi-naked children did not roam about the staircase, and the footpath in front was not being used as a dust bin.

The people who lived here kept their rooms neat and clean and themselves dressed neatly and cleanly and even kept an eye on their surroundings remaining neat and clean. They liked beauty in everything. Soon there grew up a small children's park, in the triangular plot that faced the building. In the evening it became full of pretty children and their ayahs. Flower plants were planted, though they did not yield flowers at once. The municipality too paid homage to the glory of the building. It paved the footpath in front of the Palit Mansions and repaired the road too, very thoroughly, though the rest of the quarter had to remain satisfied with their primitive glory.

The palace-like grandeur of her new habitation amazed Abha, beyond measure, when she first set her foot there. She had never dreamed that a human abode, where ordinary mortals ate, drank and slept, could be anything like this. She had read descriptions of grand buildings in novels, where the hero takes the heroine for an hour's

pleasure, but she never thought that such places really existed. Abha was a poor man's daughter. She did not dare to believe her eyes.

"Shall we live here always?" she asked her husband.

"Of course," replied Ananda Roy. "Do you think I paid so much money for living only one day here? Why? Don't you like the place?"

"Why should I not like it," replied Abha. "My eyes are positively dazzled. I feel afraid to tread on such a beautiful floor. It looks like a theatre."

Ananda Roy smiled proudly. "You will get accustomed to it soon," he said. "You have never been in Calcutta, so everything seems new to you. I paid so much for this flat, because I wanted to be alone with you. I could easily have put up at my old house at Goabagan, where all my people are, but I did not want it."

The flat was very beautiful and Ananda Roy spent much money on furnishing it still more beautifully. Abha had never seen such things. She handled one thing after another and felt as if a piece of paradise had fallen into her hands. The sight of her enraptured face made Ananda feel the joys of possession far more completely than he had ever done before.

But he had little leisure. He had taken one month's leave for his marriage and honeymoon. But his business called him incessantly and interrupted his love dreams. When the time came for his return, though he felt sad at the prospect of leaving Abha for most part of the day, yet he felt relieved at the same time.

But Abha could not be left alone for the whole day. There was a Brahmin cook and a servant, but there must be a woman also to keep her company. Abha was young and beautiful and the quarter was full of foreigners. Ananda Roy did not trust his neighbours. These people did not know one another. Like birds of passage they came and went and no one noticed the difference. One met all sorts of people on the main stairway, and never knew whether they were outsiders or fellow residents.

Ananda had no female relative who could

come and look after Abha. So he engaged a maid-servant of mature years and tried to feel satisfied. Before he went out, he gave his wife a lot of instructions. She must never open the door, before being certain about the caller. She must never linger on the balcony, staring at passers-by. She must not trust the maid-servant even too much. She should never indulge in a noon-day siesta with the door of her bedroom open.

Abha did not like the arrangement. She pouted and said, "All that's very well, but how am I going to pass the whole day alone?"

"What's to be done?" replied her husband. "You cannot have everything. You would not have liked it at all, if I had taken you to my ancestral home. It is a huge family, and we would not have been able to meet each other before midnight. Here you would feel much better. If only there had been another Bengali family hereabouts, it would have been quite all right."

But it really became a problem for Abha. She found time hanging heavy on her hands. Her husband had brought her a large number of novels, but Abha did not like reading much by herself. If Binodini had been there, it would have been different. She knew how to enjoy a novel and she could communicate her enthusiasm to Abha. There was no work which Abha had to do. There were more servants than there was work. The utmost she had to do, was to re-arrange the furniture. When this too became tiresome, Abha would open the huge wardrobe and take out her new *saris* and jewels. This occupation never became tiresome. What amazing wealth! She wished she could show some of this to that old aunt of hers.

But she could not pass the whole day, turning over her wardrobe. The new maid-servant was hopeless. As soon as the midday meal would be over, she would begin to snore. No chance of gossip with her.

Abha could not stay inside any more. She began to come out on the balcony and stroll about. She even went out to the iron staircase at the back, which the servants

and sweepers used, and stood, gazing down on the central courtyard. From this place, she could see the whole of the interior of the Palit Mansions. The courtyard was paved. It was full of servants of both sexes and motor drivers. Everyone of them would stare up at Abha for a while, then they would get busy talking again.

This recreation too began to pall on Abha. "Why don't you introduce me to some people you know?" she asked. "A person cannot live for ever with her lips shut. We are village people and not accustomed to such life."

"That's true," said her husband. "But where is the time for it? I am so terribly overworked. During the month I had been absent, everything has become disorganized. Very well, dress up, I shall take you to the cinema."

Abha dressed up as quickly as she could and started for the cinema with her husband. The film, a production of Hollywood, dazzled her eyes and fascinated her mind beyond measure. She never could have dreamt of such splendour and such happenings. Even the magnificence of Palit Mansions paled into insignificance beside this.

"Can people really be so rich and powerful?" she asked her husband.

"Why not?" replied he. "Nearly every American is rich."

"Do they really live and behave like this, or is it pure fiction?" she asked again.

"Fiction, too, is but the reflection of reality," Ananda Roy replied. "Stories are not all imagination, they are based on hard fact."

"But does not society stigmatize them, when they behave so immorally?" asked Abha in her innocence.

Her husband laughed. "Don't be so childish," he said. "They themselves constitute society, so who will blame whom? Our village pundits don't go there to pronounce sentence on them."

They did not talk any more about it. Abha had her dinner and went to sleep. But she could not sleep. All through the hours of the night, the hero, the heroine and the villain kept her brain excited with their words and deeds and love-makings. Her

blood seemed to be on fire. Even when at last she fell asleep towards the small hours, she dreamed of them.

As soon as she got up, she said to her husband, "What an amazingly beautiful thing! I wish I could sit and gaze at such pictures continually. Will you take me again today?"

Ananda Roy thought she was overdoing it. But he was nearly old and Abha was but a young girl. The world had become stale to him, but to her eyes it was still wonderfully new. He did not like to refuse his newly wedded bride pointblank and thus extinguish the sweet smile on her lips. So he compromised. "I cannot go today as I shall be very late returning. To-morrow, there will be an evening show. I shall take you to that."

Abha had to remain content with that. But she felt like a wild bird, caged. In the afternoon, she opened the window wide and gazed fixedly at the huge staircase. Her husband had forbidden her to open this window as well as the door which opened on the main stairs. It was nearly a public thoroughfare and not safe for young women. But the call of the unknown rang in her veins, and she could not respect any barriers.

An Englishman and two ladies were going down. The man was old, he went down straight, without looking around. Of the ladies, one was rather young, she had a good look at Abha before she went down.

Next was seen a young man, coming slowly up the stairs. He was very richly dressed. His eyes were like that of a falcon, piercing and sharp. Abha moved away a bit, involuntarily, from the window. But she could not remain away for long. Again she came forward and peeped out. The man could still be seen, he was going up very slowly. Did he expect Abha to come forward again? Why else should he look back from such a distance? It was too bad of him. He must be a light sort of a person. But how wonderfully handsome! He looked like a conquering hero.

She stood by the window for a few more minutes, then suddenly she began to feel afraid. She saw that some other persons

were coming up. Who knew what kind of people they were? She did not want to look any more, so she shut the window. She tried to rouse the maid-servant, but after giving three or four snorts, she turned round and calmly went to sleep again.

When Ananda Roy returned, Abha said to him, "I wish, I knew English. I could have read novels and I could have talked to the Mem Sahibs here."

"Why did not you learn?" asked her husband, who was not in a good mood. "You stayed in your father's house long enough."

Abha pouted her lips at this hit at her father. "Do you think all the village people teach English to their daughters?" she said rather petulantly. "It is a mercy that I learnt Bengali."

"That's enough", said her husband "I myself don't know much English, so you need not learn. High education does not suit our women. They cease to care about their homes then, and only think of pleasure outside."

Abha had not received high education, but she was already beginning to care very much less about her home. But of course she did not tell her husband that.

Her married life was already beginning to lose its novelty and even the charm of rich dresses, jewellery and costly furniture was beginning to wear off.

Why was there no work for her? How can a person sit idle thus for ever? In her father's house, she did not have to work much, but there were companions enough for her. There was the school, too. Moreover she was not a captive there. Though the bars of the cage were gilded, they hurt none the less.

She dressed up for going to the cinema, much before her time. Whenever she heard footsteps on the stairs, she peeped out. Whoever passed by, cast at least one admiring look at her flame-like beauty. Abha would shrink back once or twice, but she would be back by the window soon enough. Two young men were coming up, one was a Bengali, the other looked a foreigner to her. But how splendidly handsome! He looked like a warrior hero of antiquity. Why were many other men so ugly? Take her

own husband, for instance. Was he fit to be the mate of a beautiful creature like Abha? Certainly not, not though he was so rich. Abha felt very bitter.

The two young men looked full at Abha. They mounted very slowly and looked back at every step. Abha understood well enough that they were talking about her. But she could not move away from the window. That foreign-looking man, was not he even more handsome than the hero of the film?

Ananda Roy arrived at last. He was displeased. "Why do you stand staring at the staircase?" he asked. "So many people come and go."

"I was looking for you," Abha answered. The old husband was rather pleased at this mark of love from his young wife. He said nothing more and they started for the cinema.

Next day was Sunday, and Abha had her husband's company for the whole of it. But her heart felt empty and desolate. Once she said, "What's the use of so many servants? We are only two people."

Ananda was spending money recklessly only to please Abha. The knowledge that he had failed, made him angry. "Servants are new things to you," he said pointedly; "why not try them for some time more?"

Abha did not answer. She too was beginning to look angry. Her husband had money, but she too had something. Was not her beauty unusual? How many Bengali homes had such a light? A person who saw her once could never pass on without looking a second time. Was that nothing at all? They knew the value of beauty, even if her husband did not.

Next day, she was alone again. As soon as she had finished her noon-day meal, she came and sat by the window. She was determined to sit here and look at people, till the evening. She had decorated her beautiful person very carefully.

Many people went up and down. All looked at her. Suddenly her heart gave a jump. There they were, coming slowly up. The handsome one was looking up at her from that distance. Why did he stare at her in that way? Did he want to hypnotise her?

They came up. Why did they stop by

Abha's window? What did they want? Abha wanted to escape, but she seemed rooted to the spot.

"Is this where Rameswar Babu lives?" asked the Bengali suddenly.

Abha could not speak, she only shook her head in dissent. Why did not they go away? Why was the other man standing as if drinking in her beauty through his eyes?

The two young men talked in whispers between themselves. Then the Bengali asked again, "Does not he live in the Palit Mansions?"

"I don't know," whispered Abha, somehow. Some other people were coming up. These two looked down, then began to climb down in their turn.

Ananda Roy returned late and was amazed at his wife's restlessness and excitement. "Are you ill?" he asked.

"Why should I be ill?" burst out Abha angrily. This was the first open discord.

Tuesday. Ananda Roy had left rather early for his office, contrary to his general practice.

It was strangely silent. Abha was sitting by the window, dressed in crimson silk and loaded with jewels. She knew he was coming. His eyes had given her that message.

One hour passed by. All the men folk had left for their work. The servants too had gone down to enjoy their midday rest. The staircase became empty.

There he was. He was alone. How did he know her mind?

The young man came and stood by her door. There was a strange smile on his lips and his eyes full of a strange fire. He looked intently into her eyes, then knocked lightly at the door.

The door opened slowly.

After an hour or so, Ananda Roy rushed back home. He had been summoned by the telephone.

Abha was lying unconscious in front of the open door. Round her beautiful neck, were deep and cruel finger marks. All her jewels were gone. The maid-servant sat by her, shrieking. A crowd was slowly gathering on the stairs.

## A CRITIQUE OF THE WHITE PAPER—II\*

By NIRMAL CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, PRAMATHA NATH SARKAR,  
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### 1—FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

**R**IGHT is a condition of self-development and hence of human progress. The worth and character of a State are explained by the rights it secures. A State aiming at the development to the highest possible pitch of all the powers and faculties of the citizen must create a system of rights favourable to such development. Non-existence of those rights would signify the moral bankruptcy of the State.

\* These papers are contributions from members of THE POLITICS CLUB, "a fellowship whose fundamental object is to promote the scientific study of social, political and administrative problems with special reference to India," recently formed in Calcutta. The contributions are the result of co-operative discussion at meetings of the Club in which the members took part. The writers whose name appear at the top initiated discussions, on their respective subjects. The first part appeared in the June number of *The Modern Review*.

Fundamental rights are a body of rights which go to the very root of man's moral and individual existence. Natural law philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries characterized some of them as 'natural rights' or 'original rights' or 'inalienable rights.' The Magna Carta of 1215 is probably the first conscious formulation of citizens' fundamental rights. The Petition of Rights (1628) and the Bill of Rights (1689) are the other conspicuous English examples which showed the way to the American Declaration of Rights and the celebrated Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 in France. Mainly through the influence of the American constitution (1787), many of the later constitutions of the world embodied a declaration of rights in their constitutions. In modern times the Weimar constitution adopted by the German people in 1918 contains the most elaborate enunciation of fundamental rights.



Though England led the way in promulgating what might be described as the basic laws of the State, she enjoys today a glorious isolation inasmuch as a declaration or definition of rights known to the other constitutions is entirely foreign to the genius of the English constitution. "Such principles, moreover, as you can discover in the English constitution are, like all maxims established by judicial legislation, mere generalizations drawn either from the decisions or dicta of judges, or from the statutes which being passed to meet special grievances, bear a close resemblance to judicial decisions, and are in effect judgments pronounced by the High Court of Parliament.

"The Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights are not so much "declaration of rights" in the foreign sense of the term, as judicial condemnations of claims and practices on the part of the Crown, which are thereby pronounced illegal."\*

True to the English tradition there is no definition of rights in the Constitutions of Canada, Australia and South Africa. These dominions originated from British settlements which were supposed to have carried the law of England with them. Therefore the problem of fundamental rights did not arise in these dominions. The Irish Free State is, however, an exception to this general rule. Ireland was conquered and ruled more or less as a dependency of England. At the Irish Peace Conference, therefore, Ireland insisted on a declaration of fundamental rights—rights that were denied to her citizens by the conquering power. The English Constitutional precedent as regards fundamental laws was found to be entirely unsuitable for Ireland in view of the political situation in that country.

For similar reasons there arises an imperative necessity for the definition of the basis rights of the citizen in the Constitution Act. A resolution of the Madras Congress emphasized that fundamental rights should be the basis of any future Indian Constitution. All the draft Constitutions that the Committee of the All-Parties Conference was called upon to consider contained statements of such rights. The Nehru Report supported the idea on two very plausible grounds. In the first place, enunciation of fundamental rights "guaranteed in a manner which would not permit their withdrawal under any circumstances" was demanded by the political relation of India to England. Another reason why great importance was attached to a declaration of rights was the unfortunate existence of communal differences in the country. Certain safeguards and guarantees were, it was thought, necessary to create and establish a sense of security among those who looked upon each other with distrust and suspicion.†

The question of fundamental rights broached in the Indian Consultative Committee under official patronage was discussed at length at the Third session of the Round Table Conference. It was agreed that some of the propositions discussed could appropriately and usefully find their place in the Constitution. But many fundamental rights which are guaranteed to the citizens of modern States as also minority rights were found to be unsuitable for incorporation in the Constitution Act on the ground that they would constitute absolute limitations on the authority of the executive and the legislature. This argument of the author of the Report would appear to be untenable if it is remembered that fundamental rights are a bulwark against executive and legislative tyranny and that a rigid definition of rights is demanded to guard against the callous disregard of popular rights by the legislature, and the executive, in particular. The Report of the Third Round Table Conference on the Fundamental Rights seemed indeed to rely mainly on Royal Proclamations and "special responsibilities" of the Governor-General and Governors. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and some other delegates however emphasized the necessity of protecting the rights of the minority communities by means of a declaration.\*

The White Paper strictly following the report of the third session of the Indian Round Table Conference formulates the policy in these words: "His Majesty's Government see serious objections to giving statutory expression to any large range of declarations of this character, but they are satisfied that certain provisions of this kind, such, for instance, as respect due to personal liberty and rights of property and the eligibility of all for public office, regardless of differences of caste, religion, etc. can appropriately, and should find a place in the Constitution Act." But most of the items in the usual table of fundamental rights are relegated to the convenient care of Royal Proclamations; and the rights of minorities come within the scope of the "special responsibility" of the executive heads of the Federation and of its units.

The proposals of the White Paper easily lend themselves to adverse criticism. In the first place English constitutional analogy does not for reasons pointed out above, hold good in India as it did not hold good in the case of Ireland. So the omission of a clear formulation of fundamental rights is really unfortunate. Secondly, Royal Proclamations are doubtful supports of citizens' rights, and are better regarded as useful instruments for shelving the popular demands of a dependent nation. The fate of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 has proved beyond doubt the futility of Royal Declarations so far as India is concerned.

\* (Dicey—Law of the Constitution, Chap. IV)

† Report of the All Parties Conference, 1928, pp. 89-90.

\* Indian Round Table Conference, Report, Third Session, pp 63-64, 192-94 and p. 199.

Secondly, the proposals to protect the legitimate interests of the minorities through the action of the Governor-General or Governor is fraught with grave danger. It makes the above authorities the sole judges of what constitutes the rights of a particular minority and the methods needed to safeguard those interests. It would involve the undertaking of a serious responsibility which any conscientious and fair-minded executive head should hesitate to accept. There is also the danger that a mischievous Governor-General or Governor may use his powers under this head to fan the flame of communal suspicion, bitterness and conflict.

The actual body of fundamental rights that India needs at the present moment has been engaging public attention for a pretty long time now. The table of rights prepared by the All-Parties Conference, 1928, was adopted with some modifications by the All-Parties National Convention (1928). That table contained clauses protecting the rights of minorities and followed in other respects, the precedents of the European constitutions of the nineteenth century. It guaranteed right to property, freedom of religion and expression of opinion, equality of all in the eye of law, freedom of association, personal freedom, right to bear arms, equality of sexes, etc.\* In one respect the Nehru Report made a welcome departure from the traditional bourgeois ideology of the last century. Clause XVII of its scheme of Fundamental Rights laid down as follows: "Parliament shall make suitable laws for the maintenance of health and fitness for work of all citizens, securing of a living wage for every worker, the protection of motherhood, welfare of children, and the economic consequences of old age, infirmity and unemployment and Parliament shall also make laws to ensure fair rent and fixity and permanence of tenure to agricultural tenants."

But the principles underlying the resolution on Fundamental Rights of the Karachi Congress went much further along this line and was, indeed, radically different from the principles that had inspired the body of rights which found place in the Nehru Report. The former was based on a socialistic ideology. After defining the usual social and economic rights of the labouring classes the resolution of the Congress on Fundamental Rights ran, in part, as follows: "This Congress is of opinion that in order to end exploitation of masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions."

A constitution that will come to the Indian people as a gift from the present British Parliament can hardly be expected to contain

provisions which aim at the organization of economic life in conformity with the principles of social equity. But any constitution worth the name should, at least, be so designed as to ensure for all a life worthy of human beings. In view of the bare justice that this idea involves it would seem proper to incorporate in the body of the Constitution Act not only the civil rights but also some of the elementary social and economic rights formulated in the Karachi resolution. Among these mention may be made of right of labour to form unions to protect their interests; right to a living wage, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment; protection of women workers; prohibition against employment of children of school-going age in factories; equitable reduction of land revenue and agricultural rent; free primary education, etc.

A mere enumeration of fundamental rights is not sufficient by itself. The rights would remain meaningless without an adequate guarantee for them. It is, therefore, essential to arm, on the lines of the English and American constitutions, the judiciary, high or low, with such powers as may enable it to function effectively as the guardian of popular rights and liberties. Moreover, it would be necessary to repeal some of the existing Regulations and Statutes which encroach upon the rights of the individual if the basic rights are to have any significance under the new constitution. To this category belong a number of Regulations of which the prototype is the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, and 'lawless laws' like the Seditious Meetings Act 1911, Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, Act XXIII of 1932 (an Act to supplement the criminal law), the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1932, the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act (1932), and similar other Acts which are likely to be misused by the executive drunken with excessive power. Then there are various sections in apparently innocent Acts which constitute a potential danger to liberty. One or two examples may not be out of place. According to section 111 of the Government of India Act the order in writing of the Governor-General in Council shall be deemed to be a sufficient justification for any act called in question before the High Court in its original jurisdiction. Section 126 of the same Act authorizes the Governor-General in Council or Governor in Council, unquestionably, to detain any person suspected of dangerous correspondence with any prince, chief, landholder or other person having authority in India. Legal provisions of this nature wherever found are subversive of the very elementary rights of the citizen and should not be allowed to remain on the statute book of a country in which liberty is valued.

Finally, the operation of fundamental rights

\* Report of the All-Parties Conference Committee 1928, pp. 101-103; *Ibid* Supplementary Report of the Committee, pp. 32-33; Proceedings of the All-Parties National Convention, pp 61-68.

needs to be extended to the subjects of the Indian States also. In view of the autocratic character of the government which prevails in the States an enunciation of fundamental rights is of the highest importance. Arrangements, therefore, should be made, through the Instruments of

Accession for the acceptance of Fundamental Rights by the Princes, joining the Federation. Such rights are to be a part and parcel of the constitutions of their States and means are to be devised to provide adequate guarantee for those rights.

## 2—FEDERAL JUDICIARY

A Federal Court is an indispensable essential of a federation. Such a Court is particularly needed to interpret authoritatively the federal constitution.

It is proposed in para 63 of the White Paper that a Federal Court should be established. The Federal Court should have both an original and an appellate jurisdiction. Its original jurisdiction will be to determine justiciable disputes between the Federation and any Federal unit or between any two or more Federal units, involving the interpretation of the Constitution Act or any rights or obligations arising thereunder. Its appellate jurisdiction will extend to the determination of appeals from any High Court or State Court on questions between whomsoever they may arise involving the interpretation of the Constitution Act or any rights or obligations arising thereunder. In order to guard against frivolous or vexatious appeals, it is proposed that, unless the value of the subject-matter in dispute exceeds a specified sum, an appeal will only lie with the leave of the Federal Court or of the High Court or the State Court concerned.

The White Paper proposals regarding our judiciary are from many points very unsatisfactory. They have not satisfied anybody except perhaps their framers. They do not follow the Dominions except in some convenient particulars. They should not, therefore be implemented unless substantially amended in the light of Indian opinion. It has been proposed that an appeal shall lie without leave to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council from a decision of the Federal Court in any matter involving the interpretation of the constitution and in any other case only by leave of the Federal Court, unless His Majesty in Council grants special leave to appeal. From the Supreme Courts of the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia appeals lie to the Privy Council only by special leave, and in the case of the Commonwealth appeals are in certain instances prohibited save by permission of the Court itself.\* If this proposal is incorporated in the Statute book our Federal Court will be shorn of much of the dignity with which we would like to

see it invested. Or, does His Majesty's Government consider such an interminable series of appeals essential for securing the due administration of justice? This is not necessary, as in the normal exercise of its appellate jurisdiction cases will come to the Federal Court after being heard at least once in the lower courts. After it has come to the Federal Court there may still be another appeal from a bench of one or two judges to a full bench. In the exercise of its original jurisdiction also there is provision for an appeal within the country. Certainly we make no inordinate claim in wishing to be put on the same footing with Canada or Australia.

In para 65 regarding the appointment of the judges of the Federal Court, it should be made absolutely clear that the judges should be appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the Indian Minister of Justice or of a person occupying similar position in India. Such persons are more likely to be acquainted with the ability and legal acumen of those who are to be the judges of the Federal Court than the minister in Britain. The removal of the judges should be by a joint address of both of the houses of the legislature. In making the above recommendation we have closely followed the system that prevails in the Dominions.

As regards the establishment of a Supreme Court in India we would have it as early as circumstances would permit.

The jurisdiction of such a court, were it established, is proposed to be limited to British India, and its functions to be, within the limits assigned to it, to act as a final Court of Appeal in India from the decisions of the Provincial High Courts on matters other than those—mainly constitutional—which will fall within the jurisdiction of the Federal Court. But it imperative that all States acceding to the Federation must organize a judicial system on modern lines and it is necessary that provision be made in the States' Instruments of Accession that, subject to the usual reservations regarding appeals to a higher Court, appeals shall be allowed from Indian States' Courts to the Supreme Court. As in the Government proposals, the details may be left to the discretion of the Federal Legislature. In this connection, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's case for a co-ordination of the *personnel*, staff and finances of the Federal and Supreme Courts deserves enthusiastic support. Loop-holes to avoid the 'due process of law' and the financial burden of judicial administration should not be allowed

\* Section 74 of the Act says: "No appeal shall be permitted to the Queen in Council from a decision of the High Court upon any question, however arising, as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of any two or more States, unless the High Court shall certify that the question is one which ought be determined by Her Majesty in Council.

to exist under any circumstances. Appeals from the Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should not lie except where the case has been heard for the first time by one of the High Courts in the exercise of its original civil jurisdiction. When an adequate number of appeals has already been provided for, any further prolongation of the legal process entailing heavy expenditure of time and money defeats rather than promotes the ends of justice.

Two other dangers, like snakes in the grass, have as yet escaped our notice. If we are going to have something like diarchy in the Central Government, there is the probability of having officials similar to the present Executive Councillors. In any case there will be a number of high Government posts and the recent and none-the-less pernicious tendency of appointing ex-Judges to such posts should be expressly forbidden. Secondly, it must be made absolutely clear that men from the Indian Civil Service should not be eligible for the post of the Chief Justice. An unsuccessful attempt was made not long ago to pass a Bill removing the present disqualification of members of the I. C. S. In the White Paper this sinister attempt has been repeated in the last sentence of para 170, which runs thus: "Any person qualified to be a Judge will be eligible for appointment as Chief Justice."

The new Spanish constitution has certain features worthy of serious consideration in this connection. Regarding the appointment of the Chief Justice it has been provided that he shall be elected, as a vacancy shall arise, by a body of jurists, the composition of which is determined by a subsidiary law. This makes him independent of the Ministry of Justice even regarding

his appointment. He must be a graduate of law and his term of office expires after ten years. It is interesting to note that Laski also suggests in his new book *Studies in Law and Politics* an advisory committee of selection composed of jurists, or in default, of judges, whom the executive would consult before judicial appointments are made. The Chief Justice and the Chief Public Prosecutor can only be removed after crime has been proved against them before the Court of Constitutional Guarantees, another novel feature of the constitution. Similarly, an adverse Supreme Court finding is necessary to remove a Judge. The administration of justice has thus been made an autonomous service in the State.

The Court of Constitutional Guarantees has a "strong authority, being able to declare laws unconstitutional, to decide conflicts between the State and the regions, to enforce the observance of individual guarantees, and to determine responsibilities for the infraction of the constitution." In order to avoid a sectional attitude its membership is composed of the President of the Court and two other members elected by the Spanish legislature, one judge from each region, two judges elected by the College of Advocates and four professors of law freely elected by all university teachers in law, and the Chief Justice and the Chairman of the Court of Accounts as *ex-officio* members. Some such arrangement for India is imperative for the safeguarding of the rights and liberties of the people, including the people of the states, whom the White Paper would leave at the tender mercies of the Indian Princes.\*

### 3—RESERVE BANK

It has been laid down that before the first Federal ministry comes into being, a Reserve Bank free from "political influence" will have been set up by Indian legislation and be already successfully operating. The Bank would be entrusted with the management of currency and exchange.

The utility of a central bank is admitted on all hands. The International Financial Conference which met at Brussels as early as 1920 passed a resolution that in countries where there is no central bank of issue, one should be established. There is a close connection between the maintenance of financial stability and a central banking organization. In most of the progressive countries of the world there are central banks. In India, too, the opinion had been gaining ground for a long time that a central bank was essential for the due performance of such important functions as note-issue, management of cash balances and regulation of foreign exchanges. These functions are at present performed at the instance of the Government of India.

The absence of a central bank in India necessitates the keeping of two reserves, *viz.*, Government's reserves and bankers' reserves, with ill-defined relations between the two and hence the monetary system of India is highly inelastic. The central bank wherever it exists, acts as friend, philosopher and guide to the joint stock banks which look for help to the former in times of emergency. The Indian banks are at present without such guidance and direction; and in times of emergency they cannot fall back upon the resources of such a central institution. They are always to count upon their individual resources and hence they are required to keep an unduly high proportion of reserve if they are to avoid suspension of payment in the event of a run.

The establishment of a properly constituted and autonomous central bank is likely to benefit India in many ways. It is sure to mitigate the wide fluctuations of the bank rate and to

\* Vide, *The Spanish Constitution* by H. H. G. Greaves.

lower the normal high level by means of an enlargement and co-ordination of the banking resources of the country. It will also provide adequate rediscount facilities so that other banks will be in a position easily to liquefy their assets.

The introduction of the gold standard, to which India has necessarily to adhere till a more rational standard has been adopted by international agreement, is impossible without the establishment of a central bank. The gold standard implies an obligation on the part of the currency authority to buy and sell gold in unlimited quantities and at specified rates. Unless the authority concerned can regulate the inflow and outflow of gold by means of the discount rate and mutual consultation with other banks it may find its gold reserve either too small or too large; and the regulation of gold movements falls peculiarly within the province of a central bank.

By helping the maintenance of the stability of the price level by means of the discount rate and open market operations a central bank performs another very important function. It can substantially check an undue expansion of credit by the member banks and thereby counteract the effects of industrial fluctuations.\* It will be in a position to provide India with an elastic currency which can expand and contract in response to the commercial needs of the country.†

In view of these facts the case for a central bank in India is very strong. The idea of such a bank for India is almost a century old. The Imperial Bank was set up in 1921 with the idea that it would partially serve the purpose of such a bank, but it is merely a half-way house to a full-fledged central bank. Moreover, the Imperial Bank cannot be transformed into a Central Bank without serious repercussions on the trade and commerce of India. The Hilton Young Commission's Report, therefore, definitely set its face against making the Imperial Bank the Central Bank.

In January 1927, the Government of India introduced a bill framed on the Hilton Young Commission's recommendations proposing a shareholders' bank with a commercial directorate. There was a sharp difference of opinion on the fundamental point as to whether the Reserve Bank should be a State Bank or a Shareholders Bank and as to the constitution of the central board. At last a compromise was reached on the basis of a stock-holders' bank but the deadlock was complete on the question of the directorate, so much so that the bill was finally abandoned, Whitehall having viewed the progress of the Bill with apprehension.

Indeed, the creation of a central bank in India is long overdue, but the manner in which

the British Government is tackling the problem has naturally aroused suspicion. The establishment of such a bank has been made a condition precedent to granting responsibility at the centre. Apparently the authorities have been influenced mainly by political considerations, although it is at the sometime stipulated by the authors of the White Paper that such a bank should be free from political influence. The Federal Ministry shall have no voice in its establishment; it shall be functioning even before the Federal legislature comes into being.

The Reserve Bank, as we have already noted, is to be entrusted with the management of currency and exchange. But who is to regulate policy as distinguished from management? The White Paper is silent on the point. Are we to understand that the laying down of the policy falls within the "special responsibility" of the Governor-General? Our past experience warns us against entrusting the executive with this function. Provision has been made for a Financial Adviser and this deepens the suspicion that it is intended that the Governor-General will still continue to regulate the currency and exchange policy of India. The future "Constitution Act" should definitely entrust the Indian legislature with this function. Moreover, a body of experts, whose opinions neither the executive of the Bank nor any group in the legislature will dare overlook should be set up to collect statistics, guide the Directorate and direct the financial policy of India, in collaboration with other related departments.

The conditions as laid down in the White Paper for starting a Reserve Bank are: (1) restoration of budgetary equilibrium; (2) reduction of the existing short-term debt both in London and in India; (3) accumulation of adequate gold reserve; (4) restoration of India's normal export surplus.

The Government of India are endeavouring to fulfil the first two conditions but they do not seem to very keen about the third one. The gold reserve, in spite of Sir George Schuster's careful apologia, does not seem to have improved and the Government have not cared to increase their gold-holding by taking advantage of the recent exodus of gold from India. They have increased their sterling holding and it seems they are determined to maintain parity between the rupee and the sterling and not between rupee and gold.

As regards the fourth condition, it will be very difficult to realize it in practice so long as the present world wide trade depression continues. There is very little prospect of the industrial outlook of the world, improving materially in the near future, inasmuch as the nations of the world do not seem to be in a hurry to come to an agreement, with a view to putting an end to the present political instability and economic rigidity prevailing throughout the world. In India,

\* Keynes's *Treatise on Money*, Vol II, Chap. 32.

† Hilton Young Commission's Report, 1926.

besides the depression and currency difficulty Imperial Preference and Japanese competition seem to have intensified the adverse circumstances.

To add to the confusion arising in the Indian mind on this question, the committee selected for consultation can hardly claim public confidence. The Reserve Bank should be created with a view to helping the Indian money market and developing the Indian industries. The attitude of the London financial circle towards the management and control of the said Bank, as revealed in the conversations between the Governor of the Bank of England and the few delegates to the Second Round Table Conference from India, has, however, been a rude shock. Further, it is essential that the gold reserve of the Bank be located in India so that the position of the Indian money market may be strengthened.

The currency policy of the Bank should be so regulated that the needs of the internal trade of India receive due consideration. So long Indian currency has been managed with a view to facilitating the external trade; but this cannot be allowed to continue any longer for the internal trade is no less important than the external trade considering its volume. Even England recently has been acting on this policy of internal price stabilization.

As regards the constitution of the Bank, an influential section of economists and business men favours a shareholders' bank. But in India the money market is mainly dominated by foreign capitalists. It is essential, therefore, that

the State should have a dominant interest in the Bank's affairs. It is because Indians are anxious to safeguard the economic interest of their country above that of others, that they insist upon this condition as of primary importance. It is thus that the proposed Reserve Bank may be saved from being converted into an annexe of the Bank of England, or the London money market, which it is feared the authorities are bent upon making it, if possible, by all means in their power. Provision should also be made for a broad based distribution of the capital which might be raised from the public so as to ensure a predominant share of the stock going to persons and companies domiciled in India and also equitably distributed between the different parts of the country. One further important detail that needs emphasizing is that the Governor and the Deputy Governor of the bank should by all means be Indians. It is interesting to note in this connection that when the Reserve Bank bill was being considered in 1927 the Government of India expressed unwillingness to be bound by the condition that the Governor and the Deputy Governor should be Indians.

We should profit by the experience of the American Federal Reserve system. India can rightly demand a proper conduct of her central banking institutions by the different national economic groups, in the national interest, and with the help of an expert body. A national banking system implies absolute national control.

#### 4—THE STATUTORY RAILWAY BOARD

The establishment of a Statutory Railway Board under the Constitution Act, "so composed and with such powers as will ensure that it is in a position to perform its duties upon business principles and without being subject to political interference" is stated to be "essential" in the consideration of His Majesty's Governments.\* Curiously enough, this "essential" question was never discussed at any of the three conferences and the need of its solution may be naturally interpreted as an after-thought. This will forge the last link in the elaborate chain of Britain's financial grip over Indian finance, commerce and industry, in the proposed federation, contrived through a Reserve Bank controlled by the City, and the clause regarding commercial discrimination, as also by the exclusion of more than four-fifths of the federal revenues from the ambit of the federal legislature.

The British Government have been accused of using the Railways in India, since their inception, for securing such objects as an aggrandisement of military interests, the employ-

ment of Britishers, the encouragement and expansion of British trade and industry by finding a profitable source of investment for British capital and by means of preferential rates and convenient alignment of railways. Even Lord Dalhousie's despatch shows that the Government was not unmindful of some of these advantages. The history of railway construction in India is one of haphazard attempts to secure private British capital or in lieu of it, private enterprise, with costly guarantees saddled on the Indian exchequer.

The policy of state-management, adopted on the recommendation of the Acworth Committee of 1921, again, has yet to be boldly practised. It is still largely subordinated to the interests of companies and the administration of the Agents of even the companies managing on behalf of the Indian Government some of the railways, for example, in such matters as Indianization and the purchase of supplies.

The details about the constitution and functions of the proposed Board are now under discussion in London, and only general observations on the guiding principles may be made.

\* Para 74, Introduction.



In view of the large financial obligations of the State in relation to railways as well as the importance of a satisfactory railway-budget to replenish Indian finances, the Federal Government and legislature should, as the White Paper vaguely agrees, "exercise a general control over railway policy." But the nature of this 'general' control must involve that the Board shall function under a responsible Minister of Communications, and the finances and policy of railway administration must come under the purview of the Legislature. South Africa which also was provided with a statutory railway board under the Act of 1909 establishing the South African Union, has a board of three Railway Commissioners. We note that these have been political appointees, under the Minister of Railways and Harbours.

The pressure of democratic forces may lead to harm in some directions, as in the Brazilian railways,\* but a healthy public opinion, a group of honest legislators, strong boards and advisory bodies may obviate the danger. The Mackay Committee (1908) and the Acworth Committee (1921) urged a relaxation of the Secretary of State's control and detailed interference over Indian Railway administration, which had led to a good deal of inefficiency. In the White Paper, apparently on the supposition that the Federal Government will not be allowed to have the real control over the Board, it is laid down that in order to "preserve such existing rights as the Indian Railway Companies possess under the terms of their contracts" they will have "access to the Secretary of State in regard to disputed points, and if they desire, to proceed to arbitration." Indian opinion should press for removing the Secretary of State's control and the entrusting of final responsibility and the power of ultimate decision regarding railways to the Federal Government and Judiciary in India.

We desire to commend to the notice of the authorities the very wise and practical observation made by the late Sir William Acworth with reference to independent Railway Commissions. Sir William Acworth said, "Evidently a commission...may be even worse than a Minister who uses his patronage for political ends. For the Minister can at least be watched and exposed in Parliament by political opponents, while a commission can take shelter under the cloak of its statutory responsibility." This points indubitably to the need of an absolute rejection of a proposal designed with the object of placing the economic interests of India under the perpetual domination of Great Britain.

In India especially over-emphasis on running such bodies as the Reserve Bank and a Statutory Railway Board on so-called "business principles"

merely deepens our apprehension that the British imperialistic trade incubus and the danger referred to by Sir William Acworth can be swelled to abnormal proportions against the interests of India. One wonders how it would be an improvement on even the present arrangement under which the Commerce Member exercises some control over the railway policy and administration.

In this connection the Acworth Committee's recommendation for establishing a new Department of Communications responsible for railways, ports, inland navigation, road transport, etc., offers a good starting-point for a re-orientation of the policy on this vital problem. It is essential that not merely railways but the whole system of communications should be co-ordinated and a bold policy of roads, railways, air-transport, inland and coastal navigation inaugurated. The present Railway Board should be re-constituted as part of such a board policy. The piecemeal nature of the proposal regarding a Statutory Board for Railways is an extremely retrograde one. If effect is given to this newly devised scheme which has been sprung upon the Indian public at the last moment, the result would be that the Indian legislature would have no say in the matter of its constitution and regarding later changes, and that the British Parliament alone shall be able to create and alter the Board. This is economic imperialism in its most naked and sinister aspect.

In this connection action on the lines of the Transport Advisory Council, proposed for Great Britain under the Road and Rail Traffic Bill in Parliament, may be suggested. The Council will consist of 22 members representing different interests including local bodies, trade, labour, horse-drawn vehicles, railways, canals etc., and the members shall hold office from three to five years. A similar body, to be consulted by the Minister from time to time, should act in collaboration with an Economic Advisory Council for India foreshadowed in the Report of Sir Arther Salter. Its function will be to suggest policy regarding communications to the Minister and the Legislature in Federal India. It is some such series of co-ordinated provisions that Indian opinion would welcome in the Constitution Act.

There is one further point that needs emphasis. India is a vast country and economically speaking a division of India into regions and the inauguration of a planned system of communications, along with other pre-requisites of economic progress for these 'zones' have been suggested even in the past. It is necessary that in this matter of communications, the provinces, in order that they may fruitfully carry on their programme of rural and urban economic expansion, should in groups or, if possible, separately, undertake to work their respective 'zones', through responsible Ministers,

\* J. S. Duncan—Public and Private Operation of Railways in Brazil (Columbia, 1932).

helped by local Advisory Committees and Economic Councils. This intensive federalization of not merely the organization of the communications system but, for the matter of that, the

whole economic life of the country on the basis of a planned can alone ensure the success of the new Indian constitution, from the economic point of view.

### 5—FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

The mockery of the White Paper is revealed in its true light in the financial proposals contained therein. These are artfully drafted to deny us the substance of power while dangling the mere shadow of it before uncritical eyes. The extent of "financial independence" conceded by the White Paper is rightly indicated by Sir N. N. Sircar. "As 80 per cent of the Central Revenue is eaten up by Army Expenditure, Debt Service, guaranteed pays, pensions and allowances (which are *non-votable*), the Finance Minister can play with only the balance, *i.e.*, 20 per cent."

Even this 20 per cent however, is subject to so many qualifications, restrictions and "safeguards" that the Finance Minister and the Federal Legislature will always be at the mercy of the Governor-General, who will be empowered to demand and "authenticate" or restore any amount in the Budget which, though reduced or rejected by the Legislature, is in his opinion, necessary for the discharge of any of his delightfully elastic "special responsibilities." Thus the Governor-General's extraordinary power of certification is retained practically intact.

Again, expenditure fixed by or under the Constitution Act, expenditure required for Excluded Areas and British Baluchistan, and prescribed subventions to certain Governors' Provinces (*e.g.*, Sind, Orissa, Assam, and Bihar) will be beyond the control of the Finance Minister and the Legislature.

The Governor-General's 'special responsibility' regarding 'the financial stability and credit of India' will, we apprehend, frequently and unduly interfere with the Minister's budgeting and borrowing policy. As Sir Tej rightly pointed out, this power of the Governor-General is so elastic, indefinite and absolute that it will be almost impossible to avoid its abuses.

Lastly, there is every mischance of the Governor-General's Financial Adviser proving to be a rival of the Finance Minister. "I am fully aware of the position of the Financial Adviser in Egypt, and I do not want the Egyptian experience to be repeated in India," said Sir Tej, but in this matter his was a voice crying in the wilderness.

Thus the financial powers of the Indian Legislature will practically remain as narrowly limited and illusory as they are at present, except that the Finance Minister as well as the other Ministers will be responsible to the Legislature. But the salaries of these 'responsible'

Ministers will not be submitted to the vote of the Legislature.

The proposals regarding the allocation of revenues, it must be admitted, foreshadow a great improvement on the present system which has been condemned on all hands.

The revenue from import duties will be exclusively Federal. The Federal Legislature will also have exclusive power to impose and administer the salt-tax, export duties and federal excise, but it will be empowered to assign to the Provinces and States the whole or any part of the net revenues derived from these sources on a prescribed basis of distribution. But at least 50 per cent of the export duties on jute must be assigned to Bengal.

The net revenues from inheritance taxes, commercial stamps, taxes on mineral rights and on personal capital (other than land), taxes on railway traffic and terminal taxes will be assigned to the Governors' provinces, but the Federal Legislature will be empowered to impose a surcharge on such taxes for federal purposes. Similarly, a prescribed percentage (between 50 and 75 per cent) of the net revenue from taxes on income (other than agricultural income and the income of companies) will be assigned to the Governors' provinces, subject to federal Legislature's power to impose surcharges for federal purposes on such taxes.

For the first three years, however, the federal Government will be entitled to retain for itself a prescribed sum out of the amount assigned to the provinces. Thereafter this sum is to be gradually reduced so as to extinguish it in seven years.

This financial scheme is surely more equitable and favourable to the different provinces, than the prevailing system, for the provinces will have a share of the expanding and elastic revenues, while special provision has been made for the deficit provinces. Moreover, the residuary power of taxation will tie with the provinces, though the residuum left is scarcely discoverable. But, as Sir George Schuster pointed out, Federal finance "is being considered in an atmosphere of unreality," for the new scheme imposes additional liabilities (*e.g.*, subventions to deficit provinces, etc.) on the Federal Government while its resources are considerably curtailed. Thus in its actual working the proposed scheme, it is feared, will fail to solve—the fundamental problems of Indian Finance; deficits will recur in spite of additional

taxation and borrowings and yet money will not be available for schemes of improvement and the nation-building departments. Surely the British arbiters of our destiny cannot escape or put off the financial Nemesis while they lightheartedly trample on their diplomatic declarations, proclamations and promises to India.

In the provinces the greater part of the revenues will be eaten up by expenditure fixed by the constitution, guaranteed pays, pensions and allowances, interest and sinking fund charges which are *non-votable*,—as well as the additional demands of the Governor for the discharge of his “special responsibilities” (including “law and order.”)

The Governor will be empowered to “authenticate” and restore any amount in the Budget which, though reduced or rejected by the Provincial Legislature, is in his opinion necessary for the discharge of any of his “special responsibilities.”

Thus the financial powers of the Provincial Legislature will really be reduced to narrower limits. At present the Governor cannot override the Legislature in respect of the transferred subjects, but under the new scheme he is empowered to defy the Legislature in any and every matter under the specious plea of his “special responsibilities.” And the salaries of the Ministers will be non-votable! Well, we may challenge Sir Samuel to cite an instance in the history of the world in which the hand of the clock had to be put back for “the progressive realization of Responsible Government!”

As for the allocation of revenues, we have already noted that the provinces will gain at the expense of the federal Government. Still the arrangements are far from satisfactory; justice has not been done, for example, to long-suffering Bengal.

In the first place, Bengal is not allowed to claim the whole of the export duty on jute which is her most reasonable, united and just

demand. After fourteen years of grave and avowed injustice we are asked to rest content with barely 50 per cent! This is what British Justice and love of fair-play has come to mean where brown people are concerned.

In the second place, as Mr. Ghuznavi had stressed in his memorandum, “Bengal is still left without an elastic source of revenue comparable to land revenue in other provinces.”

Turning now to the sources of revenue, we note that land revenue, excises on liquors and drugs, judicial stamps, amusement taxes, the income from forests and irrigation, and taxes on agricultural incomes are to be exclusively provincial while the whole or a part of the net revenues from salt, federal excises and export duties as well as a large share of the taxes on income other than the income of companies and agricultural incomes will be assigned to the Provinces. These divided heads as well as the revenues from inheritance taxes, commercial stamps, terminal taxes, and mining royalties, etc., will certainly mean considerable additions to the present resources of the provinces. But in all probability the recurring deficits of the federal Government will compel it to make frequent inroads on the provincial revenues. Thus the outlook is not so bright as it seems at first sight.

As regards borrowing, “the consent of the federal Government will be required if the loan is to be raised outside India, or if there is outstanding any part of a loan made or guaranteed by the federal Government.”

Underlying the positions is the attempt, first disclosed in the Peel Report very clearly, to satisfy the demand of the States, for paying not only proportionately less (as they would be freed from many existing burdens and tributes), but also for not allowing state-subjects to feel that they pay taxes to any government outside the state-territory. Finally, the provisions for strengthening the finances do not ever mention the need for retrenchment and the vexed question of defence expenditure.

## 6—DEFENCE

According to the dispensation of the framers of the present constitutional proposals Defence is to be a Reserved Subject, exclusively administered by the Governor-General who will have the power to appoint a Counsellor for the purpose of assisting him in the administration of the department. The Counsellor will be an ex-officio member of both chambers of the legislature though without the right to vote; and his salary and conditions of service will be prescribed by His Majesty in Council. Finally, the Defence Budget including the salary of the Defence Counsellor will form a part of the

expenditure on Reserved Department and shall, therefore, be a non-votable item of the Federal Budget. Thus Defence is placed completely beyond the reach of popular control.

The decisions as to appropriations required for Defence will be taken by the Governor-General entirely on his own responsibility, though he will be enjoined by his Instrument of Instructions to consult his Ministers before reaching any decision on appropriations for the Department of Defence. (*cf.* para 23 and para 38 of the Introduction). It is difficult to exaggerate the futility of such ministerial consultations.

The ministers will, in effect, be called upon to offer advice and criticism on a matter with regard to which they will hardly possess the means of acquiring relevant and authoritative knowledge. In the circumstances criticism offered are likely to be shallow, irresponsible and amateurish. In fact, the provision for ministerial consultation by the Governor-General may be described as a compassionate clause conceded to silence the impotent clamour of the Indian delegates at the Round Table Conference.

There is another provision regarding Defence in the White Paper which is likely to affect prejudicially the working of some of the transferred subjects at the centre. Paragraph 27 of the Introduction provides that any matter relating to the transferred field of the administration, which in the opinion of the Governor-General affects or is connected with Defence, shall come within the scope of the Governor-Generals' "special responsibility" and the decision of the head of the Federal Executive shall be final with regard to such matters. Thus Posts and Telegraphs, Roads and Railways, to mention a few subjects only, will run the risk of being dominated by the Governor-General on the plea that they affect the Defence of the country.

After having made the above "beneficent" recommendations in the interest of the Indian people the authors of the White Paper add: "The Instrument of Instructions will also formally recognize the fact that the Defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people, and not of the British Government alone" (Para 23, Introduction). This statement is a little ambiguous if not misleading; because, in the first place, from the point of view of finance defence has all along been solely "the concern of the Indian people" who are being crushed under the heavy weight of military expenditure which formed more than 60 per cent of the total central revenues in 1928-29 and is nearly 50 per cent of the income of the Government of India today. A comparison of these figures with the corresponding figures in the Dominions reveals the happier lot of the people of the Dominions and the nature of the staggering burden that the Indian taxpayers have to bear on account of military expenditure.\* In the second place British India pays £100,000 to the British Exchequer for the protection that is extended to the Indian coast-line by the British navy, whereas Britain does not pay a farthing for the maintenance of the Indian Army which admittedly serves

imperial purposes. Lord Curzon in his introduction to "the Indian Corps in France" observes as follows: "The Indian Army in fact has always possessed and has been proud of possessing a triple function; the preservation of internal peace in India itself; the defence of the Indian frontiers; and preparedness to embark at a moment's notice for imperial service in other parts of the globe. In this third aspect, India has for long been one of the most important units in the scheme of British Imperial defence, providing the British Government with a striking force always ready, of admirable efficiency and assured valour."

Finally, the statement that "the defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people, and not of the British Government alone" is lacking in straightforwardness inasmuch as it does not recognize clearly the long cherished desire of the Indian people to take a leading part in the defence of their country. This raises the vexed problem of 'Indianization' of the army. Ever since the beginning of the nationalist movement Indians have been urging the necessity of developing the army in India into a national army. But the Government have deliberately taken recourse to some excuse or other to thwart the movement for Indianization. Having refused the people of the soil the proper leadership in their own army the members of the bureaucracy and their supporters in England have contended that self-government without an effective Indian Army is an impossibility (Keith quoted in the Nehru Report, 1928, p. 12.) In dealing with this contention Mr. Montagu said: "Parliament, I think, must see that you do not at one and the same moment withhold things for a particular reason, and then refuse the opportunity of procuring them. Do not deny to India self-government, because she cannot take her proper share in her own defence and then deny to her people the opportunity of learning to defend themselves." Such denial has all along been the crux of British Army policy in India.

The "eight units scheme"—the pet child of Lord Rawlinson—launched in 1923, was designed according to the Simon Commission, to test the practicability of successful Indianization of the Army," and was not meant "to accelerate the pace of Indianization." The Skeen Committee's Report which condemned the "eight units scheme" was practically shelved; and the increment of a few vacancies for Indian Cadets at Sandhurst and the provision for a few more at Woolwich and Cranwell are scarcely calculated to lead to the Indianization of the Army within a reasonable distance of time. The creation of the Indian Sandhurst accompanied by a liberal attitude towards 'Indianization' will no doubt improve the situation. But it is extremely doubtful if the reactionary policy hitherto pursued by the Government will be changed so long as Defence remains a Reserved subject.

\* Defence Expenditure—Financial year 1927-28  
(Pensions not included)

Australia	5.8	p. c. of the Central expenditure
Canada	4.2	Do
Irish Free State	7.2	Do
New Zealand	3.9	Do
South Africa	3.5	Do

(Simon Commission Report)

## 7—BURMA

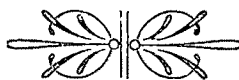
The Montagu-Chelmsford Report "set aside the problem of Burma's political evolution for separate and future consideration," because they thought that Burma was not India. (Para 198 of the M. C. Report). The Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919 on the ground that "the Burmese are as distinct from the Indians in race and language as they are from the British" excluded Burma from the operation of the Montagu Reforms. The exclusion of Burma from the so-called benefits of the Reforms however caused dissatisfaction and in 1923, on the recommendations of a committee presided over by Sir Frederick Whyte, Burma was brought within the ambit of the Reforms of 1919. The Simon Commission, therefore, devoted special attention to the study of the Burmese question. They pointed out the geographical, ethnological, linguistic, religious, and cultural differences between India and Burma. Emphasis was also laid on the peculiarities of defence and administrative problems of Burma, and the difficulties of the political union of two entirely different peoples with different needs in the future Constitution of India. The Simon Commission, therefore, recommended the separation of Burma from India and urged the necessity of an early declaration of policy. The despatch of the Government of India, dated 20th September, 1930 on the Indian Statutory Commission accepted the principle of separation, and laid down that no enunciation of policy in this behalf was desirable before the question of the separation of Burma had been considered by the Round Table Conference.

Sub-Committee No. IV (Burma), of the first Round Table Conference asked His Majesty's Government to make a public announcement that the principle of separation was accepted, and that the prospects of constitutional advance towards responsible government held out to Burma as part of British India would not be prejudiced by separation. The Committee of the whole Conference on the Report of Sub-Committee No. IV (Burma), merely noted however, the above conclusion but did not finally accept it. Mr. Ba Pe the representative of Burma at the Round Table Conference put the Burmese case in a nutshell when he declared as follows: "If the reference to the prospects of constitu-

tional advance means that Burma will get something which is in no way inferior to what India is going to get, then there can be no objection to her separation from India."

As the next step therefore the British government called the Burma Round Table Conference and the constitutional issues were threshed out. After the publication of the White Paper outlining the proposals for Indian Constitutional reform the Secretary of State called upon the Burman people to decide once for all whether they wanted separation. Unfortunately, however, the specially elected Legislative Council failed to pronounce a clear verdict on the question of separation or non-separation. It now lies with His Majesty's Government to lay down the policy regarding this vexed question.

There are two questions which are important in this Connection. In the first place the attitude of the average Burman towards Indians is not one of friendliness. The latter are generally looked upon by the former as a foreigner and an exploiter who does not even possess the right of conquest that the Englishman does. Secondly, the desire for the separation of Burma from India is a fairly strong desire in Burma, as Mr. Ba Pe contended at the First Round Table Conference. The debates in the Burma Legislative Council also go to prove that there seems to be no fundamental difference between the two parties, the separationists and the so-called non-separationists. The very absence of any clear and unequivocal move in the Legislative Council in favour of non-separation indicates the mentality of the Burman leaders. If it be a correct reading of the public mind of Burma there is no reason why India should feel unhappy about separation. The right of self-determination should unquestionably be exercised by the people of Burma in this respect. But India would object to the separation of Burma if the latter province is to be reduced to the position of a close preserve for British economic and political imperialism. In view of this danger it might have been to the real interest of the Burmans to stay within the Indian Federation. The people of Burma have to consider seriously this aspect of the question of separation.



## A. VON LE COQ'S MONUMENTAL WORK ON BUDDHIST ART IN CENTRAL ASIA

By PROF. M. WINTERNITZ

**D**R. Albert von Le Coq, the courageous explorer of Eastern Turkistan, who died on April 21, 1930, has had a somewhat unusual career. He was born on September 8, 1860, at Berlin as the descendant of an old Huguenot family. Hence his French name. His father had been a great merchant, and for twenty years the son had to work in his father's firm. But so strong were his inclinations towards science, that during a six years' stay in the United States where he represented the firm of his father, he found time to study medicine. He was a man of forty when he began to devote himself entirely to learned studies in which he had always been interested as a self-taught man. In 1900 A. von Le Coq entered the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin as a volunteer, and began the study of Oriental languages: Arabic, Turkish and Persian in the Seminar for Oriental Languages, and Sanskrit in the University under the late Professor Pischel, the well-known Sanskrit scholar. His work in the Indian Section of the Museum began in 1902. But his great opportunity came in 1904, when he was appointed to lead the second Prussian expedition to Eastern Turkistan (1904 to 1905), which was immediately followed by the third expedition, in which he collaborated with Professor A. Grünwedel, who had been the leader of the first expedition. On account of his failing health he had to return in July 1906. He started again, in March 1913, as the leader of the fourth expedition, and shortly before the beginning of the war he was able to bring the 153 cases, containing his valuable finds, safely to Berlin.

Albert von Le Coq, however, has not only done pioneer spade work, bringing to light invaluable treasures of art which had been buried for centuries in the sands of the desert, but he has also devoted years

of incessant labour to a searching investigation and elaboration of his finds, examining them with regard to their historical and cultural relations, piecing together innumerable fragments of frescoes and silk paintings, and arranging, as much as possible, in historical order the specimens of plastic art. Last not least, it is also his great merit, that by his energy and enthusiasm he succeeded in securing worthy exhibition rooms for all the precious remnants of an ancient culture which he had discovered, in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin. When years ago I had the pleasure and privilege of being shown by the learned and enthusiastic discoverer himself over the two or three small rooms which were then reserved for the Turfan finds in the Museum, he complained that the greater part of his finds was still buried in cases lying in the cellars of the Museum. Now, the Central Asian works of art have been given a prominent place in the Museum where they cover the greater part of the ground floor. Here the student of Oriental art has ample opportunity of studying these valuable remnants of a strangely mixed culture to which so many races and peoples—Greeks, Iranians, Indians, Turks and Chinese—have contributed.

But Dr. A. von Le Coq was not only an explorer and organizer, but also a great scholar. He was a specialist in Old Turkish, and edited the Turkish-Manichaean texts of the Turfan finds. Here he has worked together with his friend and colleague at the Museum, the great linguist Professor F. W. K. Müller who, by a strange and melancholy coincidence, died only three days before A. von Le Coq. His greatest literary achievement, however, is in the field of archaeology. He will be known by his monumental work *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, which he began in 1920, and the sixth volume of which was published



WALL PAINTING IN A CAVE TEMPLE AT QYZIL



Mountain Scenery and Legend of Sama-Jataka

[From A. von Le Coq, DIE BUDDHISTISCHE SPATANTIKE IN MITTELASIEN, Part VII, Pl. 12

[by the kind permission of the publishers]





*Above—Bodhisattva Maitreya in the Tusita Heaven (Cave of the Apsaras)*

*Below—Kinnari and Tendril Border (Kinnari Cave)*

[From A. von Le Coq, DIE BUDDHISTISCHE SPATANTIKE IN MITTELASIEN, Part VII. Plate 26]

[by the kind permission of the publishers]



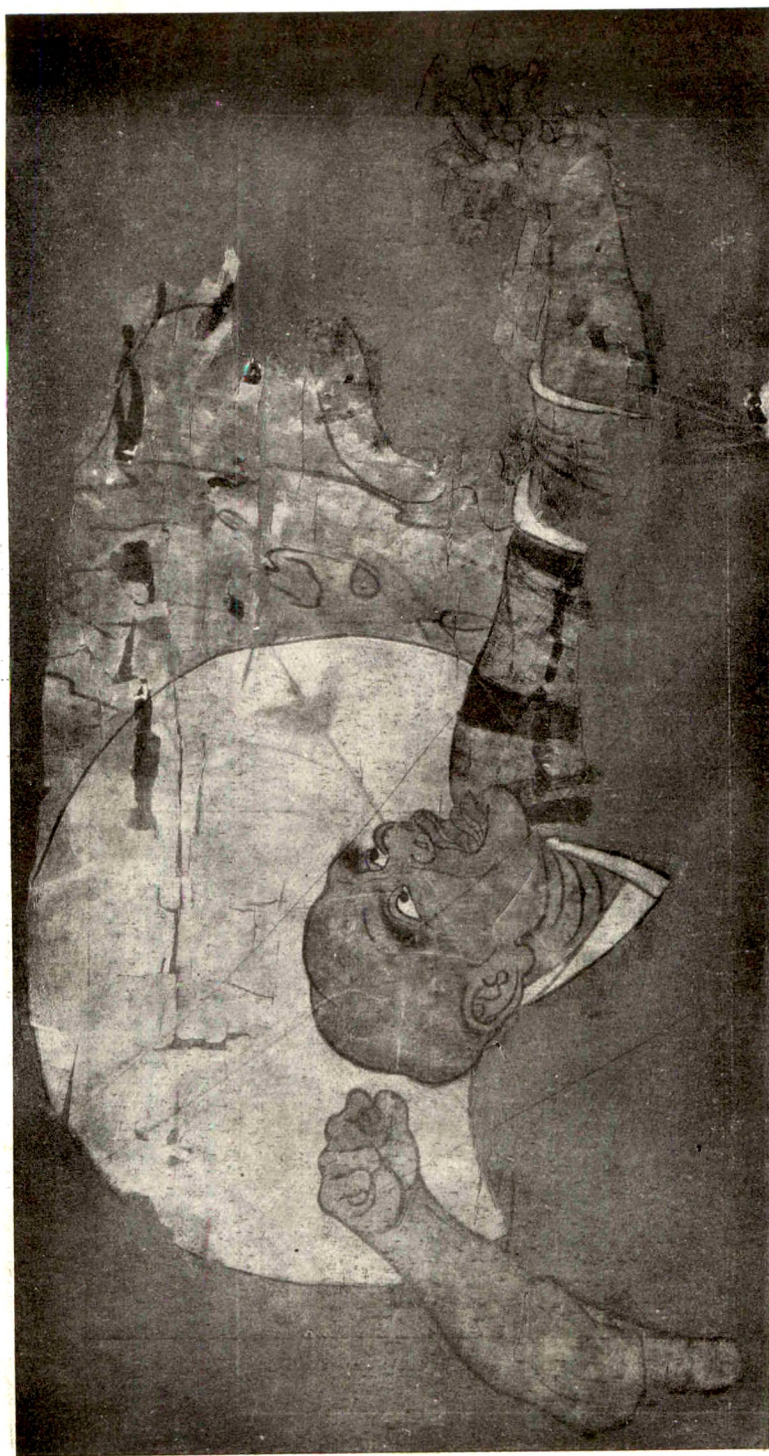


Fig. A. von *Le Coq*, An Arhat (Buddhist Saint) in Rage  
DIE BUDDHISTISCHE SPATANTIKE IN MITTELASIEN, Part VII, Plate 33  
[by the kind permission of the publishers]



CHATURMUKHA SIVA FROM NACHNA



Busts of Siva

See article by K. P. Jayaswal on p. 68



Busts of Siva



in 1928 (see *M. R.* April 1925, p. 416 ff.; October 1926, p. 403 ff.; March 1929, p. 297 ff.) He was preparing the seventh and final volume which was to crown his life's work, when he fell seriously ill and was taken away, in the midst of his work.

Dr. Ernst Waldschmidt, the successor of Dr. A. von Le Coq at the Museum, undertook the task of selecting the picture material and editing the text of the volume. But in these times of economic crises the publication of such a costly work seemed well-nigh impossible. It is only due to the devotion and indefatigable efforts of the widow of the departed, Frau Elinor von Le Coq, that financial help could be secured from the *Societe des amis du Musee Guimet* at Paris, the *Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst* at Berlin, the *Harvard Yenching Institute* at Cambridge, Mass. and some private lovers of art, in order to bring out this splendid memorial volume for the great explorer and scholar.\*

The volume is introduced by three short essays, the first being from Professor Friedrich Sarre on the traces of Persian art in Turfan. He shows how Iranian elements can be traced in the Buddhist wall-paintings of Central Asia, f. i., in the costumes and arms of warriors or in the shape and head-gear of horses. Fabulous animals too which play a great rôle in Persian-Achaemenidian art, occur in the Turfan paintings, though these show also influences from China. Figured Sassanidian silks also have found their way to Turfan. Of the greatest importance are the Manichaeon wall—and miniature paintings discovered by Le Coq. This art has been of immense influence on the art of Persia and Mesopotamia.

Professor Otto Kümél contributes an essay on Turfan and Chinese art. The

Chinese wall-paintings of Eastern Turkistan rescued by Le Coq are the oldest remnants of religious architectural painting in China. A precious fragment of the horse Kanthaka (Plate 32) on which Prince Siddhartha flees from the palace into "houselessness," the richly ornamented Parinirvana (Plate 30), and the wonderfully characteristic figure of an Arhat in rage (Plate 33) are masterpieces of Chinese art.



Albert von Le Coq

The third introductory essay is by Professor Heinrich Lüders on the importance of the Turfan finds for Oriental philology.

Not only wonderful works of art which had been buried in the sands of Turkistan, have been brought to light by the labours of Le Coq, but also innumerable fragments of manuscripts and written documents, on palm leaf, birch bark, wood, leather, silk, and paper. Invaluable are the literary remains which have been unearthed. Fragments of the old Sanskrit canon of the Sarvastivadins, which had been long lost in India and hitherto only known by their Chinese translations, have been discovered. Thus the *Pratimoksa Sutra*, the confession formula of the Buddhists, and the *Udanavarga*, a large collection of Buddhist sentences, similar to the *Dhammapada*, could be almost entirely restored from the Berlin

\* *Ergebnisse der kgl. Preussischen Turfan-Expeditionen*: A. von Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*. Siebenter Schluss Teil, Neue Bildwerke III ausgewählt und bearbeitet von Ernst Waldschmidt. Mit Geleitworten von Otto Kümél. Heinrich Lüders and Friedrich Sarre. Dietrich Reimer Ernst Vohsen in Berlin 1932. Size 34 x 45 cm. The volume also contains a list of the preserved paintings of the Indo-Iranian style from the most important sites of the oasis of Kucha and an index to the text and plates of volumes I to VII.



fragments. Fragments of a drama of Asvaghosa, and of two other plays which also belong either to Asvaghosa himself or at least to his school, have been discovered and edited by Professor Lüders himself. It has also been possible to restore from the Turfan fragments the hymns of the Buddhist poet Matricheta, a contemporary of Asvaghosa. To Prof. Lüders we also owe an edition of the fragments of Kumaralata's *Kalpanamanditika Dristantapankti*, a narrative work after the manner of Asvaghosa's *Sutralamkara*. The latter is only known by a French translation of the Chinese version (translated by Kumarajiva about 405 A. D.), Prof. Lüders thinks that the work of Kumaralata was wrongly ascribed to Asvaghosa. But, as Prof. Nobel has shown, it is more probable that the *Kalpanamanditika* is an imitation of Asvaghosa's *Sutralamkara*.

Along with fragments of Sanskrit MSS. there were also found numerous fragments of works written in a script derived from the Indian Brahmi, but into hitherto unknown Central Asian languages (Tokharian and Kuchean). These fragments also belong to Buddhist literature. There were also found fragments in different Iranian languages and scripts, the oldest remnants of the Manichaean religion, and again Soghdian fragments some of which contain translations of Buddhist Sanskrit, others Christian texts. There are also Christian, Buddhist and Manichaean texts and translations in the Uighurian language. And even fragments of Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Tangutian works are among the manuscripts from Turfan, preserved in the Berlin Museum.

The bulk of the present volume is made up by the 34 heliotype plates, ten of which are in finest facsimile colour heliotype. Most of the plates are reproductions of wall-paintings, found in Qyzil and Qumtura near Kucha, chiefly from the large site of the Ming-öi or "The Thousand Monasteries," consisting of many hundreds of cave temples. The paintings here reproduced are among the finest of the whole collection. It is astonishing how wonderfully fresh the colours of these paintings still are after the lapse of so many centuries.

Dr. Waldschmidt gives a full description

of these plates, introduced by an essay on the sites in which the wall-paintings are found, on the style of the paintings and their probable date. This descriptive part is illustrated by 50 pictures in the text and 4 plates. As there are no dated inscriptions, only a relative chronology of the paintings is possible. Le Coq used to date the Ming-öi of Qyzil somewhere between the 5th and 8th centuries A. D. About the middle of the 8th century the settlement seems already to have been deserted or destroyed. The oldest fragments of manuscripts found in the caves of Qyzil are dated by Prof. Lüders as far back as the 2nd century, while others may be dated about 600 A. D. One of the caves, termed "the painters' cave," because some of the painters have painted their own portraits with brush and paint-pot in their hands, on the walls at the entrance, can be dated more accurately. For over one of the heads painted here, an inscription is engraved, giving the name of the artist. This inscription shows an archaic form of the Brahmi script, corresponding to manuscripts of about 500 A. D. From this and other facts Dr. Waldschmidt makes it plausible that the paintings of the earlier type belong to the time about 500 A. D., those of the later type to the period from 600 to 650 A. D.

Two types of style are clearly to be distinguished, the one Indo-Iranian, and the other Chinese. The first is dependent on the Buddhist art of Gandhara, and shows variations according to the different periods. Quite different is the Chinese-Buddhist style in the paintings from Qumtura. The painters of these paintings were, as can be seen from many portraits of the donors, of a Turkish race. Their compositions show clearly Chinese influence. There is more life and far more individualizing in them, than in the paintings of the Indo-Iranian style. Le Coq is probably right in ascribing the paintings of the Chinese style to the 8th and 9th centuries A. D.

By the kind permission of the publishers we are able to reproduce plates XII, XXVI and XXXIII.

Plate XII is one of the three plates reproducing paintings from the ceiling of one of the caves, belonging to the site of the "Thousand



Monasteries," and ascribed to the period of about 600 to 650 A. D. They show mountain sceneries with representations of Buddhist legends. In the piece which is reproduced on Plate XII, we have a representation of the well-known Sama-Jataka. This is the popular legend which shows certain points of contact with the tragic story told by King Dasaratha on his death-bed. Sama, or Syama in Sanskrit, is a pious hermit boy, who lives in the forest with his blind parents and devotes himself entirely to attending on them. One day, while he is fetching water for them, he is struck by a poisoned arrow which was aimed at him by King Piliyakkha of Benares, who in the wantonness of the chase mistook him for an antelope. No curse, no angry word escapes the lips of the youth, but only a woeful lament at the fate of his poor parents, who are now bereft of their only support. Remorsefully the king consoles him and promises to undertake the care of his parents. He goes to meet the bereft parents and after announcing to them the dreadful news, offers himself to take the place of their son and to take care of them as Sama did. The parents however beseech him to lead them to the place where their dear son was lying dead. In view of the dead body they burst out in touching plaints, but finally succeed, by a truth-miracle (*sacca-kiriya*) to bring their son to life again. This legend was popular at least since the third century B. C., as we find it represented already on a relief on the *Stupa* of Sanchi. It is also found in the Gandhara sculptures of Jamalgarhi, and in Ajanta, and in several Central Asian paintings. The scene we see in our painting is the following: We see the young hermit kneeling on the banks of a lake, holding a pitcher in his right hand and drawing water from the lake with an arrow piercing his breast. To the left of this we see the king on horseback, holding a drawn bow. Above the lake which is given from a bird's eye in a round form, the mountain scenery is enlivened by the figures of two monkeys, the one sitting in the posture of a meditating ascetic, while the other rushes against him, as if shouting at him in a rage.

Plate XXVI shows the Bodhisattva Maitreya in the Tusita heaven, surrounded

by six Tusita gods, marked as such by the nimbus, surrounding their heads. The figure of Maitreya himself is unfortunately much damaged. The picture is taken from the cave, called "the cave of the Apsaras" from the graceful figures of divine women at the entrance of the cave at Qumtura, and ascribed to the 8th century A.D.

On the same plate we have two pieces of a highly decorative tendril border from the "Kinnari Cave" of Gumtura, the one (b) shows the figures of Kinnaris, celestial beings with a human upper part of the body, while the lower part is that of a bird, surrounded by tendrils and flowers.

Plate XXXIII is the reproduction of a painting on silk, found beneath the cave of the Eighty-four Siddhas at Turfan. It shows the head and arms of a Buddhist saint (an Arhat) in a rage, raising his left arm, as if he were threatening some demon, and stretching out his right fist, as if prepared to knock down the fiend. The painting is perhaps the most characteristic specimen of the Chinese style, and a masterpiece of Chinese art. It is ascribed to the 8th or 9th century A.D.

Dr. A. von Le Coq's chief endeavour has always been to show, how Hellenistic art has survived in the art of Central Asia. Therefore he has chosen for his great work the title "Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien" (Buddhist late-Hellenistic art in Central Asia.) As early Christian art was inspired by the late Greek art, so early Buddhist art owed its origin to the contact with the late Hellenistic art of Bactria and North-Western India, and he was anxious to trace the latest phases of this art in Central Asia. However with the progress of his researches Dr. von Le Coq found more and more that besides the Hellenistic there were also considerable Indian, Iranian, and Chinese elements to be traced in these remains of Central Asian art. Both the art treasures and the numerous fragments of literary works brought from the ruins of Eastern Turkistan, are proofs of a long and constant cultural exchange not only from West to East, but also from East to West. Eastern Turkistan must have been a great centre of culture, before it was destroyed partly by Mongol hordes and Muhammadan fanatics, partly by



great natural catastrophes. We have every reason to be thankful to all those pioneers who like Albert von Le Coq have saved from oblivion and entire destruction at least the remains which were still left of this ancient culture. Dr. A. von Le Coq's monumental work, which now lies before us in seven splendid volumes, will always be indispensable to those who wish to make an earnest study of the history of Buddhist art in Central Asia, even to those who can see the original works of

art exhibited in the twelve rooms of the Ethnographical Museum at Berlin. But Indian archaeologists, historians and lovers of oriental art who may not be able to pay a visit to Berlin, will find ample food for study and research in these volumes with no less than 192 plates, on which the most remarkable remains both of works of plastic art and of paintings are excellently reproduced and minutely described.

## SIVA BUSTS AT NACHNA (AJAIGARH STATE, C.I.)

*Cir. 320-350 A.D.*

By K. P. JAYASWAL

THE temple of the *Chaturmukha* (four-faced) Siva bust at Nachna, a village in a recess of the Vindhya, in the present State of Ajaigarh, Central India, has been mentioned in this Review and described in my *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.* Cunningham who first brought it on record and the late R. D. Banerji who emphasized its importance in 1919 left the figure inside the temple unreproduced. Last December my brother Mr. U. S. Jayaswal, Civil Engineer, tried to photograph the sculpture and he could obtain only an outline. His effort having been only partially successful, another attempt was made by that enthusiastic archaeologist—Mr. Sarada Prasad of Satna, and he has succeeded. The photographs taken by him reached me too late for my book. But as they are very important in the history of the so-called Gupta sculpture, I place them before the public through the pages of *The Modern Review*.

The temple is connected with a large reservoir close by. Every Hindu temple had to be endowed with a *jalasaya* (reservoir) as part of the pious foundation. The reservoir at Nachna is dated by an inscription of the reign of Prithivishena I, the Vakataka king who was a contemporary of Samudra

Gupta. The age of the sculpture will thus be 320-350 A.D.

Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has pointed out in the *Golden Book of Tagore* and elsewhere that there is a definite spiritual motive in the sculptures of the Gupta epoch which distinguishes them from the Kushan images. That motive is the Saiva ascetic *mudra* of *dhyana* (ध्यान). That motive is the soul of this sculpture.

The motive originated in the time of the Bharasiva Naga emperors, and was followed up in the next epoch of the Vakataka emperors, and then taken up by the Guptas.

It is rightly pointed out by Mr. Chanda and Dr. Kramrisch that the Trikamala image of the Buddha from Bodh Gaya (now in the Indian Museum) belongs to this class and that it is dated in the Chedi era. I have shown in my *History* that the Chedi era was started by the Vakatakas in 248 A.D.

Now the Nachna bust is more pronounced in its spiritual aspect (from the Brahmanical point of view) than the Bodh Gaya Buddha, and is a sure link, coming as it does from the Chedi country. It is almost contemporary with the Buddha figure, and for a Brahmanical sculpture it is earlier than all the true Gupta images.

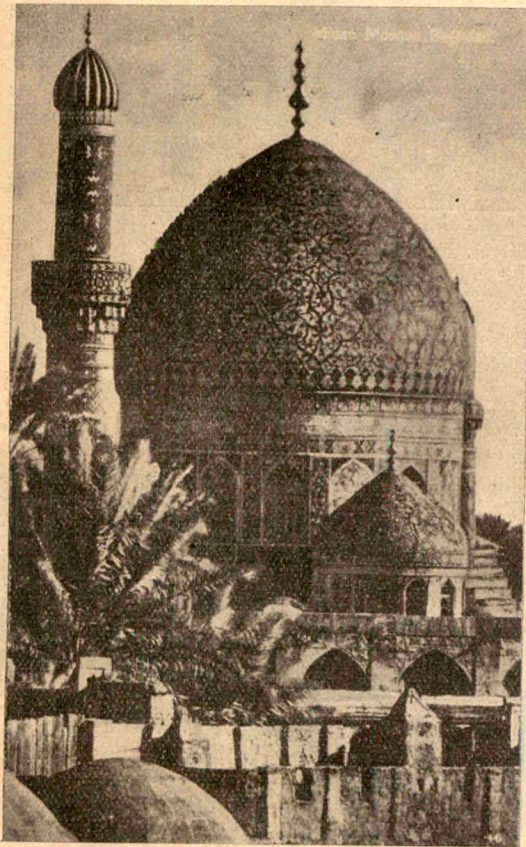


## ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

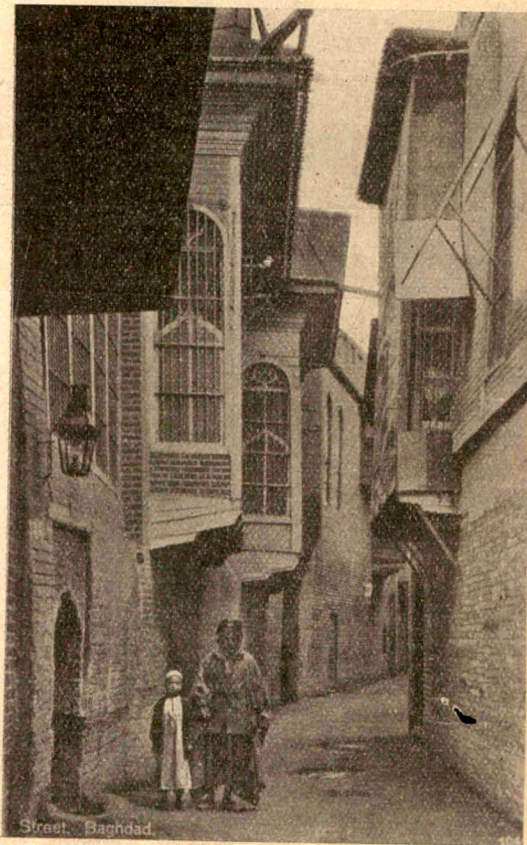
By K. N. CHATTERJI

IN Baghdad, we got some of the much needed rest that was long overdue. So far the stimulus of seeing ever-new scenes and experiencing new sensations had kept us going. Now that we were nearing the end of the journey, our stock of energy was also running out. Of course, this was also a new land and a new

interchange of culture and commodity with this country, that is now proving to be of a special nature altogether. The finding of Indus valley relics at Ur has carried back that intercourse to the dawn of history and the records of the last thousand years of our land show the unmistakable impress of the Arab civilization of the Caliphate, directly



Baghdad. The Midan Mosque



Baghdad. An Old Street

people, and further, from the historical and archaeological point of view, an extremely interesting country too. Apart from what the civilizations of the world owe to Mesopotamia, India herself has had an age-long

transmitted in the beginning, and more and more indirect towards the end. On the other hand there is now not the least doubt that the genesis of the Arab civilization owes a great deal to the philosophers and





Jaffar Pasha. The Poet. H. M. Feisal I.



Kadhimain. Mosque and Shrine





In Sheikh Subail's Tent

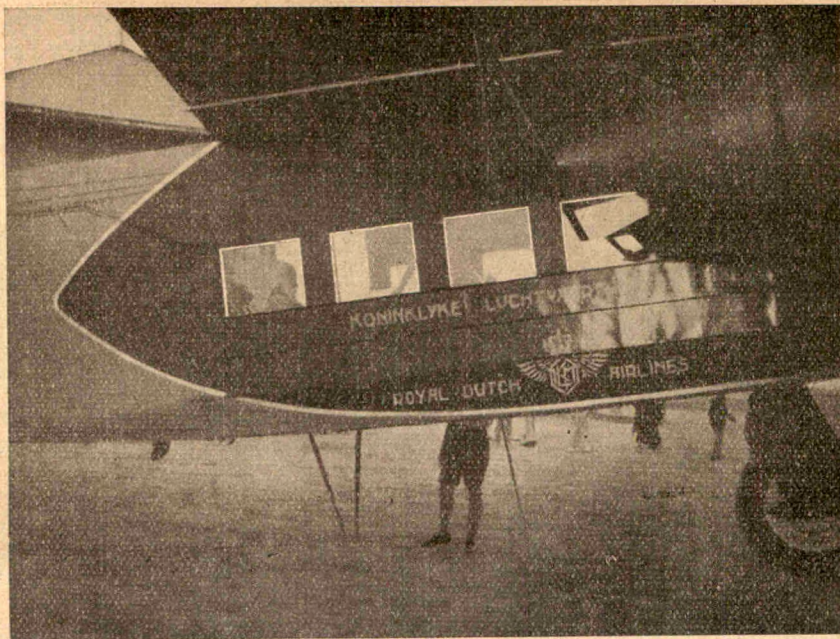
scientists of India, who were welcome at the court of the Caliphs, and in this way the cultural exchange seems to have been continued for over four milleniums. It is true the links seem to be broken at present, but there are indications to show that the chain was complete once.

Baghdad of today is a curious mixture of the extremely modern and the extremely mediaeval. The progressive part is almost European in many aspects, the rest (forming the large majority) are almost stationary at the stage they reached centuries ago. There is no doubt that a determined attempt will be made for the advancement of the of the country under the new regime, but as yet a real start has hardly been made. It is apparent that what progress there is, is for the convenience of the West, and it has stopped at that. The real urge for progress has only just begun. Let us hope it will gather speed as it goes.

The Poet was fêted and welcomed as in Persia, but here the effects of the physical strain began to tell on him, and so all functions had to be curtailed and most of them dropped altogether. Still there was a unofficial tea-party at H. M. King Feisal's garden house, a state dinner at His Majesty's palace, at both of which the King was very affable and held long conversations with the Poet. At the tea-party we met some of the heroes of the Arab revolt during the Great War, the most notable being Jaffar Pasha of the Senussi war fame. H. M. King Feisal's record of military campaigning and statecraft is one of the most wonderful chapters of the war and in conjunction with the exploits of his comrades in arms, under the guidance of Colonel Lawrence, reads almost like a mediaeval romance of chivalry and derring-do.

Besides the above functions, there was a garden-party given by the Literary Society of Baghdad, a dinner by the Teacher's Association of Iraq—which festive event lasted till about midnight, the "pièce de resistance"





Baghdad. The Poet's Departure

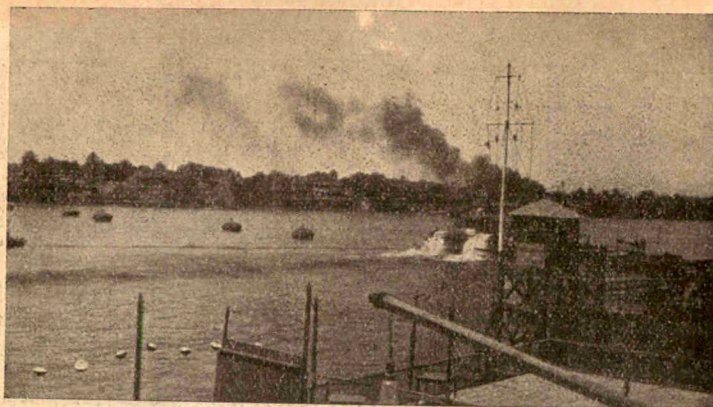


The Bedouin War Dance

being an extempore speech by the Poet, sparkling with humour,—and a tea-party by the Baghdad Indian Association. We further spent a day with Sheikh Suhail of Beni

Tammani—the Bedouin chief of Kadhimain—who gave us a taste of the far-famed Arab hospitality. Gigantic platters containing enormous piles of pilao, entire lambs



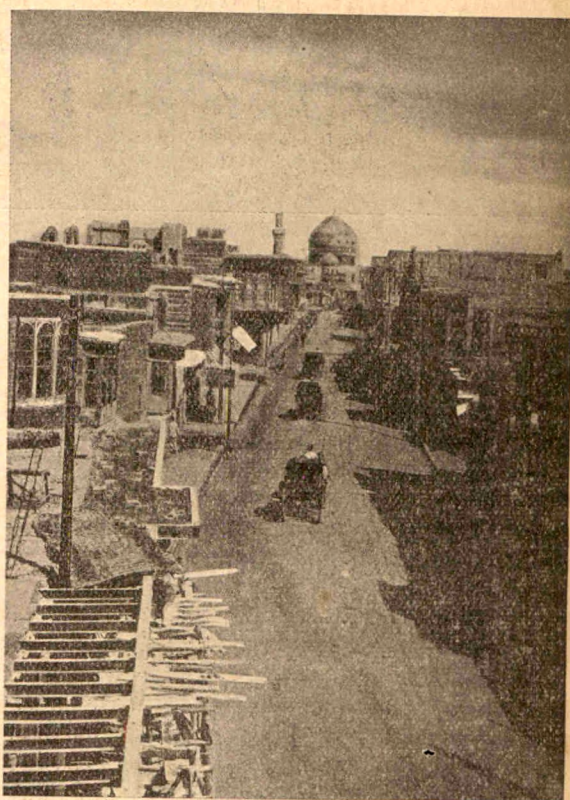


Baghdad. The Tigris from the Hotel Terrace



Baghdad. Interior of Mosque Sheikh Abdul Kader

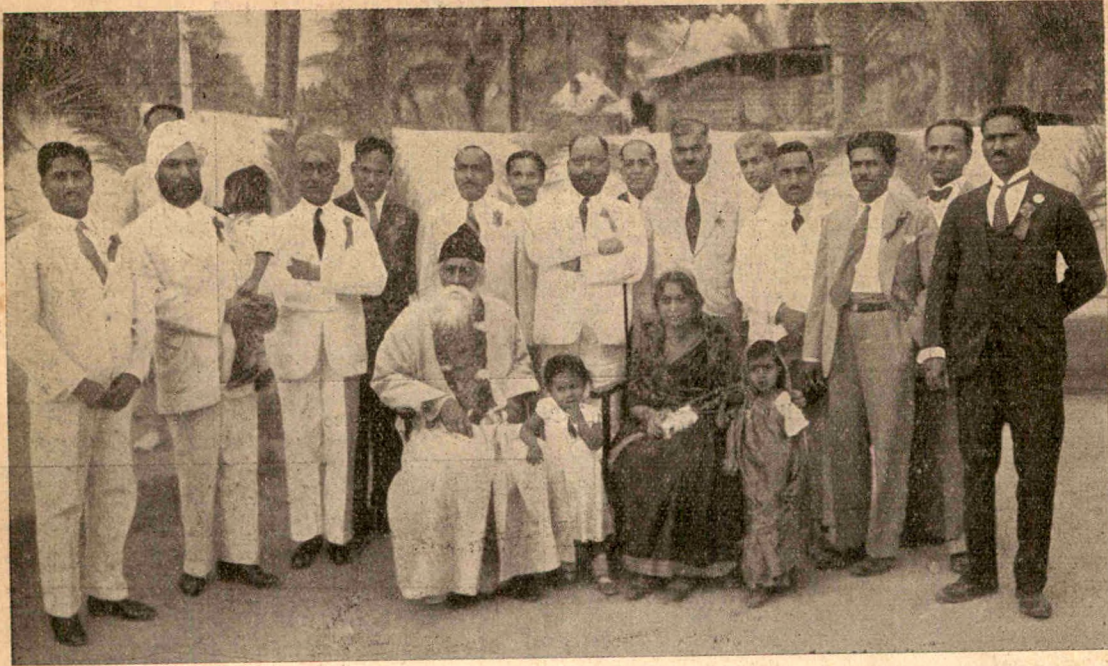
roasted whole and other edibles in equal proportion, washed down by draughts of sour milk (liban), followed by delicious Arab coffee—served, a few drops at a time, in miniature cups, completed the repast. The Sheikh's welcoming speech was admirable both in its brevity and in its wholeheartedness.



Baghdad. A New Street

He said :—"I am an Arab of the desert. I have neither the educational nor other equipment to welcome adequately a guest like you—even in this address of welcome there may be errors of grammar. So if you find my welcome wanting in any respect, you will know that it is due to our lack of know-





Baghdad. The Poet With the Office-bearers of the Indian Association

ledge. I extend to you a threefold welcome, on behalf of myself and my clan. Firstly, because you are a guest, and to a Bedouin a guest is always welcome and always honourable. Secondly, because you come from Hindustan, a land with which our connection is ancient. Lastly, because you are the honoured guest of our King, for whom all of our clan are ready to shed their last drop of blood at anytime.

Needless to say we found this speech to be extremely modest in view of the welcome and the hospitality, which we received.

The main event was a Bedouin war dance. The sight was exhilarating and picturesque in the extreme. Indeed when the warriors got thoroughly warmed up it became almost too exciting. The dance most probably represented a "Ghazu" (a tribal raid) as the dancers were divided into two unequal groups. The smaller one (consisting of a few dancers only) seemed to represent camels or a camel caravan, as they danced with a peculiar mincing gait typical of the trotting camel. The main body consisted of fully armed warriors, brandishing swords and firearms and chanting (later on yelling) in

unison. The two groups gradually approached each other in their movements. As they came nearer, the dancing of the main group became fast and furious.

Strident notes came into the choral chanting, eyes started flashing and swords were whirled aloft by brawny arms. Then followed a swirling movement of encirclement, accompanied by loud shouts and firing off of rifles and pistols. All of a sudden shrill ululations started from the zenana, and then came pandemonium, out of which the Sheikh and his brother started separating warriors who had become excited beyond limits. Finally when the whole thing had risen to a crescendo, the dance was stopped by the Sheikh.

\* \* \* \*

Another day we were invited to a party in a river-side garden, where the host, Mr. Shabender, treated us to an exhibition of Arab dancing and singing by the most famous *danseuse* and *prima donna* of Baghdad.

In between these, we took long rests and filled up the rest by strolling about in the streets, going for drives and roaming through the old bazaars. The houses in the out of





Baghdad. The Garden Party of the Baghdad Literary Society

the way streets (lanes they would be called elsewhere) and the general atmosphere surrounding them, still have a mediaeval air reminding one that this is the city of the thousand and one nights, far-famed in folklore.

The Poet did not seem to be able to recuperate properly and furthermore a break-down seemed to be imminent. So one

Sunday morning, at early dawn, he and his daughter-in-law left Baghdad by aeroplane, *en route* for Calcutta and home. Our Bombay friends had, already parted from us at Hamadan, and so we two—the last of that expectant band that set out from Bushire—were left to sound the *finale* of the tour.

## THE SOKOL

By B. MAHDUKAR

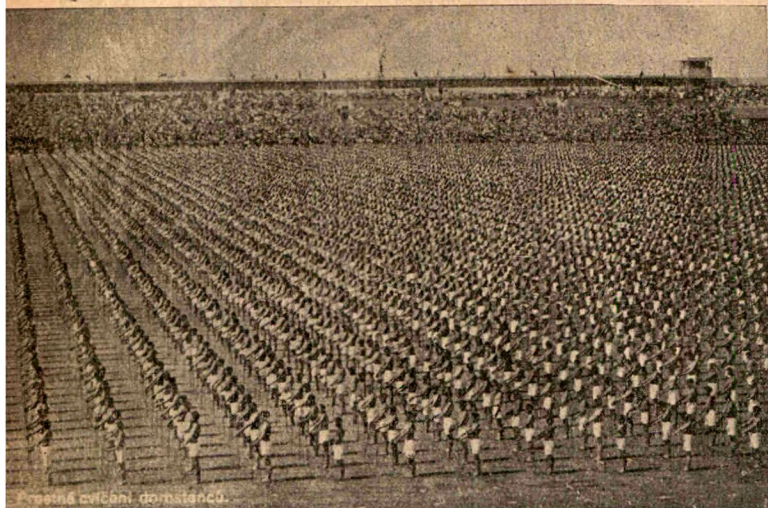
**P**HYSICAL culture has existed in Czechoslovakia for more than fifteen centuries, but if we try to investigate its essence in those days we find that its aims were not as wide as those of today. That physical drills and exercises are important factors not only in the physical but also in the moral upbringing of man—as we regard it today—was only recognized by the great educationalist and teacher of the nations, Jan Comenius who, in his leading work *Orbis Pictus* described all the games which were known in the seventeenth century. In this he tried to show the pedagogic value and influence of games, and especially the effect of physical exercises upon the mind of the child.

When the Czech nation was under political subjection during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was little or no physical

culture. In 1848, a Student Gymnastic Association was formed, but after some years this perished. At the same time another Association existed in which Czechs took part with Germans. In 1861, however, at Prague the Czechs formed an Association in which others participated though they were in the majority as one of many similar societies organized to foster their social and political life. This did not prove satisfactory and it was replaced by an independent movement to which later the name "Sokol" was given.

Dr. Miroslav Tyrs placed himself at the head of the movement, and with his friend, Dr. Eduard Greger and his brother Dr. Julius Greger, drafted the statutes of the Association which were ratified on the 27th of January, 1862. The constituent general meeting was held on the 16th of February, 1862, when Dr. Jindrich





The Sokol Festival 1932  
Boys drilling

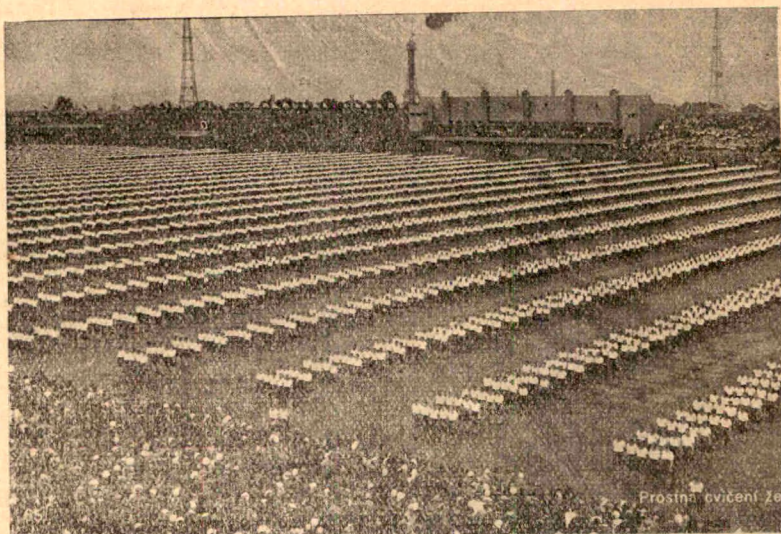
Fügner was elected President and Dr. Miroslav Tyrs, Vice-President. The total membership was 75 up to this time. The name "Sokol" was not given to it until 1864 when it was taken from the epic song of the Jugoslavs, who call their national heroes "Sokols" (falcons). This body caused a considerable stir in other areas like Bohemia and Moravia.

The Sokol was threatened with extinction through being unable to find any central building. Jindrich Fügner built a house with a gymnasium at his own expense at Prague which he loaned to the Sokol, but he did not live to enjoy it, dying after a short time in 1865. During his period of office Dr. Fügner looked after the welfare and the economic condition of the Association, and Dr. Tyrs was responsible for the technical side. Between 1862 and 1869 the latter drew up the Czech gymnastic nomenclature, and afterwards he was asked to act as editor of the Sokol periodical, when he started a gymnastic institute for women, boys, and girls. The leading article in the first number of the periodical dealt with "Our Task and Aims" which represented the Sokol idea.

In 1881 Dr. Tyrs organized a festival to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the Sokol movement. It took place on the 18th of June, when 1600 individuals

took part in the procession, and 696 from 76 different units drilled in the display. This gathering was a great success for the Sokol movement.

In the same year Dr. Tyrs was appointed lecturer in plastic art at the Czech College of Technology, and later in the history of the art at Prague University. As a result of very hard work he suffered from nervous affliction and owing to this he resigned his post with the Sokol movement and also the editorship of its periodical. He went away to rest at Oetz in the Alpine valley through which flows the river Adige. On the 8th of August, 1884 he went for a walk and never returned. His body was found near the deep pool in the river, and was interred first at Oetz, and then on the 9th of



The Sokol Festival 1932  
Girls drilling

November, 1884, at Prague. Before his death he tried to bring various units together, and one combined unit went to Cracow to pay a visit to the Polish Sokol.

A Czech community was formed in which there were eleven Zupas with a total membership of 17,959. The Austrian Sokol also joined, and in 1912, the first President of the Czech community, Dr. Jan Podlipny was appointed. The first Sokol federation visited Paris and took part in the International Tournament. In 1891 there



was held a Sokol Jubilee in which 2,473 men took part.

The following table shows the progress of the Sokol movement :

Year.	No. of Units.	No. of Members.
1862	9	265
1865	20	1,949
1871	106	10,448
1887	171	19,817
1894	352	36,042
1898	508	45,208
1905	671	58,968
1910	916	95,780
1913	1,880	128,017
1920	2,629	327,873
1930	3,144	663,702

When the revolution took place and Czechoslovakia was proclaimed as an independent State on the 28th of October, 1918, the Sokol everywhere took up with the utmost zeal the work of acting as guardians of peace and security,



The Sokol Festival 1932  
Girls marching through the Streets



The Sokol Festival 1932  
Boys marching through the Streets

The underlying idea is that of equality of all among all, not merely in the matter of physical drill, but in the whole of life. The outward token of this equality is the use of the second person singular (thou) and of the words "brother" and "sister." The equality among others is not only of rights and duties, but is

also an equality in showing respect and having mutual regard one for the other. Sokol brotherhood not only implies the postulate of equality but also a conscious abandonment of privileges arising from birth, property and education. It does not lay emphasis upon demanding equality and brotherhood from those who enjoy some higher position, but upon such persons, voluntarily and of their own initiative, stooping down as it were in brotherly love, and thus an equality with those of fewer privileges. The rich with the poor, the educated with the uneducated, the leader with the subordinate. Not to demand equality but to give it—that is the meaning of Sokol brotherhood.

All the members of the Sokol organization are also united by conscious effort towards physical, mental, and moral perfection. Equality, freedom, and brotherhood, discipline and morality are the first and main elements of the Sokol idea.

The last festival was held on July 5, 1932, at Prague in which 145,000 took part. It was a most wonderful sight to see.



# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

PROLEGOMENA TO A NEW METAPHYSIC :  
By Thomas Whittaker. Cambridge University Press.  
Pp. 120.

The author is a well-known writer on philosophical subjects and his contributions to metaphysics will be read with great interest by a large circle of readers. Modern physics and astronomy have brought about a revolution in our conception of the nature of the universe. Einstein's spacetime continuum, the idea of a finite universe with its complicated mathematical background and the principle of indeterminacy are bound to affect the speculations of philosophers who depend on the explanations offered by modern science to solve the riddle of ultimate reality. The author has been influenced by the writings of Sir James Jeans, the eminent astronomer, and the new metaphysics seems to be the direct outcome of the inspiration derived from this source. The first chapter of the book deals with the problem of truth. The author finds himself unable to accept the pragmatic doctrine that truth is to be equated with 'biological value'; on the other hand, he tries to show that the conception of truth detached from any consideration of biological need has a continuous history of evolution from the time of the Greek philosophers down to the present date. Aristotle ascribed the beginnings of science not to any practical need but 'to the opportunity of indulging theoretic curiosity.' The author says that 'in the modern time also scientific discoveries have not usually been made by those in whom what are commonly called practical motives are the most powerful.' The thoroughgoing pragmatist might object that the instinct of curiosity is also to be regarded as a biological need of the organism. The author's distinction between volitional and intellectual activities is not likely to be supported by the modern psychologist. "Thought about things and not the naked vision of the external thing itself, is to be recognized as the way to learn what is real and what is not."

The author's position is that of a teleological

determinist if I might use that expression. He does not see any antithesis between causation and teleology. He is inclined to the belief that the universe has a beginning and in this ontological position he finds a support from the modern mathematical astronomers. The author's position reminds one of the Sankhya doctrine of creation. The reviewer is constrained to remark that the New Metaphysic does not give us anything startlingly new. Regarding the use of the term 'metaphysic' for the commoner 'metaphysics' the reviewer cannot resist the temptation of quoting that great grammarian H. W. Fowler who says "The substitution of *ic* for *ies* (dialectic, ethic, gymnastic, linguistic, metaphysic) etc. in compliance with French and German usage has the effect, whether it is intended or not, of a display of exotic learning and repels the possibly insular reader who thinks that 'English is good enough for him.'

G. BOSE

PAPERS ON SHAKESPEARE : I. *Hamlet*. By J. A. Chapman (Oxford University Press, 1932).

In a pamphlet of 40 pages Mr. Chapman gives us here an interesting study of *Hamlet*. Every fresh effort to solve the Hamlet riddle is welcome, and Mr. Chapman's little book will be hailed by all lovers of the play.

The most refreshing feature of Mr. Chapman's study is that he does not worry himself and his readers by a futile refutation of conventional theories. Instead of pursuing that beaten and barren track Mr. Chapman gives us his own personal impressions, as an enthusiastic but discerning reader, and some of his observations have a remarkable freshness and originality about them.

Mr Chapman aptly remarks that one of the distinctive traits of *Hamlet* is that it is full of extraneous matter. But he treads on slippery ground when he traces the digressiveness of the play to "a sunny and happy mood" that, he supposes, had come upon Shakespeare at the time. Speculations on the mood and character of Shakespeare, the man, as reflected in his dramas, are mostly conjectural



and often misleading. In the present case, the digressions are all put by the poet on the lips of Hamlet and are obviously a device of characterization, being an indication of Hamlet's lukewarm interest in his hateful task and his constant tendency to divert his thoughts from it.

But altogether it is a stimulating piece of criticism that Mr. Chapman presents us here. Of course "the heart of Hamlet's mystery" will never be plucked out, but we should be grateful to all who throw such interesting sidelights on what has been rightly called "the sphinx of modern literature."

P. K. GUHA

**ENERGY.** By Mahendra Nath Dutta. Published by Pyari Mohan Mukherjee, B. L. 3, Gour Mohan Mukherjee St., Calcutta.

**MIND.** By the same author. Same publisher.

Both these books developed out of the lectures delivered by the author to a number of his disciples and friends. Attempt has been made in both of them to keep strictly to the scientific standpoint. By successive steps of reasoning the conclusion is arrived at in the first book that "Our notion of Divinity and our notion of creation is a mere conception of energy visualized in some concrete form." How this energy manifests itself in various forms is then considered in the different chapters entitled Constructive and Destructive Energy, Divine and Animal Energy, The Cosmic and Individual Energy, etc.

In the second book, the problems of the development of mind, its relation to the nervous system and conscious plane, etc., are treated and the view of mind that is accepted is that it is "a current of the active state of energy imbedded in the nerves" and that it is different from the ego.

No doubt those who heard the author's lectures will be greatly benefited by having the energy of the words that they listened to visualized in the concrete form of the books. But to those who did not have that privilege, the books will not, I am afraid, be so interesting as they ought to have been. The laudable attempt to make the language as simple and lucid as possible has unfortunately resulted in the introduction of a certain looseness sometimes in the style of the author. Above all we miss that force and courage of conviction which we are accustomed to find in his brother, the great Swami Vivekananda's writings.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

**ASANAS.** Part one. By Srimat Kavalayananda. Popular Yoga. Volume one. Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla. (G. I. P.) Bombay, 1933. Price: India: Rs. 3-4; Continent: Sh. 8; America \$1.75. Size Demy Octavo—XVI+184 with 76 full-page illustrations on art paper.

The book under review gives detailed description of twenty yogic asanas with several other poses and is accompanied by illustrations of the different stages of each of the postures. After the description of each asana a reference is made to the cultural and therapeutical advantages accruing from the regular and proper practice of it. This work is of the same type as the one reviewed by us in a previous number of the present journal (*Of*, February 1933, p. 191) but it is more elaborate and comprehensive. Though the author lays stress on the physical aspect of these postures, though he prefaces

his work by a long description of the anatomy of the human body and concludes it by a chapter on 'scientific survey of Yogic poses' in which he makes an attempt to explain the importance of the poses from the physiological point of view, still he does not forget the spiritual aspect of the thing. 'Yoga' says the author (p. 35), 'has a complete message for humanity. It has a message for the human body. It has a message for the human mind and it has also a message for the human soul.' On the whole, the work is interesting and at the same time useful. We hope the learned author will ere long popularize various other Yoga processes and explain their physiological and spiritual importance to the people at large by the publication of similar other volumes. An indication of the original sources on which the descriptions are based would have been highly welcome to the inquisitive reader.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

**RACIAL PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA:** By Josephine Ransom. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This Adyar Pamphlet (No. 165) deals briefly with the rise and growth of the South African colony. The author is one of the few white men and women who have sympathy for the coloured peoples; and she is not altogether blind to the sins of the 'White man' committed under the guise of carrying 'his burden.'

**ON RAMA-RAJYA:** By S. D. Nadkarni. Published by Samaj Samata Sangh, Dadar, Bombay. Price 12 as.

This is an expostulatory letter addressed to Mahatma Gandhi on the subject of *Varnasrama swaraj* and the ideal of *Rama-rajya* or the kingdom of Rama. The contention of the author is that Rama was not such an ideal king as tradition has painted him to be. In fact, he was guilty of some gross transgressions of the moral law and his government was far from the kind of government that a modern people would like to have. For instance, he had not the slightest justification for killing Vali, the king of Kiskindhya. And the murder (for it was nothing else) of Sambuka, an innocent *sudra*, for the only offence that he was seeking spiritual benefit by practising austerities which the Brahmins also practised, (*Ramayana*, vii. 76), is an indelible stigma on his character. And the exile of Sita, just to please an unthinking populace and to keep himself on the throne, was an act of cowardice and a violation of marital duties. The idea of establishing a *swaraj* on the model of Rama's rule, therefore, cannot and ought not to rouse any enthusiasm in the minds of those who believe in liberty, fraternity and equality.

By a series of quotations and references to authorities, the author also tries to show that the ideal of social organization based on *varnasrama* is not as holy as it is so often supposed to be. On the contrary, whatever good there may be in the ideal of *asrama* (or the division of life into stages), the theory of *varna* or caste was pregnant with possibilities of evil, did immense harm in the past, and is bound to produce greater evil in the future, if it can be resuscitated. The author's charges are unanswerable and his arguments have been expressed with force and vigour. This little book is a well-timed and a powerful indictment of the attempts

which are being made in some quarters to revive the cult of *varnasrama* with all its ancient implications.

However much we may glory in our past, we ought not to be blind to its shortcomings. No true reform of society is possible so long as the present is kept under a perpetual shadow of the past. An undue reverence for the past hampers the pace of progress.

So far as the Mahatma, to whom this book is addressed, is concerned, his recent penances and, in fact, his whole life, prove beyond doubt that he is fully alive to the injustice of the past and the iniquities of the present-day Hindu social organization. His devotion to Rama, however, is a different matter. Even during the recent fast, his spirit fed continually on the name of Rama. To him, as to many millions of Hindus, Rama is apparently an ideal and a divinity. One may yet hope that the Mahatma will not be intolerant of our author's very fair criticism of the actual, historical Rama as he has been portrayed in the *Ramayana*. And we are sure the Mahatma does not want to bring back the good (?), old days with all their attendant evil, but only to enliven the present with whatever was glorious in the past.

We wish Mr. Nadkarni's book a wide circulation, specially among those who have the weal of the people at heart.

OLD DIARY LEAVES (Fifth Series): By H. S. Olcott. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This is an account of the activities of the Theosophical Society during the years 1893-95. The narration is forceful and vivid. Even those who are not Theosophists will find the book immensely interesting. For Theosophists, the book will have a special interest, because it deals with a period of the theosophical movement during which Mrs. Besant first set her foot on Indian soil and the movement gained in popularity, influence and prestige.

Some of the incidents described, e. g., the Judge affair, are probably important for the Theosophists and to the layman also they are quite interesting. And the several magic cures described (e. g. the healing pentagon, Ch. XXXIV) would perhaps provoke a smile in some but would certainly gladden the hearts of all those who are not too obtuse to believe.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE INSURANCE & FINANCE YEAR BOOK AND DIRECTORY (Second Edition) 1933: Edited by Monindra Mohon Mouluk, B.A., F.R. Econ. S. Price Rs. 3.

We have received a copy of the above Directory which has just been published. It is perhaps the only publication of its kind on this side of India and the editor deserves our congratulations for bringing out this most useful reference book meant for those interested in insurance. Sufficient amount of care and hard work has been put in the second edition and we are satisfied in the knowledge that in the arrangement of chapters, compilation of useful insurance statistics, the presentation of comparative tables and different types and aspects of insurance, etc., it presents a comprehensive, welcome companion for insurance men. In particular our attention is drawn to the last chapter which has been devoted to topics of various interest, the most important of which are with regard to the

insurance-law obtaining in India, the facilities for insurance education and the liquidation of insurance companies, both foreign and Indian. The "Who's Who" chapter of the book affords a very pleasant reading revealing as it does, a galaxy of insurance stars shining in the firmament of Indian insurance, though the section requires more careful editing. The book is, however, too large to be conveniently carried in the pocket and, from the point of view of handiness, we are afraid, it might not be very serviceable. But it can be used as a reference book.

ESSEER

SHIVAJI THE GREAT, Vol. I, Part I: By Dr. Balkrishna, Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Publishers D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay.

It is in a sense a fortunate circumstance for Maratha history that the true interpretation of some of the intricate topics connected with the life-story of Shivaji should come from outside scholars like Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. Balkrishna. It is a natural human weakness to be blind towards one's own nationals and although many a Maratha scholar has been engaged for a long time past in exploring the sources of the life and work of that great hero, no writer of authority has yet been produced by Maharashtra itself to give to the outside world a full and critical account of the antecedents of that historic personality. While Sir Jadunath has been slowly improving his exposition of that subject for over a dozen years, Dr. Balkrishna has for the first time undertaken to devote his energies to it from a different point of view. He has planned a work of some 1,400 pages divided into three parts, the first of which consisting of 225 pages discusses the life and work of Shivaji's father Shahji and is the subject of this review. The subsequent parts are to follow in course of time. One great merit of Dr. Balkrishna's execution lies in his having definitely confirmed the relationship of the Maratha Bhosles with the Kshatriya Sisodias of the Chitod, on the strength of several important Persian *sanads* held by the present Raja of Mudhol surnamed Ghorpades. All doubts must now be finally set at rest as regards the origin of several prominent Maratha families of the south from the ancient dynasties of Rajputana. The ancestors of the Ghorpades of Mudhol, a state now under the Bijapur Collectorate, are herein proved to have migrated to the Deccan about the year 1320 after the havoc wrought upon it by the terrible Pathan conqueror Ala-ud-din Khilji. Sajjansinh and Khemsinha, cousins of the famous Hamir, came to the south and valiantly served the founder of the Bahamani Kingdom and his successors, thereby winning from them *jagirs* at different times, the original deeds of which are now extant. The author has reproduced facsimiles of five out of the eleven Persian *sanads* granted to the migratory Ranas by the Bahamani Sultans, and has published a faithful English rendering of all, which is a distinct service to Maratha history. Fortunately, all the *sanads* are accurately dated: the oldest mentions 25 Ramzan 753 A. H. corresponding to November 5, 1352 of the Christian Era and the latest 11 Rabil-ava 1007, that is, October 12, 1598 A. D. The *sanads* contain accurate names and a pedigree of their descent from the solar family of Chitod, unless they can be proved as spurious. The information contained in these 11 *sanads* is supplemented by an old manuscript chronicle or *bakhar* in the possession of the Raja of Mudhol, by the accounts supplied by Todd

and a recent history of Rajputana laboriously constructed by Gaurishankar Ojha. Skilfully piecing together all these sources, Dr. Balkrishna has worked out a fairly accurate genealogy of the early representatives of the Mudhol house. For the sake of accuracy the learned Doctor should have put down his own definite estimate of the unprinted *bakhar* of Mudhol, when and by whom it was composed and how far can its statements be taken as accurate history, since he has given it great prominence in his discussion. The value of such manuscript *bakhars* is often nil unless tested on accepted principles of scientific inquiry. Ojha's work and the Persian *sanads* stand on a different footing altogether and doubtless prove that the Ghorpades and their cousins the Bhosles did definitely derive their descent from the Kshatriya dynasty of Chitod as already widely known by all current traditions and Maratha chronicles and as strenuously verified by the late Raja Pratapsinh of Satara in the first quarter of the last century. Scholars can now take it as an established fact that several prominent Maratha families of the Deccan, such as Pawars, Morays, Jadhavs, Salunkes and others did originally migrate from Rajputana and have doubtless Kshatriya blood in their vein as they claim to do. This definite conclusion ought to foster inter-marriages between these two martial races of India. One can easily perceive how the old Rajput name-ending *sinh* came to be corrupted into the Marathi *ji*. For instance, Sidhasinh—Sidhasi—Sidhji or Sidhoji; Shambhusinh—Shambhusi—Shambhuji; Shivasinh—Shivasi—Shivaji; Bhimsinh—Bhimsi—Bhimji.

One finds it difficult however to agree with Dr. Balkrishna in deriving the surname Bhosle or Bhonsle either from Bhairavji or Bhosaji. The *sanad* mentions Bhairavsinh, itself possibly a Deccani name not traceable to any similar name in the north; nor is there any evidence supporting the derivation of Bhosaji from Bhairavsinh. It equally puts an unjustifiable strain on philology, to derive the word Bhosle either from Bhasvat-kula (भास्वत्कुल) or from Bhrishabala (भृशबल) both of which appear to be ingenious Sanskritized forms of the original *Bhosle*. We must therefore wait still longer to have an acceptable derivation of that mystic word. But this in no way vitiates the origin of the Bhosles or their elder cousins, the Ghorpades.

From 1320 to 1460 A.D. the common ancestors of these two historic families heroically supported the Bahamani rulers, frequently sacrificing their lives in sanguinary actions and winning in return landed properties in two main regions of the Deccan, Daulatabad or Verul in the north and Mudhol in the south. The later branch of Mudhol retained their original surname Rana up to about 1471 A.D., when they acquired the new title of Raja Ghorpade Bahadur for their great valour in scaling the impregnable walls of fort Khelna or Vishalgad by means of *ghorpads* or *ignanas*, under the famous command of Muhammad Gawan in his conquest of the mountain region now under the collectorate of Ratnagiri. The Ghorpades of Mudhol so closely identified themselves with the fortunes first of the Bahamani Sultans and then of the Adilshahi rulers of Bijapur, that they did not hesitate to fight against their Hindu brethren on the famous field of Talikot or later on against their own cousin Shahji Bhosle when he was besieged in the fort of Mahuli or even in the latter half of the eighteenth century during the decadent days of the Mogul Empire, till at last

Nana Fadnis won over to the Peshwa's cause the aged Maloji Raja Ghorpade of Mudhol. Such is the chequered history of this dogged family.

The bifurcation of the house of Shivaji and his ancestry connected with the main branch of Mudhol are subjects not yet satisfactorily cleared. It seems the ancestor of Shivaji was one Shubhakraishna who about the year 1460 branched off and inherited the northern *jagir* of Mirat or Daulatabad, leaving his elder brother Karnasinh in the enjoyment of Mudhol. The Bhosle Chhatrapatis of Raigad and Satara thus form indeed the younger branch of the house of Mudhol, although having been once separated, they followed different methods in their search of fortune and often contracted deadly enmity against each other in their subsequent history. When, for instance, Shahji accepted the task of conquering the Karnatak region for the Adilshah of Bijapur, he was opposed in his ambition by Baji Ghorpade, his elder cousin of Mudhol, upon whom Shivaji in his turn wreaked full vengeance, thereby adding a stirring chapter to his wonderful career. Indeed Shahji and Shivaji closely followed the military methods of the Ghorpades and considerably improved upon them as circumstances changed.

It is not necessary here to follow in further detail the varied fortunes of the two Deccani branches, descended from the ancient house of Chitod, who between them have practically created the later Maratha history now so fully exemplified in the copious selections being printed by the Bombay Government out of the Peshwas' Daftar. Their earlier careers deserve to be carefully studied from the excellent exposition of Dr. Balkrishna, whose tortuous labours cannot be adequately estimated from the mere size of his work, which, though small in compass, lucidly discusses the antecedents of Shivaji and for the first time offers the results of accurate and patient research to the world at large. We eagerly await his further volumes and appreciatively caution him against an injudicious use of that laudatory epic of Parmanand, *viz.*, Shiva-bharat or Jayaram. Pinday's Radha-Madhav-Vilas-Champu, which at least can only rank on a par with the later day *powadas* or bardic compositions which cannot be accepted as authentic history, until corroborated in essential details by extraneous evidence from contemporary sources of a more serious character.

G. S. SARDESAI

### SANSKRIT

KĀTYĀYANA-SMṚTI-SĀRODDHĀRAH, or *Kātyāya-smṛti on Vyavahāra, Text reconstructed, Translation, Notes and Introduction, by P. V. Kane. M.A., LL.M. Bombay 1933.*

Mr. P. V. Kane's name is well known in the field of Sanskrit scholarship, and his work under review has been executed with his usual skill, care and erudition. The work consists of a restoration of about one thousand verses of Kātyāyana on Vyavahāra (Law and Procedure), collected widely from about a score of Sanskrit legal commentaries and digests and arranged under appropriate topics, with an English translation, illustrative notes, a list explaining important technical terms occurring in the text, and an index of verses. There are also full references to modern Indian law with an indication of important cases where the text of Kātyāyana has been acted upon. A previous



restoration of about 800 verses of Kātyāyana was made by Dr. Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyay of Calcutta University, but the earlier work was not as complete and thorough as the present one.

In the brief but able introduction the learned editor raises and discusses all important topics relevant to the author and his work. He gives a short account of the predecessors of Kātyāyana, his characteristic doctrines, his date and place in Indian legal literature, as well as an interesting comparison drawn between the views of Kātyāyana and those of the Roman jurist Justinian, who appears to have flourished about the same period of time.

Kātyāyana occupies an important place among the Smṛti-writers on procedure, and is cited next to Nārada and Brhaspati as an authority on the subject. Mr. Kane maintains that, even on a very modest computation, Kātyāyana's lost work on law and procedure must have contained at least fifteen hundred verses. Of these Mr. Kane's own restoration brings together 973 quotations and therefore gives us a very substantial portion of the original work, reconstructed from citations in later Smṛti literature. Mr. Kane is both an able lawyer and an able Sanskritist, a combination which is eminently suitable for critically restoring and editing the text. We hope that the work under review, which certainly keeps up his reputation for legal learning and Sanskrit scholarship, will receive the recognition which it fully deserves as a valuable contribution to the study of Sanskrit legal literature.

S. K. DE

#### GERMAN

DER YOGA ALS HEILWEG : By J. W. Hauer.  
Published by W. Kohlhammer. Stuttgart, 1932.  
pp. XVII+159.

German scholars have always taken a keen interest in Indian systems of philosophy and some of them even make it their life's mission to interpret Indian thought to the Western minds. The Yoga system has found many exponents, but the book under review has a distinctive way of approach to the subject. The author mentions in the foreword that there are excellent volumes on Yoga system in the German language written by eminent scholars, *e. g.*, Gomperz, Jacobi, Deussen, Garbe, etc., but none of them can be called quite comprehensive treatises and

what is more, they all start out with a foreign outlook which sooner or later inevitably leads to misunderstanding. The author remarks that Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta's 'Yoga as Philosophy and Religion' published in London-New York, in 1924 displays a mastery of the texts seldom observed in other writers, but what is wanting in the book is a critical estimate of the texts, whose gradual evolution has not been made sufficiently clear.

The reason for the unusual interest in the Yoga system at the present time lies, the author believes, very deep and is not to be found in mere curiosity. The war has destroyed many cherished ideals and traditions of Western culture and civilization and the West is now groping about for new light and a new foundation to build itself up again. A return to the old institution and to the Church and the Sacred Book is impossible. Now Yoga says "Behold! the light is within you, the power to rise above the circumstances lies in you." You can feel it as the ancient Indians have done, if you only will to do so. So powerful an appeal at such a time of helplessness is almost irresistible. It is for this reason that interest in Yoga has received an additional impetus in the West at the present time.

How Yoga can be helpful to mankind curing its many ills of body and mind, is the theme of the author. To the Hatha Yoga which claims to be an introduction to the real Yoga the author does not attach much importance but he promises to take up in a later volume the consideration of the Tantras, on which so much valuable work has been done by Sir John Woodroffe. In the volume under discussion which constitutes the first part, the historical development of the Yoga system only has been treated. Beginning from the time of the Vedas the author has traced the gradual development of the fundamental ideas through the Upanishads and the Mahabharata and specially the Bhagavat Gita and the 12th book of the Mahabharata. How the importance of the Yoga was recognized by Buddhism and Jainism has been made clear by apt quotations, and textual expositions. He has next considered the history of the Yoga Sutra and has given a very fair German translation of the Patanjala Yoga-sutram. He concludes by pointing out the main lines of development of the Yoga system after the time of the Yoga-sutras.

S. C. MITRA  
G. BOSE



## THE LESSON OF GERMANY

By JOHN EARNSHAW

"But why so vehement? so unyielding? so severe? Because the times and the cause demand vehemence. An immense iceberg, larger and more impenetrable than any which floats in the Arctic Ocean, is to be dissolved, and a little extra heat is not only pardonable, but absolutely necessary... How, then, ought I to feel, and speak, and write, in view of a system which is red with innocent blood, drawn from the bodies of millions of my countrymen by the scourge of brutal drivers? How ought I to feel and speak? As a man! as a patriot! as a philanthropist! as a Christian! My soul should be, as it is, on fire. I should thunder—I should lighten. I should blow the trumpet of alarm, long and loud. I should use just such language as is most descriptive of the crime. I should imitate the example of Christ, who, when he had to do with people of like manners, called them sharply by their proper names—such as, an adulterous and perverse generation, a brood of vipers, hypocrites, children of the devil who could not escape the damnation of hell... I will not waste my strength in foolishly endeavouring to beat down this great Bastille with a feather."

**W**ILLIAM Lloyd Garrison was one of the great American idealists, who by his fearless championing of the cause of negro emancipation did much to end slavery in the United States. His enthusiasm and fearlessness aroused fierce opposition, and he was often condemned for his bitter attacks on that which he believed to be evil. His answer to such attacks was to continue to preach as fearlessly as before, advising his opponents to counsel a drowning man to moderate his cries, and a mother whose child was in danger to moderate her anxiety! In passages similar to the one quoted above he reminded people that moderate measures will never abolish any strongly established evil. The more strongly entrenched is the evil, the more vigorous must be the steps taken to remove the evil. Too often idealists forget that, when they are attacking an evil, they are not dealing with brother idealists who are open to reason, but they are attacking a *system*. An individual may be persuaded, but a system is an impersonal machine which acts in accordance with fixed, and definite causes. In short, social evils have root causes; and social evils will be for the advantage of some people; therefore, if the evil is to be removed the root cause of the evil must be attacked. Any moderation, any sentimental generosity towards those who benefit from any particular system, will inevitably prevent the overthrow of the evil.

It has previously been emphasized that one of the crying needs in India today is for Indians to study what is happening in other countries; to see what are the theoretical principles on which other countries are governed; and to observe how these same principles and theories work out in practice. Germany at the present moment furnishes an excellent object-lesson for studying the dangers of moderation, the failure of liberalism, and the need for extremism if success is to be achieved.

In order to study the present German situation it is necessary to remember how Germany has evolved from a conglomeration of small, petty principalities, a "geographical expression" rather than a nation. During the Middle Ages Europe had the ideal of a world-wide state, and a world-wide religion. The Holy Roman Empire represented the first, the Roman Catholic Church the second. The first part of the Middle Ages was a struggle between these two for dominance, but by the middle of the thirteenth century the Church had won. The triumph of the Church was short-lived, and the close of the Middle Ages saw the rise of the national state. The intellectual re-awakening of Europe, known historically as the Renaissance, resulted in Germany in the Reformation, which in turn gave rise to the Counter-reformation, with Germany as the main battlefield on which these two movements were decided. By the middle of the seventeenth century Germany was practically speaking a wilderness, inhabited by peasants reduced to the level of wild beasts, and politically divided into a myriad principalities. A succession of able princes resulted in the Hohenzollerns becoming the dominant power in north Germany, and finally at the beginning of the eighteenth century they were recognized as kings of Prussia. Despite a set-back during the Napoleonic period Prussia continued to grow, until Bismark as a result of three successful wars against Denmark, Austria, and France, succeeded in 1871 in uniting Germany into an empire under the king of Prussia. The German Empire which was naturally dominated by Prussia was opposed politically by France, and round these two powers there soon accumulated alliances, and national policies. The inevitable result was the Great War of 1914-1918.

Now the importance of the Great War lies in the fact that people, rightly or wrongly, believed that the war was the result of Prussian militarism, Hohenzollern ambition, and the desires of the industrialists. Till then the

Hohenzollers could claim that their policy had resulted in uniting Germany, and satisfying a genuine German desire for national unity which can be traced back to the Middle Ages, and that they deserved the credit for making Germany respected by the rest of the world. But if the Hohenzollerns, and the system with which they were identified could claim the credit for the success, they were now forced to accept responsibility for the failure. The defeat of Germany therefore meant that the old leaders, and the old policy were utterly discredited. Before the Great War the German Socialists had been a steadily growing force, and though many of their leaders had failed to realize the essentially imperialistic character of the Great War and had abandoned their internationalism, nevertheless they seemed to be the only alternative left. The Socialists therefore took over the government, declared a republic, and a constituent assembly at Weimar drew up a constitution. The constitution was an excellent piece of political theory, and has been recognized as such by being included in most universities in their B. A. Politics syllabus. Unfortunately, the whole idea of the framers of the constitution was to *continue the old system*, with modifications. Those members of the proletariat who wished to go further were ruthlessly shot down by the "Workers' Government" which found no difficulty in getting the forces of "law and order" to carry out such orders. The governments came and went, and all that occurred from 1919 to 1931 was a moderate amount of social legislation, more or less of the "ransom" type, that is the possessing classes had to give up a fraction of their powers and privileges so that they might be left secure in the enjoyment of what remained. The moderates had got power, —and did nothing.

The position of the moderate is always difficult. He has not the flaming enthusiasm of the extremist, and is terribly conscious of the dangers which may follow a too rapid change. The result is that he is disliked by the partisans of the "right" for his weakness, and hated by the "left" for his "betrayal of the community", whilst his own followers find their enthusiasm gradually vanishing. The moderates might have remained longer in power if there had been a period of economic prosperity, but this was rendered impossible by the Versailles Treaty. France gained from this treaty if not as much as she desired, at all events more than she had hoped. The Germans protested in vain that the Armistice had been made on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and that they had understood that the Treaty was to be drawn up on the basis of discussion, and not the dictation of terms by the victor to the vanquished. Their protests were not heeded. The Socialists had, therefore, a difficult task made more difficult, since they had to try to introduce socialism by moderate stages of evolution, and at the same time to

struggle against the Allied Powers to obtain a moderation of a grotesque treaty. By successive stages reparations were modified, until they were at last, practically speaking, cancelled. After much patience Germany was finally admitted to the League of Nations, and given a permanent seat on the council. The French plan for seizing the Ruhr, and establishing an "independent republic" was prevented, and after years of waiting the Allied troops withdrew from the Rhine. All this took time, national feeling in Germany was growing, and the economic situation became steadily worse. Among the workers there was growing unemployment; among the small traders it became more and more impossible to carry on; among the industrialists there was a desire for a "firm" government. There was, therefore, a mass of people who were suffering; who were, therefore, ready and anxious to "do something"; who were ready for a movement if anyone could lead them; and there were also the industrialists who were ready to pay for such a movement. Thus there was a feeling which if directed would become a movement, and there was the money to pay for a movement. Hitlerism was the natural outcome.

But the emotional demand, and the money necessary for organizing that emotionalism into a political movement would not of itself be sufficient to secure the success of the movement, since the success of any movement depends first on the *ability to seize power*, and secondly on the *ability to keep the power* so seized. Germany offers an object-lesson of how to achieve both of the above things.

Taking first the problem of *seizing power*. There must be some means by which the emotion which is being capitalized politically can find a concrete, definite expression. It must, in other words, be supplied with something concrete which it can hate, and which it can attack to its heart's content. Marxianism, and the Jews, provide a suitable Aunt Sally for attack. To understand the bitterness against the Jews one must remember that in Europe there is a strong anti-Semitic tradition. The history of the Jews during the Christian era has been the history of a nation without a country; a nation which thrived upon insult, contumely, hatred, and persecution. It was Gentile contempt and hatred for the Jew which forced the Jew to live in the crowded Ghetto; it was Gentile contempt and hatred which forced the Jew to concentrate on finance since all professions, and all holding of land was forbidden. The result is two-fold. In the first place the Jew has learnt to triumph through misery; in the second place Jewish tradition and culture which exist together with that of the state in which they live, means that should the state crash in defeat or revolution the Jew is not so bewildered as his fellow-citizens since his heritage derived from Judaism is still intact. Germany, therefore,



which has known ever increasing want and misery, which has been sickened by appeals to rationalism, which has done nothing to reduce the chaos and anarchy naturally feels a bitter hatred against a race which is capable of rising from wreck and ruin. Taking the second Aunt Sally, Marxianism, which is more of a theory, and less of a clearly defined section which can be attacked. In the first place few people seem to have noticed the importance of Germany's geographical position. On the west there is France; the land of the peasant proprietor, who by terrific sacrifices manages to acquire, and then to eke out an existence from it; nowhere in the world is the instinct of private property so deeply embedded. Then on the east there is the U. S. S. R., where private property is at a greater discount than anywhere else in the world. Germany lies between the two, and therefore, it is on German soil that the two ideas clash. Again, and this must, of course, be a generalization, all over Europe there has been in the twentieth century a growing tendency towards liberalism, and social legislation. This tendency has been specially obvious in Central Europe, but the legislation has been mainly based on the idea of improving present conditions, which means that the rich have been called on to give more for the benefit of the poor. The weakness of such a policy is that sooner or later the liberals lose all enthusiastic support, and are compelled to rely more and more on the support of right-wing moderates, their principles become blunted by compromise, and finally when the conservative interests attack liberalism collapses in confusion. This is the history of English Liberalism where the Labour Party literally dithered itself out of office. In Germany the Socialists became so enamoured of the form of Parliamentary government that they ceased to have a policy of their own, and merely hung on to anything which promised an alternative to Hitlerism. A party which ceases to advance will always retreat; moderation always ends in disaster; Socialism in Germany was forced to act on the defensive; it became identified in the popular mind with insult and degradation abroad, starvation and destitution at home. In such circumstances some "disclosure" always occurs on the eve of an election; in England in 1924 it was the "Red letter"; in Germany it was the burning of the Reichstag. The result was inevitable.

The essentially emotional feeling which has so much to do with the rise of the Nazis (Hitler's party) has been summarized by a German correspondent in the *New Republic* of America.

"Half of the 17 millions who voted for Hitler are actually proletarians. Why did they refuse to vote for the Communists or Socialists? Millions of persons who have no political education, no idea about what a state, a nation, might be, are

attracted and fascinated by one who appeals to their feelings and emotions, which are vague and undetermined. The Socialists could only appeal to reason, to reality, to common sense; but for fourteen years we Germans have been suffering the most brutal and unsatisfactory reality. We have been fed up with thinking. The swing to Hitler was meant to be a protest against the overwhelming reality in our world, with its technology and rationalization, but it has turned out to be an alarming surrender of the human spirit before the uncontrollable forces of emotional life. A disappointment of the masses may have bitter consequences."

So far then the points to be noted are that a change in government can be brought about by satisfying the emotional demands of the masses, and providing them with a concrete enemy which they can be encouraged to hate. This must be solidified by large sums of money for organization, and the blessings of Big Business. All these factors were present in Germany. Under such circumstances power is likely to be *given* whereas in left-wing movements power must be *taken* by the withdrawing of the support of the masses from the Government. The point may be made clearer if one considers the case of the Russian Revolution. Take, for example, the following passage describing a meeting of the Soviets which was violently agitated against the Foreign Minister, Miliukov's Note of April 18, 1917:

"The pivot of the conference, however, was an unexpected speech by Kerensky's favourite, the liberal socialist, Stankevich: 'Comrades,' he asked, 'why should we take any 'action' at all? Against whom marshal our forces? The sole power that exists in you and the masses which stand behind you.....Look there! It is now five minutes to seven.'—(Stankevich pointed his finger at the clock on the wall, and the whole assembly turned in that direction)—'Resolve that the Provisional Government does not exist, that it has resigned. We will communicate this by telephone, and in five minutes it will surrender its authority. Why all this talk about violence, demonstrations, civil war?' Loud applause. Elated shouts....That unexpected truth about the power of the Soviet lifted the assembly above the wretched potterings of its leaders, whose main occupation was to prevent the Soviet from arriving at any decision." *History of the Russian Revolution*—Leo Trotsky, Vol. I, p. 354.

The masses can always, if they so desire, bring down the government by withdrawing their support. When, on the other hand, the movement is towards giving power to the "right," then power will usually be surrendered. This again comes out clearly from a study of Trotsky's history just quoted above; the professional, the military officer class could not be trusted to remain loyal, as was seen in incidents like the Kornilov revolt; if an opportunity to betray the Revolution would occur most of these people would make the most of the chance. This fact has many times been

emphasized by political writers, though possibly Lenin in *The Paris Commune* puts it more clearly than anyone else. Compare this attitude, this fear of a stab in the back, with a "right" wing's certainty of receiving help. How this was done in Germany has been fully detailed in *Germany Puts the Clock Back* by Edward Mowrer, a book which deserves to be studied by students of political science.

Having attained power the next thing is to remain in power, and here again there are certain general principles which have been fully exemplified in Hitler's movement. Roughly speaking one should, if possible, follow a policy of "divide and rule." In this Hitler has been extremely successful. He has succeeded in pitting the poor, against the poor for the benefit of the rich, very much as the "poor whites" in the United States are pitted against the Negroes. This is where the full importance of the racial anti-Jew demonstration comes in. In Germany there are innumerable unemployed professionals, and impoverished traders. The easiest way to satisfy such people is to open up to them new jobs, which is done by getting rid of the present holders. Thus the more articulate part of the community is satisfied; the trader has less competition to face; the cleansing of the civil services of Socialist job holders provides for many thousands of Nazis, whilst the Storm Troops are provided for in the police. Thus the anti-Semitic policy is really an economic smoke-screen. Because some Jews are liberals, because some Jews are Socialists, because some Jews are communists, therefore, it has been possible for Hitler to utilize the anti-Semitic wave of feeling against all non-conservative institutions. It is significant that though certain Jews are bankers, yet Hitler has made no attempts to attack the Banks. The following extracts come from hundred-per-cent Nazi sources show the attitude of responsible people towards the "Jewish menace."

"The struggle against international finance and loan capital has become the most important programmatic issue in the fight of the German nation for its independence and its freedom. Every serious National Socialist shares this conviction for the solution of the financial problem will depend, fundamentally, on the rational solution of the question of the Jew—and more. Anti-Semitism is, in a sense, the emotional substructure of our movement. Every National Socialist is an anti-Semite, although not every anti-Semite becomes a National Socialist. Anti-Semitism is purely negative, and the anti-Semite *per se*, although he recognizes in the Jew the bearer of the pestilence that threatens the integrity of nations and their racial purity, expresses this realization in personal hatred for individuals and their achievements in business life."

The following comes from a party pamphlet written by the present First Assistant Commissar for Bavaria.

"Indians and Hottentots, yes, even the cannibals on the islands of the Pacific, are human beings. But who would seriously consider the appointment of one of them as Minister of the Interior or Burgomaster. Yet these cannibals, and Hottentots not to speak of the Indians, are a thousand times more congenial than the Jew, this monstrosity of the world's history who believes himself ordained to devour the peoples of the earth or, at least, to make them his obedient servants for all times."

Finally, Adolf Hitler himself in his autobiography *Mein Kampf* published in 1928,

"From a sentimental citizen of the world I had changed into a fanatic anti-Semite. So I now believe that I am acting today in accordance with the will of our Almighty Creator; in defending myself against the Jews am doing the work of the Lord."

Notice the religious note. The Nazis are extremely keen to have the support of organized religion. The Lutheran Church for the most part is already on the side of Hitler, the Roman Catholic Church may easily join Hitler in its horror of Socialism. The semi-official "Vatican City Correspondence" dated March 14 more than half hints at such a thing. Recently Dr. Frederick Dibelius, general superintendent of the Evangelical Church in Kurmark, sent a confidential letter to the pastors of his diocese reminding them that the Gospel of Christ applied to all men regardless of politics, but the Nazis declared that this "was treason to church." Official prayers have now been introduced in all schools, as was the custom under the Hohenzollerns; since 1918 prayers had been banned wherever the duly elected parent boards so decided. In a line with this is the action of the Minister of Education ordering the theory of evolution to be brought into accord with Biblical history; but the fact that Jesus, the carpenter of Nazareth, the founder of Christianity, was a Jew is being carefully glossed over!

Another point to be noted is the thoroughness of the Nazis. This may be partly due to "Job-hunger" but it means that all key positions will be held by sound, party men. The Trade Unions are being forced to place themselves under Nazi guidance. The entire Socialist Press was suppressed up to March 25, and after this date its suppression was indefinitely extended. According to Dr. Frick its reappearance may be expected when "the behaviour of the party warrants a more conciliatory attitude on the part of the government." The efforts made by the workers to fight the depression by co-operative effort are being stopped. Meetings are forbidden, the theatrical companies and physical culture associations formed by the unemployed are being suppressed; their kindergartens which they maintained with their own contributions have been gutted; the Freie Volksbühne has, among other societies, been ruled out of existence. Letters have

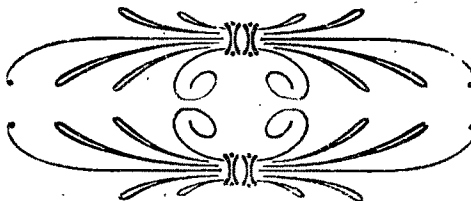
recently been appearing in newspapers in which the existence of the Brown Terror is denied. Papers, such as the *Manchester Guardian*, which have been strongest in denouncing the Terror have been very fairly giving an equal amount of space to such letters. About the Terror certain facts need to be remembered. First, in Germany there exists only the Government story, no other version is allowed, but any individual incautious enough to suggest this fact is likely to get into trouble. Such cases are reported in the Nazi Press. Some people believe that a Government can never lie, others are more sceptical; it depends on the individual therefore how much he believes. Secondly, some people find it hard to believe that it is possible for a civilized community to allow the organized beating of prominent opponents. Again this depends largely on the individual, what class he belongs to, and his relations with the forces of "law and order." It is a method which has been tried successfully in other countries, and there is nothing improbable in its being done in Germany today, especially when one remembers Captain Goering's announcement over the radio, when, speaking of the Nazi Storm Troops he declared, "Every bullet they shoot is my bullet. I take full responsibility." As regards the alleged beatings, if these are done by carrying the person off to the local Nazi headquarters about 4 a. m. and beating him in one of the inner rooms where his cries will not be heard, no one is likely to know except the man and his family, who will keep quiet for fear of further trouble. In short, the actions of other Governments make a legalized terror a likely possibility, especially when it is a matter of keeping power, and denials in a controlled Press need not be taken seriously.

Finally, the collapse of German Socialism is complete. The German Socialists had followed a compromise policy with fatal results. When that policy led to disaster the least that could be expected was that the leaders should stay with their followers to "face the music." But whereas the Jews, when attacked, have attracted worldwide sympathy, the International Socialist movement has kept silent. The reason, though it is hard to credit it, is that the German

Socialist leaders have used all their influence to prevent international labour doing anything to annoy Hitler! Herr Noske, one of the Socialist leaders, has pleaded with Hitler to be allowed to retain his official post at Hanover for another three months so as to qualify for a pension. Certain Trade Unions realizing the storm which was about to break had invested their funds safely outside Germany, but at the dictates of the Nazis these funds have been meekly returned to Germany to the Unions which are now under Nazi control. Herr Otto Wels has resigned from the Second International as a protest against "anti-German propaganda" on the part of his old friends who have condemned Hitler's actions. The Socialists may have their martyrs, but they have all come from the unknown working class element, not from the leaders. The Communists, on the other hand, have courted arrest and imprisonment, and have shown a determined spirit of no-compromise with Hitlerism. A Socialism which collapses before external attack, and which is betrayed by its leaders will not command much enthusiasm in Germany in the future.

In conclusion then, there are here many lessons which students of politics in India should note. The most striking one being the failure of Socialism with its policy of compromise, the thoroughness of the Nazis and their success, and the fundamental economic basis of the movement, partly concealed by racial prejudice. As regards the future, Count Keyserling, a man of notoriously conservative views, outlined what he believed would be the future of the "Dritte Reich" in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* as follows:

"A policy based on nationalism as a party programme, nationalism in the sense of the Hohenzollern or nationalism based on race and blood must of necessity end in the worst fratricidal struggle that has ever devastated Germany. The offensive charge that he who does not support this man or that in the nation is therefore not German, must release the furies of hatred upon our people. Once more I venture to prophesy—and events have rarely given the lie to my predictions—if that struggle of brother against brother comes, the parties of the left will win, for theirs is the older tradition."





# WOMEN'S FRANCHISE

BY MRS. P. K. BOSE

*Member, Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee*

**H**ITHERTO women have hardly taken any interest in politics but the time has come when we should take our stand. India will soon have a new constitution and we should play our part in its successful working. We represent half the population of our country and share half its responsibilities. If we do not demand our rights we would be shirking these responsibilities. We have been in the background so far and that is why we want special provisions for ourselves so that we may be able to come forward and take our share in the welfare of our country. When I speak of 'special provisions' I feel sure that the educated and intelligent section of the women of Bengal will agree with me.

The experience of women in other countries suggests that we women will be wise in taking steps to strengthen our political status from the very beginning of the new constitution. This can be done to a certain extent by demanding the enfranchisement of more women.

## FRANCHISE AND ITS BENEFITS

What does the word 'franchise' mean? It means the "right to vote for a candidate of our choice," and the "right to vote" gives us the right to send to the Legislature one who will voice our needs. Giving women votes will make them realize their sense of responsibility and divert their energies into various activities for the good of our country.

Unless the basis of franchise is a fair one, women will go practically unrepresented. Therefore, it is essential to widen women's franchise. If there is a large number of women placed on the roll as voters the intending candidates will be compelled to consider their interests and opinions; further it will awaken political interest among women and also make their votes an effective lever, particularly in providing reforms of special concern to women and children.

The proportion we aim at is that for every woman voter there may be four men voters that is 1:4. In the "White Paper" the proportion suggested is 1:7. At present there is one woman to every 26 men. The reason for this great difference at present is that only property qualification—the same as in the case of men, entitles one to become a voter. Now how few of our women have property of their own is shown from this disproportionate number.

## OPINIONS OF THE STATUTORY COMMISSION, THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE LOTHIAN COMMITTEE

The Statutory Commission pointed out that,

"The enfranchisement of Indian women on the same basis as men produces very few women voters indeed. We desire to see a substantial increase in the present ratio of women to men voters. The beginning of a movement among certain Indian women, however comparatively few in number they may yet be, to grapple with problems which specially affect home, health and children is one of the most encouraging signs of Indian progress and we believe that the movement will be strengthened by increasing the influence of women at elections."

The Prime Minister's instructions are that under the new franchise

"No important section of the community should lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinions."

The Lothian Committee feel that,

"special qualifications should be prescribed for women. Unless special provision is made it seems doubtful whether women will secure election to the first Legislature."

## VOTING QUALIFICATIONS

The present system applies to women the same qualifications as to men, i.e., "property qualification," and has produced a women's electorate in the proportion of one woman to every 26 men in Bengal, with the result that women hardly exercise their right to vote. Besides so long as their numbers are negligible no candidate need trouble about their needs and requirements and the women voters in their turn feel that their votes have no influence on the results of the election.

A large number of the women of Bengal who take special interest in the question of "women's Franchise," and are in charge of various women's organizations in Bengal have submitted a memorandum asking for the extension of women's franchise and increasing women's electorate with a view to securing a large percentage of women on the provincial electoral rolls.

The ideal before us is of course adult franchise but in Bengal this would mean an increase in the number of women voters from 42,000 to 12 million. This sudden increase would give rise to various difficulties and above all the working of adult franchise will be complicated by the necessity of meeting needs created

by the *purdah* system. It would be quite impossible to provide suddenly the necessary female staff to poll the whole female adult population, leave aside the question of increase of expense, which no Government can suddenly meet. We find then that adult franchise is practically impossible now. But at the same time we all agree that unless our number is large how can we make our influence felt in the elections? The question then is how can this number be increased.

For the enfranchisement of women the Lothian Committee has suggested two further qualifications as special qualifications for women in addition to the property qualification which exists at present. These are:

(a) Literacy—mere reading and writing.

(b) As the wife or widow of a voter possessing certain property qualifications.

As a result of the above recommendations the number of women enfranchised will be as follows:

(a) The lowered property qualification will enfranchise about 500,000 women.

(b) Literacy (taken from the census) will enfranchise 372,232 women.

(c) As wives of men possessing certain property qualifications about 800,000 women.

As there will be some overlapping total voters would approximately be about one and a half millions. It will be seen from the above figures that by far the largest number of voters would come in as wives. Now literacy is a qualification which any woman, who has the will can acquire. It provides for the married women and will admit women, particularly Muslim women, who have received education privately and have taken no public examination. Besides, it is a qualification which will automatically increase the number of women voters year by year, as opportunity for education improves.

By marriage a woman enters into partnership with her husband which may well confer civic rights as well as domestic duties. The women who have strong objections to the qualification as 'wives' are among those who can obtain a personal qualification through literacy or by possessing property. It does not seem reasonable to say that a woman will be more under the influence of her husband because her name is on the electoral roll for one reason rather than another. It may also be said that this is a qualification for the married women only and makes no provision for the unmarried women. But educational qualification will bring in a good number of women as well. A woman's name may be on the electoral roll either as a wife or by virtue of her educational qualification or because she possesses property of her own.

About a widow the idea is that a woman who was qualified as a voter in the lifetime of her husband in respect of her husband's property qualification should not lose her right to vote

when she becomes a widow. The privilege will do something to improve the status of widowhood.

It will be agreed that the voting qualifications as recommended by the Lothian Committee for the women of Bengal are the minimum we will be satisfied with. We should all unite in protesting against any reduction by the Joint Select Committee appointed by Parliament.

#### POLLING ARRANGEMENTS

There are two different methods:

*First*: There can be separate *purdah* polling stations staffed entirely by women.

*Second*: The ordinary polling stations for men could have separate entrances and polling compartments for women and a woman assistant to help women voters.

In the first case the *purdah* system may at first restrict the number of women who will go to the poll, but the feeling against *purdah* is dying out. Besides there will be difficulty in identifying women voters specially where *purdah* is strictly observed. This can be overcome by adopting the second method because women can then be allowed to be accompanied to the polling booths by their husbands, their relatives or their neighbours, which they will usually do and, as a result, their identity can be easily testified.

Another difficulty in the first case would be that it will not be easy to find a sufficient number of suitable women who are willing to undertake the duties at these polling booths, specially in small towns and rural areas; whereas it may be possible in most cases to provide a separate entrance to the polling booths and one woman assistant.

So taking everything into consideration the second arrangement is by far more suitable and desirable.

#### RESERVATION OF SEATS

Under the Premier's Communal Award 5 seats in the Bengal Legislature have been reserved for women in a Legislature of 250 members. Women will be free to contest constituencies on the same terms as men. But considering the difficulties in the way of a woman travelling about to canvass a constituency in order to fight an open election and also the expenses it may involve, and as it is essential that there should be in the Legislature a number of women to express their views and make their influence felt, the demand for reservation of seats has been conceded to the extent of five seats. These five seats are distributed as follows: One Anglo-Indian, two Hindus, two Muhammadans. These may now be filled by women candidates who will seek election in constituencies reserved for women.

## FORMATION OF CONSTITUENCIES FOR WOMEN

It has been decided by the Prime Minister that there should be separate electorates for Hindu and Muhammadan men, so in the case of women too it will be the same. But a constituency, whether it be for a Hindu or a Muhammadan candidate, should consist of both men and women voters.

It is a pity that the women of Bengal should be divided as Hindus and Muhammadans, but at present we women have no voice in this—not till our men unite and accept joint electorates. Now the constituencies to return women should be guided by the same principle as that of general constituencies. That is the electorate should be a mixed electorate containing both men and women. It may be easy to provide electorates of women only for the reserved seats for women but it would be undesirable and practically impossible to provide now or in the immediate future a full complement of women presiding officers and helpers at the booths where polling of women's constituencies will take place. Women coming to record their votes will invariably be accompanied by their men relations. So the help of men cannot altogether be avoided. Besides voting in a mixed constituency will have its educational effect both for men and women. Women will be free to contest constituencies on the same terms as men. Yet it has been felt that some substantial reservation of seats should be assured in the beginning of the new constitution to women. This should not be regarded either as a privilege or a favour, because membership of a Legislature will, in my opinion, entail heavy responsibility.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion I should like to draw the attention of my readers to the three important points I have tried to lay emphasis on.

*First:* The necessity of increasing the number of women voters to make our influence felt in the Legislature.

*Second:* To have reserved seats to ensure the return of women to the Council.

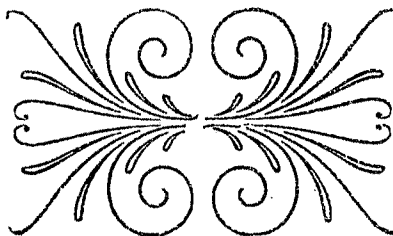
*Third:* The constituency formed to return women to the reserved seats should be a mixed one containing both men and women.

There are several women's organizations which have taken up the cause and to strengthen their hands we want to enlist the sympathy of all our friends. If we all discuss the question of women's franchise with our friends and be of one opinion, we will be helping a great movement forward by helping to develop political consciousness amongst us. There will then be no cause to think that women will remain in the background for ever.

Now to do work it is necessary to enter the Legislatures. The Lothian Committee have studied the problem from all points and tried to work on the memorandum submitted by a large influential section of the women of Bengal. Let us now make a stand and demand that the Joint Select Committee do not in any way cut down the proposals made by them. A cable to this effect has been sent from Bengal by the members of the Bengal Presidency Council of Women. The following is the cable which was adopted by them at their annual meeting and sent to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary to the Joint Select Committee:

"If we are unable to get our full voting strength by means of adult franchise or the group system nothing less than the strength recommended by the Lothian Committee of (six and a half) millions will be acceptable to the women of India."

For Bengal this would mean one and a half million out of a total of 12 million adult women. In spite of special provisions only one and a half million women of Bengal will be enfranchised under the Lothian Committee's recommendations and if we, women of Bengal, strongly support this then the Joint Select Committee will not cut down the special provisions suggested by the Lothian Committee.





## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Decentralizing Industry

The economic condition of the Chinese is almost similar to that of Indians. With a view to improving the rank and file economically a movement has been started in China which aims at developing small scale industries. *The National Christian Council Review* wants a similar movement to be started in India for the same purpose. It says :

In this age of industrialism which brings disruption to the social life of Oriental countries with disastrous moral consequences, anything that will enable industries to be carried on in more wholesome social conditions should be welcomed. If, instead of large scale factories which depend for labour on people recruited from villages who are forced to live under crowded and insanitary conditions, our industries can be decentralized by developing a system by which agriculture can be combined with industries, we will be laying the foundation for a new and better social order. The development of small scale industry in rural areas along these lines will mean less concentration of power and wealth in a few hands, and also elimination of many of the evils we now find in our crowded industrial centres. A group in China concerned about the Christianizing of economic relations has been devoting attention to this matter. Under the inspiration and guidance of this group an organization has been launched for this purpose in North China. We publish in the Report section of this *Review* a brief account of the purpose and plans of work of this organization—the North China Industrial Service Union. It will be seen that co-operation occupies an important place in the scheme outlined. For providing credit to the small producers; for the supply of equipment and raw materials needed for the industry; for the provision of electric power; and for marketing arrangements, reliance is placed on co-operative methods. The industries to which this method of organization could be applied are industries subsidiary to agriculture, whether followed in the home or in village workshops, as well as wholetime industrial occupations, such as mineral industries, including iron and pottery, and textile and other industries. We, in India, may well watch with interest the progress of the work of this Union in North China. Electricity is now available at reasonable rates for even village workshops in the Mysore State, and similar facilities will at no distant date be within the reach of people of several districts of the Madras Presidency, the Punjab, and the States of Travancore and Cochin as the result of hydro-electric works now under construction. When electricity thus becomes available in our villages we may expect a great expansion in industries which are subsidiary to agriculture. But this expansion should be guided in its initial stages if we want to see small independent producers taking their honoured place in the economic and industrial life of the country. We

would commend this matter to the study and attention of the leaders of the co-operative movement in India. While Government can help in many ways in the promotion of these small-scale industries, nothing substantial can be achieved without the initiative of voluntary organizations, such as the one that has now started work in North China.

### Encouragement of Tamil

In *The Adva* occurs the following :

The Annamalai University is running an Honours course in Tamil—a unique feature—recently awarded a prize of rupees one thousand only for a textbook on Logic in Tamil, teaches Tamil under part 2 of the B. A. courses, and has a Tamil Department training students for the Vidvan and Trained Teacher's Certificate Examinations. The Madras University is also doing a good deal for Tamil; it maintains a Tamil Research Department, is publishing the Tamil lexicon at a cost of nearly six lakhs of rupees and gives Tamil an honoured place in its curriculum of studies.

### Whittier and the Brahmo Samaj

Influence of Brahmoism on Whittier was immense. It is interesting to read the following in *The Aryan Path* about Whittier's eulogy of the Brahmo Samaj :

In Whittier's prose work may be found two unique references to the Brahmo Samaj. At the conclusion of the essay entitled "Haverford College" appears a letter addressed to Dr. Thomas Chase in which Whittier wrote :

"That Haverford may fully realize and improve its great opportunities as an approved seat of learning and exponent of Christian philosophy which can never be superseded, and which needs no change to fit it for universal acceptance, and which, overpassing the narrow limits of sect, is giving new life and hope to Christendom, and finding its witness in the Hindu revivals of the Brahmo Samaj and the fervent utterances of Chunda Sen and Mozoomdar, is the earnest desire of thy friend."

Even more enthusiastically did Whittier write to James T. Fields, the Boston publisher :

"I hope thee will see the wonderful prophet of the Brahmo Samaj, Mozoomdar, before he leaves the country. I should have seen him in Boston but for illness last week. That movement in India is the greatest in the history of Christianity since the days of Paul."

### Christian Missions in the Orient

Dr. Sudhindra Bose discusses the objects and activities of the Christian missions in the Orient in *Prabuddha Bharata*. He writes :

After all, this business of sending emissaries to foreign lands as evangelizers is very costly. The Protestant churches of the United States alone spend for foreign mission 40 million dollars annually. (A dollar, in normal times, is worth about three rupees.)

Just now many American missionaries are operating in India and how many dollars they are spending I am unable to say at present. But I do know that as China offers the greatest Oriental market for American goods, the American missionaries are spending more dollars to convert and baptize the Chinese "heathen" than any other people in the East. Flag follows the missionary. There are no less than 120 varieties of American Protestant sects represented in the Republic of China. Altogether they have spent, so far, the stupendous sum of half a billion dollars in that nation.

There were in China a few years ago about 8,000 Protestant missionaries in 700 cities; today there are about 5,000 in 400 cities. A short while ago, the Roman Catholics had 4,000 missionaries in China; now they have been reduced by 2 or 3 hundred.

Then, too, converting the Chinese seems an expensive business. Dr. Clarence E. Miller, Treasurer of the Lutheran Church in the United States, reported recently that the cost of proselyting the Chinese was 1,300 rupees a head. On the basis of Dr. Miller's calculations, it would take 175 billion dollars to make China safe for Lord Jesus.

The missionary has always been an integral part of the imperialistic advance of the West. The evangelists are patriots first, and everything else in lesser measure. As an instance of the interrelation of the Western church with the Western state, one recalls the speech which President McKinley made to the delegation of Methodist bishops who called at the White House to congratulate him on his decision to annex the Philippines at the turn of the century. President McKinley assured the bishops that his decision to annex came "through direct leading from God, after continued nights of prayer, and was inspired by desire to Christianize the Filipinos as our brothers for whom Christ died." It was a call from Jehovah that the Filipinos, who had already been converted to Catholicism by the Spaniards, should now be "Christianized" by the American missionaries and be made American subjects! The church press gave the message of Mr. McKinley a wide circulation and it was generally accepted, among the church-going members of the United States, as one more evidence that the war with Spain had been ordained by God.

### Vitality of Indian Culture

In an interesting and thought-provoking article in *India and the World* Dr. W. Norman Brown discusses the trends of Indian culture and nationalism. He says:

To attain enduring strength nationality must have more positive nourishment than hatred of foreign rule. It must be based upon a genuine national culture, unified and vital, that has powerful common ideals, guaranteeing the ability to achieve unified action after as well as before securing political independence. That some such basis exists in India is antecedently indicated by the past history of the country. Recent archaeological exploration in the Indus valley, first published in 1924, has shown existing there a highly developed civilization as early

as the beginning of the third millennium B. C. From the early part of the first millennium B. C. we have had a stream of culture in India, continuing unbroken down to the present, although with numerous vicissitudes and modifications. Few other regions can present such a history; certainly not Egypt and Mesopotamia; possibly only China.

It is this continuity of native Indian culture that is its most striking characteristic. It has, for one thing, withstood the assaults of numerous invading barbarians. Possibly the earliest of these were the Aryans, although, as I have remarked, we cannot be sure what their relationship is to the whole subject of civilization in India. At later times the Sakas (Scythians), the Huns, and others burst upon the country, to destroy but in the end to be assimilated by native Indian society and to adopt Indian institutions. This assimilation is not in itself especially surprising; for Rome in the same way conquered her uncivilized conquerors. But a more critical test came when Indian culture was brought into conflict with other highly developed cultures, and still maintained its vitality. This has occurred three times.

### Help to Indian Nationalism

In the same paper Dr. Brown draws our pointed attention to the obstacles to Indian nationality. Many factors will contribute to her being a nation. Among these are the following:

Another outside help to Indian nationality is found in the increasing respect of the world for India's culture. The "poor, benighted Hindu" is now largely a creature of the past. The examination of India's literature by western scholars, the study of her art as preserved in western museums, the contact with cultured and charming Indians who come in increasing numbers to the West have all aided in building up that respect. Perhaps the most contributory of all was Vivekananda, the hero of the Parliament of Religions at the Chicago World's Fair, who in a few months' time obliterated much of the contempt for Hindu religions that existed especially in America. The award of the Nobel prize for literature to Tagore, the recognition of the scientists Bose and Raman and of the philosopher Radhakrishnan have raised India in the eyes of the general public. India is coming of age in western mentality as well as in Indian. Not only has the West been affected favourably toward India: India herself has had her self-confidence increased by the favourable opinion so aroused.

So much depends upon leadership in the promotion of nationality that we must pause for a moment to take up that point with India. The mere attainment of home rule will by no means complete the aims of Indian nationality. If I am correct in viewing that nationality as a phenomenon essentially Hindu, then the work will not be completed until Hindu culture succeeds in reaffirming itself as universally Indian.

### Impending Menace to Indian Insurance

*Insurance World* offers comment on the proposed Insurance Bill in Portuguese India. It scents a danger to the cause of insurance in the Bill and says:

The Official Gazette of the Portuguese India has very recently published a draft bill governing the operations of insurance business in Goa, with special reference to the agency organization. While thoroughly agreeing to the provision of the bill ensuring the identity and physical capacity of the agents which must be considered, particularly the latter, as conditions precedent to their appointment, we cannot refrain from pointing out the unbusinesslike nature of the other provisions which assess their moral hazard. It is not always possible, for instance, as required in the bill to secure two firms with sufficient credit in a particular local bank to vouch for the agents. More significant clause in the bill giving it a touch of harshness in relation to agents has a reference to the excessive rates of taxes payable by the agents for a small amount of business in a country of 500,000 people. Legislation may be necessary to bring in uniformity in the manner in which business is being conducted by the agents of Goa. But sufficient scope must at the same time be provided for the healthy growth of the business. Too much restriction imposed upon the agency recruitment cannot fail to retard the progress of insurance. To add to this, the levying of taxes at such exorbitant rates on the agents will react, by increasing the cost of insurance service, upon its development.

### Newspapers in German Schools

Dr. Otto Herborn writes on the use of newspapers in German schools in *The Educational Review* thus:

Various systems have been devised to make this newspaper reading as profitable as possible. If a school is able to take in copies of twelve different papers for a period of, say, three months, each boy can then read one paper for one week, another for another, and so on. He will thus rapidly become acquainted with opinions of the most varied type. On special occasions, such as a parliamentary election or a meeting of the League of Nations, the boys can then report on what they have read, views can be compared and deductions made. If the state of the school funds makes it impossible to take in so many papers regularly, copies of newspapers can be specially ordered for the boys when some event of particular importance has occurred. In this case, of course, the amount of political insight gained by the boys from the study of one copy of the paper will be less, and more will have to be left to the guidance of the master. A third method of study is to let groups of boys read up subjects which particularly interest them in the various papers and report at intervals on the results of their reading. The boys must be encouraged to read all the papers they can get hold of, not only those with whose political standpoint they are in sympathy. For reading of this type, it has often been found possible to procure copies of papers from public reading rooms.

Newspaper reading can be incorporated in lessons of the most varied type. For the history and geography lessons the newspapers can provide much interesting information, their criticisms of plays and of recent publications can form a part of the literature lessons, whilst the modern language master will find endless uses for the foreign papers in his classes. There is, in fact, hardly a school in Germany in which foreign papers are not read for linguistic reasons.

The results of the use of newspapers in German schools have been very encouraging. Boys, both while they are still at school and after they have left, have spoken appreciatively of their newspaper lessons, and their parents too have expressed themselves well satisfied with the training in common sense and impartiality, which these lessons have supplied. There seems every probability that the newspaper has now become an established factor in German education.

### Secondary Education in India

The same paper publishes an address by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, given at the Lahore Session of the All-India Educational Conference. Primary as well as University education has engaged the attention of many, but secondary education has all along been neglected in India. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed offers the following comment on the kind of secondary education obtaining in India:

(a) It is an established fact that in every country private schools are almost always denominational institutions. Denominational institutions have no place in the democracy towards which we are moving. Some persons strongly believe that nationalism in India cannot flourish until separate electorates for political bodies are abolished. The demand for separate electorates is the result, and not the cause, of the tendency towards separation whose germs are sown in denominational institutions. In case the existing policy is not revised, every community in India will be compelled to set up its own organization for collecting funds and running its own educational machinery. This will lead to the demand for cultural autonomy which some of the Central European States have already granted to the minorities in their country. State responsibility for all forms of education, as in most countries of the West, is the only method of checking this tendency towards separation.

(b) The division of schools into State schools and aided schools and their further denominational sub-division has created several brotherhoods among the teachers of secondary schools. It seriously affects the *esprit de corps* of the teachers and is reflected in the attitude of the pupils towards national problems.

(c) The present policy has led to wasteful distribution of high schools. The high schools are mostly situated in close neighbourhood of each other in big towns; the interests of the rural population are entirely neglected and they are sure to assert themselves in the near future under the new constitution. Taking the country as a whole, a large number of small high schools, all of the same type, in close vicinity to each other, involve national economic waste. The boys could be more efficiently and more economically taught in a single school with parallel classes.

The present policy has also created some minor problems which seriously affect the efficiency of teaching. Its pernicious effect is not fully appreciated. Foremost among these problems is the question of not altogether happy relations between teachers and managers. The pay and prospects of teachers in aided schools also cause great hardship. In one Province the schools have been turned into business concerns. Teachers are dismissed

before the long vacation to avoid payment of their vacation salaries and to enable the proprietors to recruit cheaper staff after the vacation from among the newer graduates. The system of grant-in-aid is also a great source of annoyance.

### Self-help in American Universities

There are ample facilities in America for poor students to earn and meet their expenses in universities. Mr. Frank C. Bancroft gives the reminiscences of his college career in Princeton University laying stress on this aspect, in *The Indian Review*. He says :

When I matriculated in Princeton University in the autumn of 1922, I knew what was ahead of me. Being almost entirely without means of support from home, and deliberately having chosen one of the most expensive universities of the country, it was inevitable that I must work. And such was the case with many of my classmates, as can be seen from the fact that one-fifth of them took employment in the Commons dining-halls while more than half registered with the Bureau of Student Employment for partial self-support. Now, the interesting fact is that all students who aspire to lucrative "white-collar" student employment in their upper-class years must be willing at the beginning to wear dirty collars or none at all. If they show themselves able to go through the hard and unpleasant daily disciplines of dishing soup and cleaning up scraps, they are accounted worthy of subtler and more remunerative types of work later. Fortunately one could earn his board by working at only two meals a day and during the third he sat at table on terms of fullest equality with his class-mates, an attitude sometimes mingled even with a little admiration.

Those devoid of initiative and intelligence (a combination sometimes called luck) continued to "push trays" four years and one had to admire their persistence at a dirty job; but there were really ample opportunities to evolve into better types of work. Some became private secretaries to professors; others drove the cars of wealthy New York and Philadelphia families who had retired to the academic and idyllic atmosphere of Princeton for their declining years; others got concessions for the suit-pressing and shoe-shining of the sartorially correct upperclassmen; and my best friend created an afternoon playground for the young hopefuls of professors' families, a work which eventually won him, after graduation, the head mastership of the elite Junior High School of the town.

Your correspondent was fortunate enough to become affiliated with a very fascinating bit of undergraduate endeavour known as the Press Club. Our duty it was to comb the University for news to be sent to the numerous metropolitan dailies and news-services, and this news included scientific discoveries, literary research, athletics, interesting student statistics, interviews with the famous men of the place, accounts of academic functions, and anything else which might emanate from the teeming, if immature, brains of our lively coterie.

Working for the Press Club not only allowed me to remain in College, but it made remaining there worth-while. Interviewing men in every department, one was able to supplement the restricted offerings of his own and to get some inklings of the catholi-

city and wholeness of knowledge. And in writing about them for the fastidious editors of the big cities, he learned a profession, which is much more than most men are so fortunate as to have when leaving the portals of their colleges in any country in the world.

### Anti-Malarial Work in Bengal

*Scientific Indian* writes about the achievements of the Co-operative Anti-Malaria Society, Calcutta :

The Co-operative Anti-Malaria Society, Calcutta, which has been registered under the Co-operative Society's Act, aims at creating autonomous rural units in each village throughout the province. These units are being set up to control Malaria and other diseases like Kala-azar and to improve local areas by introducing environmental sanitation, drainage and pure water supplies. More than one thousand of such units have already been formed in Bengal. There are approximately 7,00,000 villages in India and if 700 societies like the Co-operative Anti-Malaria one come into existence, working with the spirit and energy of the Central Calcutta Society, the sanitation problem of rural India which appears to be a formidable one, may be brought within the range of practical politics. More these ideas are disseminated in a hand-book through schools all over the country, the greater is the chance of success to bring India into line with other civilized countries where the practice of social service plays an important part in their civic and economic life.

Further, the experience gained by work on malaria control in India is of particular scientific interest. The extent of annual death roll from malaria alone rises to a million or more in certain years in this country and difficulties arise in determining the species of mosquitoes which are carriers of malaria, there being considerable dissimilarity in their habits and behaviour amongst the species and carriers according to localities, as there is among the different races and sub-classes of mankind. It is erroneously believed that the bite of all female Anopheline mosquitoes causes malaria. It has also been found that the females of all Anopheline species have not the same capacity of transmitting disease and that the carrier species differ under varying circumstances. These are the experiences at a particularly malaria-stricken village known as Birnagar in the district of Nadia in Bengal. Similar experiences are accumulating at other centres as well. Labourious field work and patient research are called for in all cases.

The malaria control and other kinds of village welfare work at Birnagar are more voluntary than paid so far as the organizers are concerned, who have raised funds chiefly by self-help from among themselves and who have made a name in the scientific world, not so much for the results so far achieved as for their valuable collection of records of work and the effective means of control adopted by them. The example set is encouraging and deserves to be generally followed throughout India.

The control measures are *first* antilarval by the use of such larvicides as (i) crude oil called *Pesterine* and (ii) *Paris green* mixed with a diluent brick dust and blown from a rotary blower and *secondly*, anti-gametocyte by regular administration of quinine, cinchona and plasmoquine to attack parasites in the human host.



### The Indian Medical Council Bill

*The Journal of the Indian Medical Association* writes :

While we cannot disguise our regret that the Bill was not rejected in the Assembly we suffer no disappointment because we anticipated this result in view of the majority which Government commands in the House. And at the same time we are filled with admiration and gratitude to those members of the Assembly who put up such a gallant fight on behalf of the Indian medical profession. It showed that they had a very thorough grasp of the whole question and were easily able to refute the claims of the Government benches. In particular we cannot but admire the wealth of evidence adduced to show how the minds and footsteps of the Government of India have been guided by the British General Medical Council. Mr. Maswood Ahmed and Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar were entirely convincing on this point, as the latter put it—"Somehow or other the Government of India have succumbed to the magnificent authority of the General Medical Council, that they have approached it with bated breath and whispering humbleness, that they find themselves overawed by that great body which sits in supreme judgment over questions relating to medical education or the medical profession."

### Intra-mural Sports in Schools

Arrangements should be so made that all the students in the school may take to sports and exercises. Dr. Jagadisan M. Kumarappa says in *The Field* (Madras) :

So far we, in India, have been more interested in inter-school sports than in providing opportunities of physical activity for all. Much remains to be done in improving and expanding inter-school athletics. Though athletic competition between schools has been of great service in drawing out students for competitive physical exercise and recreative sports, its possibility in regard to universal participation for the attaining of ultimate physical, moral and social values has not yet been realized. Our schools must take steps to provide more facilities for intra-mural sports. The quality of performance can also be improved if every student is required to take regularly some definite form of exercise. For securing good results it is also necessary to provide strict, intelligent and enthusiastic leadership. In other words, provision must be made for a full-time physical director for each school, and he must be given ample facilities and some assistance. With such arrangements a large body of students could be made to take part in valuable intra-mural sports. Inter-school athletics has, no doubt, done much to arouse the student's interest. But now we need vision, funds, facilities and proper leadership to make the best values of

athletics available to every student. Intra-mural sports will reach its greatest usefulness only as part of the graded system of compulsory physical training in schools. When such a place is provided for athletics in the school curriculum, then it will be in a position to contribute in its own way social and moral values, enthusiasm and competitive zest to the more formal work of the school.

### What Is An Expert

Dr. V. R. Kokatnur writes in *Progressive India* :

An expert is a technician, who knows all the details of a plant, process or machinery. He is a specialist of only *one* thing. If he is a motor mechanic, he is a specialist in mechanism of one make of car, be it a Ford or a Rolls Royce. If he is a Ford mechanic, he knows little about Rolls Royce and if Rolls Royce, knows little about Ford. He is generally not resourceful when confronted with the slightest change of conditions of mechanism or process. He is a 100 per cent imitator and not at all an originator. He neither sees the problems, even when looking at one, nor is capable of solving them. Hundreds of instances can be mentioned where an expert was at sea when removed to different environments or where the water, the raw material, the intermediates, the parts, etc. are different. One of the well known experts on dyes could not produce in another country an ounce of the particular dyestuff that he was regularly manufacturing in his own country until he imported the intermediate chemicals from his own. Another expert on electro-plating could not discover that the difficulties he was meeting in another town were merely due to the difference in water. An expert dyer could not get the results with dyes, that were not made in Germany.

An expert has almost become an extinct species now-a-days in civilized countries. Neither one claims to be an expert nor can one find him anywhere. The currency value of this qualification has considerably depreciated in advanced countries of the West. The cross-rate value of it, however, is very favourable in backward countries. It is, therefore, that experts acquire an added value in such countries.

Educated capital in the West rarely employs or consults such experts, as it knows their ins and outs. It is neither interested in imitating an article nor in bringing out an old article with its old values. It realizes that both imitation and old values create a disadvantage in salesmanship and in competition. An expert has no value in creating a new article, or in perfecting an old article under new conditions or in building new values in an old article. It is, therefore, that the educated capital has so little use for experts.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Eugenics and Political Prejudice

Should the state undertake eugenic measures? Writing in *The Modern Thinker* about "Biology and Statesmanship", Professor J. B. S. Haldane discusses some of the dangers which may arise if politicians want to carry out eugenic measures, particularly negative eugenic measures like sterilization of the feeble-minded and the unfit. He believes that such a policy will not be applied impartially as between different social classes. He says:

The programme of the party now in power in Germany includes, or included till lately, a number of so-called eugenic measures, intended to check the breeding of various types of defectives, and of persons who are not of German race. As they describe people who do not share their political opinions as defective—*mindervertig* is the word—it would seem that a large proportion of the German people are regarded as biologically undesirable. In England self-styled eugenists have attacked poor relief, and transitional benefit for the unemployed, on the ground that this class is on the whole congenitally inferior. Now it seems to me that the danger of multiplication of the mentally defective is a real one; but there is a much more pressing and immediate danger. And that is that people of whom governments do not approve should, on eugenic grounds, be sterilized, segregated or starved. To my mind the attempt to justify such measures on biological grounds is a prostitution of science, far more serious than the manufacture of high explosives, bombing aeroplanes or poisonous gases. We biologists cannot prevent statesmen from doing these things, but we can most emphatically protest against their being done in the name of biology, and in countries where speech is still free we can warn the public against this misuse of our science.

The same sort of pseudo-scientific propaganda goes on about race. It may be that negroes are congenitally inferior to whites, or Italians to Swedes, but there is no scientific evidence for this. If you could suddenly exchange all the babies in a Kentish village and a South African kraal it is quite likely that the standard of civilization in the village would go down, and that in the kraal would go up. But I don't know; nor does anyone else. Studies of whites and negroes living side by side under like conditions on a West Indian island showed no great differences in intellectual endowment between the two. In most countries the negroes enjoy far worse social and educational advantages than the whites, and no fair comparison can be made. If you want to see which of two cows gives most milk you put them both in the same field; you don't put one in an English meadow, and the other on the African veldt. So with men and women.

### What Statesmen Might Do

But that does not mean, says Professor Haldane in course of the same article, why statesmen should not do something to improve the race. There are two important questions which demand their immediate attention:

What more general eugenic measures could a statesman take? Beyond question the most immediately important eugenic measure is to avoid another war. There may be ethically justifiable wars—I personally think there are—but there are assuredly no biologically justifiable wars. In a modern war the healthiest young men in each fighting nation are killed off. The unhealthy remain behind and beget the next generation. War is a far more serious evil from the eugenic point of view than the multiplication of mental defectives.

Secondly, a eugenical statesman would take steps to raise the birth-rate among all classes except the mentally or physically defective. One main reason for the falling birth-rate is probably that children are felt as an economic burden. This is inevitable under our present economic system. An institution such as hereditary wealth, is clearly unsound biologically. For the fewer children you have the more you can leave to each. Moreover, childlessness is rewarded by a rise in the social scale. A man with no children—or one—is likely to save money; a man with ten cannot do so. Apart from luck, there are two keys to economic success, namely, ability and sterility. So long as this is so, ability will tend to marry sterility: and able people to have fewer children than simpletons. The only cure for this state of affairs is some form of endowment of motherhood. I welcome the coming fall in our population because it will probably force the governments to do something concrete for mothers of large families—the most exploited and least politically vocal group in our whole population.

There is a tendency among people who have thought superficially on biology to support our existing social inequalities by analogy with the Darwinian struggle for existence, and survival of the fittest. This is a mistake due to the confusion between social and biological success. If able men who became rich usually had large families, and social failures who drifted into the slums had small ones, then our economic system would be biologically sound. Actually the opposite is the case. The biologist must welcome economic measures which tend, either to equalize incomes as between different social classes, or to equalize the standard of living as between members of large and small families in the same social class.

### Oil From Iraq

The opening of new oil fields in Iraq under British control, is likely to have important

international repercussions—in the field of both trade and strategy. The problem is discussed by Dr. Adolf Reifenberg in the *Berliner Tageblatt*.

Although the European press has paid but little attention to the matter, a revolutionary change is about to take place in the world distribution of petroleum. Economically as well as politically and strategically, the imminent opening up of the Mesopotamian oil fields will be an event of the very greatest importance. In the struggle over the energy sources of the world, petroleum has long competed with coal for first place. Whereas formerly the control of petroleum rested in the hands of the United States, in the last few years England has succeeded in materially shaking the monopoly of the all-powerful Standard Oil and in acquiring a considerable share in the production sources of petroleum.

The Mesopotamian oil fields are known to be among the most desirable in the world, the production capacity of the Mosul wells being estimated at twenty million tons a year, almost one-tenth of the world production. Before the war the Deutsche Bank held extensive petroleum-exploration rights in Irak, but afterward the German portion was divided among the old partners, Royal Dutch-Shell and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company; a French group that is supported by the Government; and the American Standard Oil. In 1931 a newly formed concern, the Irak Petroleum Company, received a definitive concession from the Irak Government and embarked energetically upon its work of development.

Last year, while the development work of the Irak Petroleum Company was in full swing, another concern, the British Oil Development Company, obtained a concession for the territory west of the Tigris. The interests represented in this organization are also predominantly British. But since the company knew that it could not count on the League of Nation's supporting the policy of the Open Door unless other nations were represented, it joined with an Italian group which, in its turn, was connected with a Franco-Swiss group and a German group. In this German group the Friedrich Krupp Company, the Gutehoffnungs-hütte, and the firm of Otto Wolff participated. The German share is only 12 per cent, but Germany is to have a 38-per cent interest in the deliveries in kind.

In spite of this international combination, it would be false to suppose that the British Oil Development Company, which recently changed its name to the Mosul Oil Fields Company, with an initial capital of a million pounds, is not fully under British influence. Article 32 of the concession contract expressly stipulates that the company shall be and must remain British. It must be registered in England, and not only must its headquarters always be located within His British Majesty's possessions, but even its president must always be an Englishman.

#### Petroleum and British Imperialism

Oil production in Iraq is not, however, likely to lead to the abandonment of the Persian oil fields, "for England must see to it that it has an oil depot beyond the Suez Canal." This leads Dr.

Reifenberg to discuss the importance of petroleum in the security of the British Empire:

Petroleum plays a very important rôle in the security of English sea power. The British tank fleet comprises over a million and a half register tons. On the sea route through the Mediterranean to India, on the route around Africa to India and the Far East—everywhere the British Admiralty has taken care to be provided with oil bunker stations. Through the laying of the oil pipe line to Haifa not only is England supplied with its own oil port in the Mediterranean but it no longer has to reckon with the possibility that the whole English oil supply may be imperilled by the destruction of the Suez Canal. Moreover, not only does Haifa lie in territory controlled by the English, but the place of production itself is under the protection of English bombing squadrons and of a state bound to friendship by treaty. The tense situation in the Pacific Ocean clearly reveals that in the face of American rivalry England must remain intent on controlling all the petroleum land adjacent to its sea route to India and the Far East.

#### Andre Maurois as Writer

Professor H. J. Laski gives an estimate of the literary position of André Maurois in the *Daily Herald* and is quoted in *The Living Age*:

At bottom, M. Maurois's desire is to please a society that takes literature as one of its external decorations and he amply succeeds in his effort. His society must be a leisured one, that has made its bargain with fate and asks, above all, to be amused. There must be no obtrusion of the really ultimate questions. There must be no examination of foundations. It is far easier to trifle elegantly about Shelley the Ariel than about the Shelley who, as in the famous attack on Castlereagh, could see with passionate indignation the pain of an oppressed and disinherited people. It is far easier still to explain the personal problems in Byron's life than to discuss the social environment, still more to judge it, which drove him into rebellion and exile. A writer for the drawing-room must not go into the study or the market place. M. Maurois takes care not to do so.

His talents, of course, are real enough. He knows to a nicety the tastes of his audience, and just how far he can go with them. His style fits his purpose to a nicety. It skims the surface with the same elegance as a kingfisher skimming the placid waters of a stream. It is as polished and reticulated as a fine piece of designed silver. All the right things are said with the air of a man of the world.

You feel that M. Maurois has always mingled with the right people and heard the right things said. He can report them and comment upon them with just that tinge of subacidity that persuades his audience that he is being profound where, in fact, he is just being clever. It has the air of being spontaneous, that hint of conversational charm which suggests that it has been thrown off across a table over the dessert with the candles throwing a pleasant light across the room. M. Maurois has the artfulness that conceals art. You never feel about him that he is struggling in the effort to discover ideas. You are never troubled by the creator's fury to be original. Everything is always neat and tidy and obvious. No one would think of searching M. Maurois's pages for

novelty. But a curate who wanted to read a paper to his church literary society on Disraeli would be able, through M. Maurois, to persuade it that he was being artistic and charming.

André Maurois has the gift of clarity not, as with the great Frenchmen, because he has taken infinite pains to find a perfect medium for complex thought, but because he does not propose to trouble himself or his readers with complexities at all. By purveying the outlines only of the things that investigation makes complex, M. Maurois has combined simplicity and elegance in a degree rarely surpassed for the audience he has chosen to address. He ought certainly to arrive at the Academy. He has pleased all the people who really matter without causing a moment's displeasure to anyone significant.

Most classes in society have their own special literature to cherish. The young city clerks of the eighties sighed over the luxuries of Ouida, in whom they found the means of fantastic escape. The office boy reads his Sexton Blake and revels in adventures in which he is able to identify himself with that superhuman embodiment of ingenious courage. M. Maurois will remain invincibly popular with that class in society which desires to be cultivated without paying too arduous a price for its adventure. In Mayfair and Walton Heath, in Winchester and Cheltenham, in Newport, Rhode Island, and Long Branch, New Jersey, he will make the rough places smooth and the crooked places plain. There must be thousands of people who would never have known the right things to say but for M. Maurois's genial sophistication.

It is, after all, a very real talent. It is not easy to be witty and elegant and a man of the world all the time; and the effort involved in keeping an audience that has so many alternative avenues of amusement is no light one. But M. Maurois, I suspect, is a writer for fair-weather times, or far people to whom a little knowledge is a decoration like a necklace or a bracelet. Put him alongside Sainte-Beuve or Hazlitt, Faguet or Matthew Arnold, and it is obvious that his substance, if charming, is thin enough. He can amuse those who have leisure of mind without fullness of thought. But he is content to make the momentary impression of charm. An audience that appreciates Bach or Beethoven will not lightly stay to listen to Offenbach.

### Can England Go Fascist?

The probability of England becoming Fascist is discussed by Mr. H. N. Brailsford in *The World Tomorrow*:

We should be deaf and blind if we did not ask ourselves the question: Will our Labour and Socialist movement go under, one day, helpless and passive, under a wave of fascism, like that of Germany? It is manifest that the Nazi counter-revolution triumphed chiefly because Socialists and Communists had spent their strength in fratricidal strife. Very well then: Ought we to close our ranks in a "common front"? The I. L. P. and the Communist Party have given answer: they have formed a fighting alliance. The official Labour Party has refused even to discuss the possibility of a united front, and has issued a manifesto in which the whole stress was laid, not on the urgency of socialism, but on the need for defending democracy. Liberals are, of course,

delighted, but within the active Left Wing of the Party there is dismay.

It is not a simple or an easy question to debate. Our case is very different from Germany's. In the first place, the Communist Party there was a great power, which even under the terror could poll nearly five million votes and had a hundred members in the Reichstag: here it has but five thousand members and not one representative at Westminster. Manifestly co-operation is not among us the vital issue that it was in Germany. One may think it desirable, as I do, for the sake of the moral effect, but one cannot argue that it will add much to our strength. Again, it may be said that fascism can become a real menace in an advanced democracy only when oppression from the outer world has driven it mad. Certainly in Germany the Treaty of Versailles was used to foster it. But it contrived to rise even more swiftly in Italy without this external aid. It is a phase of the class war, and while its precise form and behaviour will be influenced by external conditions, its primary purpose is to destroy the power of the organized working class. It seems to arise when a working class is powerful enough to exert a considerable influence on policy, but not quite strong enough nor quite resolute enough to capture power.

When one states the origin and nature of fascism in this way, there is no obvious reason why England should be for ever immune. Say, if you please, that it would be less picturesque, less inclined to theory, even perhaps less brutal here than elsewhere, but it is not reasonable to say that an owning class will go under rather than resort to such an "un-English" expedient. It may dress up in shirts of an appropriate colour, or it may prefer to seduce the professional army, but no scruple will deter it from using force when other defences fail. For my own part I think that we did go through the first incipient phase of a fascist evolution during the crisis of 1931, when the country conferred "a doctor's mandate" on Mr. MacDonald. That was our English synonym for "dictatorship." We expressed ourselves, as usual, indirectly, and said less than we meant. This was, as a witty friend of mine puts it, a sort of "Fabian" fascism. I doubt whether Sir Oswald Mosley's movement has a future. The real thing will evolve, if it be our destiny, when Labour, under leaders who mean business, again approaches power. Then Mr. Churchill's chance will arrive.

### Japan and China

*The New Republic* has the following note on the Sino-Japanese dispute, and the impotence of the Great Powers:

Japanese troops, as we write, are at the gates of Peiping and Tientsin, and the defence of those cities is practically abandoned. Military observers believe that the Japanese intend to dominate all northern China as far as the Yellow River, setting up another buffer state like Manchukuo. They will attempt to make this action seem like a genuine revolt on the part of the Chinese population against such authority as the Nanking government still possesses, but the "revolution" will be no more genuine than was the one in Manchuria. It is interesting to note that all the talk about concerted action of the Great Powers to stop Japan has now died away. The bitter truth is that the Western world probably has not the power and certainly has not the will to oppose the Japanese adventure.



by force. There is every indication that President Roosevelt, realizing the extremely dangerous situation toward which this country was drifting under Messrs. Hoover and Stimson, has altered American policy. It cannot be too often repeated that there is no hope of peace maintained through international coercion when the nations which would have to do the coercing are not genuinely desirous of preventing war, but are simply playing the old international game under a new terminology.

### The Jews in Germany

*The New Republic* forecasts that the persecution of Jews in Germany is likely to cease if the Nazis can discover a formula to save their face:

The Jews have won what may prove to be an important victory over the Hitler government in Germany. The Nazis have agreed, under pressure from the League of Nations, that their anti-Semitic laws shall be suspended in German Silesia. This is

due to the treaty with Poland in 1922 which said that all minorities should receive equal treatment without racial or religious discrimination. Obviously, Hitler did not dare to ride rough-shod over this treaty and others like it, especially in view of the millions of persons of German descent who, since the new partition of Europe, find themselves living under alien flags. Silesia will now become a Jewish sanctuary inside Germany and will be a powerful influence making for more reasonable treatment of the Jews elsewhere in the Reich. There are several signs that Hitler's anti-Jewish campaign, which is on the whole the most uncivilized episode in modern history, may soon be moderated in some particulars. It is known that the Jewish boycott on German goods and services is having a disastrous effect, and private advices from Berlin are that the Hitler government would be glad to discover a formula by which, without losing too much face, it could cancel part of its campaign of extermination. In support of this view is the fact that the new and drastic law cutting down Jewish students in schools and colleges to a small percentage of the total number of students has not yet been put into effect, although it was issued more than a month ago.

## AMENDMENT OF THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL ACT

By "X"

THE Government of Bengal has introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council, a Bill to amend the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, with the ostensible object of safe-guarding the interest of the rate-payers of Calcutta. The object, no doubt, is a laudable one, and the citizens of Calcutta ought to be grateful to the Government for the interest shown for their welfare. But it is rather curious that this anxiety for the rate-payers seized the Government and its hand-maiden, the Anglo-Indian (old style) Press only with the advent of the New Calcutta Corporation composed of Swarajist Councillors under the Sir Surendranath Banerji's Act which conferred on that institution some amount of self-government. For it is only since then that a persistent propaganda is being made in the Anglo-Indian Press outside and by a certain number of people inside against the Calcutta Corporation for its management, corruption, and what not. The history of the wastefulness of the old Calcutta Corporation would make pretty long and interesting reading. But no one heard then that any steps were taken by the Government against it. On the other hand, matters which are of grave and immediate concern to the inhabitants of Calcutta have not only not received the urgent consideration of the Government, but are actually being shelved on one pretext or another. We shall take one instance, the sewage outfall question.

### THE OUTFALL PROBLEM

The storm water and sewage of Calcutta are discharged, by pumping, along drainage

canals into a river known as the Bidyadhari. This river which was a tidal river and used to flush the sewage of Calcutta into the sea, owing to the closing of the spill areas due to the construction of certain locks and partial reclamation of the salt lakes, is now almost completely silted up. It was as long ago as 1913, that the irrigation engineers of the Bengal Government sounded a warning that the river was rapidly drying up. During the years 1916-19, some attempt was made to check the deterioration of the river by opening of natural spill areas supplemented by erection of spurs. But it was found that there was no improvement in the condition of the river. In 1922, the Calcutta Sewage and Storm Water Disposal Committee declared that Calcutta was in danger of being "drowned in its own sewage" and recommended the adoption of what is known as the artificial spill reservoir scheme and the immediate dredging of the Bidyadhari. During 1923-24, dredging of the river was carried out at a cost of 10½ lacs—the Corporation paying 3 lacs out of it, but the whole scheme failed as the river did not respond. There was again another Committee and this Committee rejected the artificial spill reservoir scheme recommended a few years ago, held that a meandering channel could be maintained and recommended an internal drainage scheme estimated to cost Rs. 1 crore 71 lacs. But in 1928, in reply to an enquiry from the Corporation as to the policy of the Government in regard to the river before launching into so expensive a scheme, the Government of Bengal intimated that they

did not intend to maintain the river Bidyadhari as no useful purpose would be served by maintaining it, but stated that if the Corporation wanted to maintain it, the Government would give certain facilities as to the bed of the river. It was of course, out of the question that the Corporation alone would incur the expenditure of maintaining a whole river upto the sea—such maintenance being primary a provincial concern. In 1929 the Government proposed that they were vitally interested in the solution of the drainage problem of Calcutta and that they were prepared to assist the Corporation in the solution. In the same year, Dr. B. N. Dey was appointed special officer to enquire into the matter and find a solution of this grave problem. In 1930, Dr. B. N. Dey submitted a report containing the first comprehensive scheme in regard to internal drainage as well as the outfall. He prepared a scheme for the internal drainage at an estimated cost of Rs. 65 lacs and, for the outfall, he recommended that the Bidyadhari be abandoned and the sewage and storm water be discharged by means of a drainage channel into another river Kulti which is a live river—this scheme estimated to cost Rs. 37 lacs. He also recommended an alternative scheme of outfall into the Hooghly but as the cost of that scheme would be much higher and as it would take about 10 years to complete that scheme, he recommended that the Kulti outfall scheme should be forthwith commenced.

The situation was such that if something was not done before the monsoon of 1933, a grave emergency would arise in that certain wards of the city were likely to be under diluted sewage during that monsoon. The monsoon of 1933 has arrived. Nothing has been done; sanction has not been received from the Government for the outfall scheme. The only outcome of the conferences and committees has been the putting forward for consideration of what has been described as "a very attractive scheme" of restoring the Bidyadhari to its original state of activity, although the river has silted up from 8,022 sq. ft. in cross-sectional area in 1912 to only 1,400 sq. ft. in 1932 and although in 1928 the Government themselves were of opinion that no useful purpose would be served by maintaining the Bidyadhari. There is no prospect of anything tangible been done in the near future and in the meantime, but Calcutta is in danger of being sewage-locked from outside and part of it may be under diluted sewage. This state of affairs has not been able to remove the callousness of the Government, such is the anxiety of the Government for the welfare of the rate-payers of Calcutta. But the Government have rushed to amend the Calcutta Municipal Act as if the Hooghly was on fire because of the employment of a handful of so-called civil disobedience prisoners in the Corporation.

#### EVASION OF SEC. 14.

One of the grounds on which the Government have based their decision to amend the Calcutta Municipal Act is that the Corporation has in certain matters evaded Sec. 14 of the Act. We presume that it is with reference to the generation of electric power for some additional pumps required for the internal drainage scheme that the Government are speaking of evasion. Now, among the many restrictions on the power of the Corporation, one is contained in the provision of Sec. 14 that if any project is estimated to cost more than Rs. 2½ lacs, previous sanction of the Government of Bengal must be obtained before any work relating to such a project may be commenced. It is under this section that the Corporation forwarded the drainage scheme for sanction. The internal drainage scheme of Dr. Dey has been generally approved by the Government but we understand formal sanction has not yet been given. Long before these schemes were put forward, the Corporation, realizing the gravity of the situation on account of the sewage congestion in the city, sanctioned the erection of some additional pumps to be worked by electric power at some of the pumping stations and for that purpose also sanctioned the erection of a plant for generating electricity with the help of some spare machineries which were available at Tallah. The erection of these plants was estimated to cost less than Rs. 2½ lacs and, therefore, no previous sanction of the Government was necessary. But the Government has apparently founded its allegation of Sec. 14 of the Act being evaded upon the erection of these plants. The logic of the Government will lead to certain very interesting results. And it will be evident whose interests, whether of the rate-payers' or certain monopoly concerns' are in the mind of the Government in introducing the Amending Bill. It will be remembered that sometime ago the Corporation approved of a scheme for generating electricity for its own use, instead of buying it from the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation and thus effect a saving of Rs. 5 lacs in electricity bills. This scheme was forwarded to the Government for sanction under Sec. 14. We are not here concerned with whether this scheme is good, bad or indifferent. But the charge that the Corporation has split up this scheme and in installing the above-mentioned power-plants is evading Sec. 14 requires consideration. The scheme for generating electricity for the pumping plants at Palmer's Bridge and Ballygunge so that the congestion in the city sewages may be removed was sanctioned by the Corporation long before the comprehensive scheme for general electricity for its own uses was put forward. Therefore, the question of splitting up of the comprehensive scheme does not arise. Such a charge has been completely refuted in the letter of the Corporation in reply to the third letter of the Government

dated July 11, 1932. It has been conclusively demonstrated that these schemes are quite different and separate in their inception, design and execution. But we know of the wolf who when confronted with the conclusive reply of the lamb that it could not have polluted the water, said that if it did not, its father did! It is said that these schemes may well be different and separate but they are so constructed that they would fit in with the comprehensive scheme of generating electricity if that was sanctioned! If the Corporation had squandered the money of the rate-payers in constructing plants that would not fit in with the comprehensive scheme and after the scheme had received sanction demolished all these plants and built other structures anew, of course that would not have been evasion of Sec. 14 and would have been to the interest of the rate-payers! This is the logic of the wolf.

#### THE BILL

We shall now examine the provisions of the Bill which are meant to confer greater controlling power on the Government. In the existing Act itself there are certain powers of control reserved to the Government. Sections 14 to 19 of the Act deal with direct power of control. Under Sec. 14, the previous sanction of the Government has got to be obtained before any project estimated to cost more than Rs. 250,000 lacs can be put into operation. Under Sec. 15, the Government can call for any return or report or copy of any document from the Corporation. Under Sec. 16, the Government can depute any officer to make an inspection or examination of any department of the Corporation. Under Sec. 17, the Government may require the Corporation to do any particular act within a particular time. If such requisition is not complied with, then the Government can supersede the Corporation under Sec. 18. Sec. 19 confers the general power of annulling any proceeding of the Corporation which the Government think is not in conformity with law. In addition to these general powers, there are other specified acts for which the sanction of the Government is necessary. Practically speaking, every important act of the Corporation requires sanction and is thus under the control of the Government. Not satisfied with these powers, the Government have introduced the present Bill which if passed into law will have the effect of superseding the Corporation not for any emergency as contemplated by Sec. 18, but for all time to come.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF CONVICTED PERSONS

Clause 4 of the Bill seeks to insert three new sections 54A, 54B, 54C to the Calcutta Municipal Act. Sec. 54A provides that no persons who have been convicted of any offence against the State [as defined in Chapter VI and VII of the Indian Penal Code] whatever may be the sentence, or who have been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for whatever period or who have been sentenced to simple imprisonment for

more than six months whatever may be their offence shall not be employed as municipal officers or servants. Sec. 54 B cl. (1) provides for the automatic dismissal of such persons and cl. (2), which is more drastic, provides that any person who has been convicted after April 1, 1930 shall be deemed to be dismissed as from the date of passing of the Amendment Act. There are certain other provision as to the declarations to be made by persons seeking employment and finally power is to be given to the Local Government to exempt any particular person from the penalty. In the statement of objects and reasons for the Bill as well as in the statement made by the Hon'ble Minister to the Press, it was stated that these provisions were meant to check the political activities of the employees of the Corporation. In the Bill itself, we find that the provision is general. Whether the offence for which a person is convicted involve moral turpitude or not, any person, on conviction, is liable to immediate automatic dismissal. Clause (2) of Sec. 54 B which will affect retrospectively persons who have been convicted since April 1, 1930 shows only the vindictiveness of the Government. We understand that there are a negligibly small number of persons employed in the Corporation, who had taken any part in the recent political activities.

The Bill provides that these people will be deprived of their means of livelihood without taking into consideration whether such persons are likely to break the law again. If, the economic distress is, as we think it is, one of the causes which has thrown some of our young men into the desperate mood of joining subversive movements, such a step of driving these young men again into the rank of the unemployed will aggravate the situation. Vindictiveness on the part of one party will breed vindictiveness on the other and this provision in the Bill is, to say the least, most impolitic. As for the provision for exemption by the Local Government, it is doubtful whether it will yield any good result in practice.

#### POWERS OF AUDITOR

Then comes the most mischievous part of the Bill which takes away the vestige of self-government conferred by Sir Surendranath Banerji's Act, and which if passed into law, will bring the work of the Corporation to a deadlock.

It is proposed to insert certain sections in the Act the most important of which is Sec. 123 B the material part of which runs as follows :—

(1) The Auditors, after giving the person concerned an opportunity to submit an explanation and after considering any such explanation, shall disallow every item of account *contrary to law* and surcharge the same on the person making or authorizing the making of the *illegal payment* and shall charge against the person accounting the the amount of any deficiency or loss incurred

by the negligence or misconduct of that person or of any sum which ought to have been but is not brought into account by that person and shall in every such case certify the amount due from such person.

(2) Any Councillor, Alderman, or member of a Committee present at a meeting held after the thirty-first day of March, 1933, at which a motion or a resolution is or was passed authorizing expenditure which is subsequently disallowed under this section or authorizing any action which leads to expenditures afterwards so disallowed shall be deemed to have been a person *authorizing the illegal payment* if he has voted for such motion or resolution and all persons so voting shall be held jointly and severally responsible for the expenditure. A provision has been made for an appeal to the Small Causes Court or to the Local Government.

A more drastic and unthinkable measure can hardly be imagined. In the statement of the Hon'ble the Minister, it has been stated that the auditors will disallow such illegal expenditure as has been incurred or such loss as has been caused to the Corporation either by negligence or by misconduct. The Hon'ble Minister's statement is misleading. As will be evident from the section quoted above, there is no mention of either negligence or misconduct. The auditors will be bound to disallow any expenditure which is, in their opinion, "contrary to law." A payment may be "contrary to law" or illegal in various ways. A payment made for a purpose which is not sanctioned by Act; or a payment may be made for which no provision has been made in the budget; or it may be that an expenditure has been incurred for a project which, requires the previous sanction of the Government. In such cases, who is to be the judge whether a particular payment is illegal, under the proposed legislation? The auditor. Therefore, the auditor is to be the supreme authority over the Corporation. The Government has stated that this method of enforcing the law is preferable to any system under which powers might be given to Government to supersede the Corporation. The distinction must be a distinction without a difference. Apart from the fact, that the Corporation will be practically superseded and will be at the mercy of an autocrat, we cannot imagine how this provision is to be worked in practice. There is no provision for pre-audit, and whether a payment is contrary to law or not will in many cases depend upon the interpretation of statutes and rules made thereunder, about which there may be scope for legitimate difference of opinion. In such a case, whether a particular opinion of any particular individual responsible for a particular payment will be shared by the auditor will be a matter of speculation. And who is going to authorize a payment with the risk of being

surcharged if in the opinion of the auditor, it turns out to be illegal? In fact, one can hardly imagine a provision so opposed to the fundamental principles of administration. When in the course of administration, something is done *bone fide*, protection is always given to the persons responsible for the acts. Otherwise administration would come to a standstill. It is always so with judicial officers, with executive officers, with everyone connected with the administration of any country or corporation. Suppose the Collector of a district doing something with the revenue in consonance with his interpretation of a particular statute. Can anyone conceive of a provision in the law by which the Collector will be made liable to be surcharged if a different interpretation is put upon the statute by higher authorities? One could understand if the person making a payment was made liable for his fraud or misconduct. But the Bill does not limit the liability to fraud or misconduct. Even if there is a *bone fide* difference of opinion as to the interpretation of a statute, the person responsible for the payment will not be protected. It may be said that there is an appeal. But even then our experience has shown that the opinion of the highest tribunal of the land may be set aside if one can go higher. Even then, who is going to take the risk of authorizing a payment and make himself liable to be surcharged though he acts *bona fide*? It is stated that such provisions are in force in Great Britain. We have not come across any and refuse to believe that such provisions which are opposed to all principles of administration have found a place in any law in Great Britain. The Hon'ble Minister, with a touch of irony, claims that the only feature which the proposed legislation departs materially from the practice in force in Great Britain and elsewhere is that it is proposed to give power to the Government to set aside any order of disallowance or surcharge!

After examining the Bill, we cannot help the conviction that it is intended to teach a lesson to the Calcutta Corporation which had the audacity, on occasions, to differ from the Government, and to deal a blow to the only institution exercising some form of self-government. The autonomy of the Corporation has been an eyesore to the Government and its supporters, and the Bill if passed into law will deal a deathblow to the evolution of self-governing institutions in this country. It is claimed that the proposed legislation is not inconsistent with the spirit of the Act. If that is so, this spirit was not in the contemplation of the framers of the Calcutta Municipal Act. We hope our countrymen will not take this challenge lying down nor overlook the danger of thoughtlessly passing over it.



# INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

## Indian Education in the Fiji Islands

We invite the attention of the Government of India to the following facts and figures reproduced from the *Fiji Samachar* of Suva, Fiji Islands:

### INDIAN EDUCATION

The Message No. 18 of 1929 of the Acting Governor, the Hon. A. W. Seymour, presented to the Legislative Council on the 30th Oct., 1929, proposed the establishment in 1930 of nine new schools for Indians. According to the Government estimate, there were in 1929 not less than 18,000 Indian children of school-going age, 6 to 14 years, of which only 3,896 were at 76 schools throughout the colony. One of these was a Government built school, another was built by Indians but under Government control and only 38 were assisted by the Government. It would appear therefore that the proposal of the Acting Governor was very modest and an honest attempt to provide some facilities needed for Indian education. But the European Elected Members vehemently opposed the proposal and jointly sent a telegram to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in which they said, *inter alia*,

"Not impossible that in certain districts Government schools intended for Indians of all creeds would meet boycott or non-co-operation.

"If first schools successful we would agree accelerate programme...

"Necessity for caution emphasized by fact that no financial scheme yet devised for general educational rating.

"We realize necessity providing facilities Indian education and will support establishment three new schools next year...

"If your Lordship will not intervene we must... endeavour to prevent passing of Estimates..."

The Secretary of State for the Colonies said in reply:

"...I consider ideal to be aimed at is equal educational facilities for all races but that I am of course aware that the ideal can be reached only by stages and with due consideration for the financial resources. I cannot however consider their (Europeans Members') proposal for only three additional schools for Indians next year (1930) to be adequate, but I will not press for larger expenditure than is involved in the establishment of three schools in connection with the present (1930) Estimates..."

The suggestion that Government schools proposed under the Message of the Acting Governor would have met with boycott was unfounded and misleading. There was one Government school for all races functioning since 1919 and it was never boycotted. Though small as it was, and required improvements in facilities provided, it was a success. The establishment of the three

schools referred to above, though only one was built in 1930, and the other two in 1931, has also been a success. None of these schools has either been boycotted or non-co-operated. We understand that two of them are overcrowded and require immediate expansion.

After all they are tiny schools costing the Loan Funds £1,443. 17. 10 for all the three, from which Funds the sum of £13,539. 0. 1. was spent without any opposition from the Indians and without any consideration of financial resources, on the Boarding Establishment in Suva for European girls, which completed in 1929, the year in which the European Elected Members opposed the Acting Governor's proposal for Schools, not Boarding Houses, for Indians.

The education Rating System has been adopted in the form of an Ordinance but we do not know why it has not as yet been brought into practice. If the Education Rates are not collected from the Indians, they are not to blame. The Indians have always offered to share the financial "burden" for the education of their children. They are maintaining and assisting many schools and they feel, quite rightly, that they must have adequate say in the distribution of their contributions.

Several thousands of Indian children have overgrown the school-going age since 1929, when, according to the Government Statement, over 14,000 of the Indian children of 6 to 14 years of age had no facilities for their education. Year after year the number of such children is increasing without any corresponding increase in the number of schools for them, or facilities generally for their education. If we had a scheme of three or more schools every year for Indians, which we think was implied by the statement of the European Elected members when they said:

"We realize necessity (for) providing facilities (for) Indian education and will support establishment (for) three new schools next year..." and also by Lord Passfield's reply in which it was suggested that:

"As soon as possible after arrival, the new Governor (Sir Murchison) should take the consideration with a view...to submitting a supplementary Estimates for such additional provision for India Education as may then be found advisable." Debates 1929, page 241.

There might have been some consolation but as things are today, there is cause for alarm. The Acting Governor's nine schools in 1930 were knocked down to three in 1930 and 1931 with a full stop, and there has been no further consideration for any more. In 1930 and 1932 no scheme for new schools was contemplated. At this rate of "progress," majority of Indian children will remain illiterate for generations, for there can never be adequate facilities for even primary education for all the Indian children of school-going age.

It is the duty of the State to provide for the education of State's children and when we Indians are offering to share in the expenditure, over and above the general contribution, we make to the general revenues of the Colony, it is essential that a vigorous educational policy be pursued in providing facilities for Indian children. Let us hope that the Government will be pleased to take up this matter at the next session of the Council so that a definite start can be made from 1934 at least. We assure the Govt. of our support to any reasonable and fair scheme for providing needed facilities for the education of the children of this colony.

Mark the threatening attitude of the European Elected Members of the Fiji Legislative Council who wired to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. "If your Lordship will not intervene we must...endeavour to prevent passing of Estimates..." and the object surrender on the part of the latter. It is acts of such short-sighted policy that make one despair of cordial relations being brought about between the Europeans and Indians of Fiji. The *Fiji Samachar* has put the case with commendable moderation and there lies its strength. May we hope the Government of India will take up the question immediately?

#### Another Indian member to the Uganda Legislative Council

The *Hindu* of Madras has published the following cable from London:

Steps are being taken to give effect to the view of the Governor of Uganda that it will be in the interests of the Protectorate generally to have the advice of a second Indian member of the Legislative Council, stated Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, replying to a question in the House of Commons.

There are more than fifteen thousand Indians in Uganda while the population of Europeans is only two thousands. Most of the trade of the Protectorate is also in the hands of the Indians. It was therefore unjust on the part of the Government of Uganda to nominate only one Indian to the Council while the number of nominated Europeans was two.

#### An Indian Member in the Surinam Legislative Council

We congratulate Mr. C. R. Biswamitre on his being nominated as a member of the Legislative Council of Dutch Guiana. We in India know very little about our people in Dutch Guiana and we request Mr. Biswamitre to keep us regardly informed about the position of countrymen in that colony.

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Miss Vanamala N. Lokur

MISS VANAMALA N. LOKUR of Belgaum has secured 1st class honours in the recent B. A. examination of Bombay University. She is the daughter of Mr. N. S. Lokur, District and Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad. Miss Vanamala had taken Sanskrit as her voluntary language. Her age is only 19. She is the first Karnata lady to secure such a distinction.

SRIMATI SARALA DEVI is the first Oriya lady to be appointed as a Director of Cuttack Central Co-operative Bank.

MISS SARADA, daughter of Mr. Justice Jayl of Lahore High Court, has passed the B. examination of the Punjab University. She is the first lady in the Punjab to become law graduate.

## NOTES

### *Civil Disobedience Again Suspended*

Beginning with Mahatma Gandhi's fast for twenty-one days, civil disobedience was suspended for six weeks. As Mahatmaji is still very weak, the movement has been again suspended for six weeks. This should be considered right and necessary, as, if civil disobedience has to be started by the Congress again or any other method adopted, or if Non-co-operation has to be dropped, the members of the Working Committee of the Congress who are not now in jail or under restraint of any other kind must meet and deliberate and decide upon some course of action, and Mahatma Gandhi, being the leader, must take part in the deliberations. Hence the Conference of the leaders can take place only when Gandhiji has regained his usual state of health.

### *What Should Be Done ?*

Though the conference of the leaders is to come off later, they must individually be thinking hard what ought to be done now to obtain freedom for India.

Those who hit upon non-violent Non-co-operation as a method which was likely to make India free, were not born Non-co-operators. Not to speak of others, even Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the protagonist of Non-co-operation, had once been a "co-operator," risking his life to help the British Government in war-time in South Africa. It was when he and his co-workers and followers became convinced, rightly or wrongly, that the ordinary methods of constitutional agitation had failed to win

Swaraj for India that they thought of and adopted a different method. This method included many items, not all of which have been practised. At first some of these were not unlawful. But at present it would be difficult to point out any which is lawful. The lines of action hitherto followed have been futile so far as the main object of gaining Swaraj is concerned, though other gains may be claimed by Non-co-operators as the direct or indirect results of the movement.

Though civil disobedience has been declared unlawful, it never was unconstitutional, nor can it be considered unconstitutional even now. When Lord Hardinge was Governor-General of India, he declared that the passive resistance movement started by Indians in South Africa was constitutional. Judges and magistrates can and will punish people for doing many things which are constitutional but which may have been declared unlawful. But there is a restricted sense in which the word constitutional may be used—namely, that which covers only those actions, methods, policies, etc., which are allowable under the law prevailing at a given time. When Non-co-operators adopted their method of action, considering that the ordinary method of constitutional agitation had proved futile, the Liberals continued to believe that the latter method would be successful, and they adhere to that view still. But their method also has hitherto proved unsuccessful, and Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, a most prominent Liberal, has declared that the momentum which political agitation has

gained in the country has been due to the civil disobedience movement.

The only two non-violent methods for winning freedom hitherto tried have been referred to above and both have proved unsuccessful so far—of course, *objectively*.

The methods of violence are mainly two : organized and armed mass violence, generally known as rebellion or war of independence, and individual violence or terrorism. Of these two, the latter has been tried, but has not brought freedom to India. The former has not been tried, and so far as mere civilians like ourselves can judge, it is impracticable in the present circumstances of India.

In what has been written above, the ethical aspects of the four non-violent and violent methods have not been referred to or discussed, being well-worn topics.

If and when the Congress leaders meet a few weeks hence, they will no doubt consider both the ethical character of the different non-violent methods suggested and their practicability or otherwise. Methods of violence they will, of course, rule out. By their practicability we mean not only their feasibility, but also the likelihood of their being attended with success. It is not that we do not value suffering and sacrifice for their moral and spiritual effect upon character, but objective successful results also are wanted.

Though we do not believe that history always does or must repeat itself, we are unable just now to suggest any brand-new unhistorical method. But we should not be in favour of hasty action, simply because action is to be preferred to inaction.

"They also serve who only stand and wait."

### *Subhas Chandra Bose's Address*

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was to have presided over the Indian political conference recently held in London. But, as he did not get a passport to proceed to London from Vienna, his presidential address was read at the gathering by another person. A summary of the speech was cabled to India by Reuter and published in the dailies. Subsequently the speech has been proscribed

by Government. It is to be presumed, therefore, that the summary available cannot be reprinted and discussed, in its entirety or in part. The summary could not, of course, be liked by the bureaucracy. But it did not seem very dangerous to us.

Those who are of Mr. Bose's way of thinking—and they are perhaps not negligibly few—will keep and read and re-read the summary and perhaps also succeed in getting copies of the whole address by means unknown to us. Postal and C. I. D. officials do not know each and all of these persons and cannot possibly open and examine all postal articles addressed to them. To that extent Government's object in proscribing it will be frustrated.

### *Telegram to Premier from Rabindranath Tagore & others*

On the 5th of June last the following telegram was addressed to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Lord President of the Privy Council and the Secretary of State for India, a copy having been also sent to the Viceroy :

"Mr. Gandhi and the acting president of the Congress having suspended civil disobedience, we beg to represent the strong feeling widely prevalent in the country among all classes. It is time that the political prisoners, detained without trial or convicted of offences not involving violence, mostly under Ordinances or special laws, were released. It will be of the greatest value if the Congress be invited to collaborate in shaping the constitution now under examination, and we urge this should be done. The Government communique following the suspension of civil disobedience produced a dismay and resentment among all who desire ordered national development. We appeal to the statesmanship of His Majesty's Government to respond with alacrity to the gesture of good will made by the Congress, and thereby restore an atmosphere favourable to the reception of the reforms under consideration. We dread to contemplate the unhappy consequences of the attitude of non-co-operation on the part of Government."

The cable was signed by

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, Sir M. Visweswaraya, Sir Chunilal Mehta, Raja Rampalsingh, Raja Narendranath, Lady Ali Imam, Sir Moropant Joshi, Mr. T. R. Phookan, Rai Bahadur Karamchand, Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, Mr. Harbilas Sarda, Mr. Subbarao of Rajamundry, Mr. Govindrao Pradhan, Sir P. C. Ray, Raja Awagari, Sardar Ujjal Singh, Sir Muhammed Fakhruddin, Mr. S. B. Tambe, Mr. Meherchand Khanna, Mr. Ramchandra Rao, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Raja of Kalakankar, Mr. Ruchiram Sahny, Mr. R. G.



Mundle, Mr. Jamal Mahomed, Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai, Mr. G. D. Birla, Mr. Tirva Jagannath Agarwal, Mr. K. V. Brahma, Mr. P. Subbarayan, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Rani of Sherkot, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Major R. Row, Mrs. K. R. Subbarayan, Mr. B. V. Jadhava, Mrs. Kailash Srivastava, Lady Ramanbhai, Rai Krishnaji, Rai Rajeshwar Bali, Rai Bahadur Kanhaiyalal Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru, Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Rai Bahadur Jagdish Prosad, Mr. Naliniranjan Sarker, Rai Bahadur Hanumansingh, Lord Sinha, Mr. Mathura Prasad Mehrotra, Mr. B. Venkatapattiraju, Rao Krishnapal Singh, Mr. T. R. Vankatarama Sastri, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. Hansraj of Lahore, Mr. Manoharlal of Lahore, Mr. J. N. Basu, Sri Sankaracharya of Karwir Pith, Sahebji Maharaja of Radhaswami Satsang, Mohamahopadhyay Gananath Sen, Mrs Karve of Women's University, Sardar Rajendra Singh, Raja Jwalaprasad and Seth Kamalpat.

It is not known if any of the signatories ever laboured under the delusion that all or any of the addressees would do what the telegram suggests they should do. Perhaps the signatories all know that the British Government will not in any matter act against their own inclinations unless they feel compelled to do so. But there cannot be any compulsion in mere suggestions. Perhaps, some, at any rate, of the signatories may be credited with having done their bit in the spirit of the Gita teaching of *nishkama karma*—action without expectations of fruit!

Perhaps the only useful purpose which this telegram can serve is to tell the world (what is known in India outside Anglo-Indian bureaucratic circles) that Government's policy of repression and of exclusion of Congressmen from the work of constitution-making is not approved even in non-Congress circles. But so far as British bureaucrats in Britain and India are concerned, their preconceived notions will stand in the way of their perceiving this fact. In their opinion, the only Indians who have a representative character are those who are officially recognized as such, Congressmen are not at all representative or are representative of only a microscopical minority, and outside Congress circles even a Rabindranath Tagore or a Praphulla Chandra Ray is not a representative Indian. The telegram could have removed such misconceptions and enlightened unbiassed non-officials in Britain

and the public in Europe and America, if it had been published there. But *Reuter* did not transmit it abroad, nor the *Times'* Calcutta correspondent to its employers. *The Morning Post* and *The Daily Herald*, among London papers, published the names of only 3 or 4 signatories. It is not known whether the telegram has at all reached America or the continent of Europe.

As India has no political status of its own, it has no adequate independent means of publicity. But what means it can command or bring into existence, it ought to make full use of. Truth will, no doubt, prevail. But in order that it may prevail, it must be widely known. And to spread the truth is the bounden duty of all who know it.

### *Prestige*

If Congressmen not only admitted the failure of their policy and method but also confessed in a penitent mood that they had acted wrongly and unwisely and promised never again to engage in civil disobedience and the like, then Government might relent and release political prisoners convicted of non-violent offences as well as those detained without trial or charge. Government might then even ask some Congressmen to act as consultants or glorified witnesses or to give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, if they chose to do so. "*I have sinned!*"

Such *peccavi* and such promise would gratify the desire of the Government to maintain its prestige.

Congressmen also may be thinking of their prestige.

Every one is entitled to take due care of one's prestige, though not at the sacrifice of wise statesmanship. But it is always good to remind oneself of what prestige really means. It is a French word meaning 'illusion' 'glamour,' naturalized in English. It is derived from the Latin *praestigium*, delusion, illusion, *prestigia*, deceptions, jugglers' tricks. Even in English it at first meant delusion, illusion, trick, charm, enchantment. The best meaning which it has at present is influence, reputation derived from past achievements, associations, or acknowledged character.

If one continues to be capable of great achievements, one need not depend on influence or reputation derived from past achievements. If one has lost the capacity for great achievements, clinging to reputation derived from past achievements is a delusion and has a weakening effect. It also impairs usefulness. Hence endeavours to maintain prestige are generally either unnecessary or harmful. One's supreme concern should be to do the right irrespective of what people may say and in scorn of any other consequence.

### *Homes for the Middle Class*

In the nineteenth century, and right up to the world war for that matter, the urban middle class in the West have been dwellers in rented houses. The idea of owning a house of one's own was a castle very high up in the air indeed to a man who could with difficulty pay the rental of a suitable habitation. But the end of the war saw a phenomenal growth of the building societies, a branch of the co-operative movement no doubt, which have been in an experimental stage in Euro-America previous to that. May be due to people's growing lack of faith even in the so-called gilt-edged securities as sure things in the field of investment, first mortgages on first class income-yielding dwelling houses, assumed a new-found attractiveness after the War. People who desired a sure income from their capital or to get back their capital intact after a given period, found the crazy movements of the gilt-edged stock rather disconcerting and thought first mortgages a more sober investment. But the difficulty was to find first mortgage investment for the man of small capital. This gave the chance to the building societies who could now raise as much capital as they wanted against small denomination debentures based on the first mortgage of residential properties. That is to say, people, instead of holding a first mortgage entirely, took only a share in it along with many other small holders. Moreover, as debentures began to be issued covering a large number of houses all in one group, the risks attached to the mortgage of a single house, however valuable, were eliminated.

As a result of these new financial developments, when the International Congress of Building Societies met in London last month, we found that Britain had a thousand Building Societies with assets exceeding £469,000,000 sterling and the U. S. A. 13,000 such societies with \$ 8000,000,000 of assets.

In India so far there have been no building societies, pure and simple. No doubt, there have been some financing of building properties done by insurance and banking houses, but the net achievement has not been great. The recently started City Building Society and Investment Trust, Ltd. is, perhaps, the first of India's pure Building Societies. The ideals behind it tally with the Euro-American Societies. Properly managed, it should have the advantages of swimming with the current. The Indian "Government Paper" market jumping between Rs. 52 and Rs. 88 will enable Indian Building Societies to get endless capital, provided the ideals of security and public service are never allowed to tarnish in the least.

### *Drifting, Muddling Through, or Purposive Policy ?*

Neither the Morley-Minto reforms, nor the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were satisfactory from the Indian point of view. But there was nothing about them which was so unsatisfactory and annoying as the seemingly endless and aimless preliminaries of the coming constitutional changes. Of these preliminaries the Simon Commission came first and various committees supplemented its labours. The recommendations of that commission did not give satisfaction to the people of India. But if they satisfied the British Government, why did they not give effect to them ? If they did not satisfy the British authorities, there were the recommendations, suggestions or proposals—the name does not matter—made by the Government of India after considering the Simon Commission Report. But the British Government did not take action even on these. Instead, the so-called Round Table Conferences were called. And there were

three of them. Even the third of them was inconclusive on many important matters, the most vital, namely, whether India was to have self-government at all and, if so, when, being carefully avoided all along. These misnamed Round Table Conferences were followed by the publication of the White Paper. It cannot be said that the proposals contained in this document embody the recommendations of the plenary sessions of the Round Table Conference and its various committees and sub-committees. Those who have drawn up the White Paper have accepted, rejected, added and altered at their own sweet will. Now we have the Joint Parliamentary Committee. It is not bound by the White Paper Proposals, or the recommendations, suggestions, etc., made by the Round Table Conference or the Simon Commission. When the Joint Parliamentary Committee will submit its report, the British Ministry will draft their Indian Constitution Act. They will not be bound to follow the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in their draft, and the British Parliament may or may not pass the Bill drafted. Supposing it is passed in an unaltered or amended form, the Federation which is professed to be the object of the Constitution Act to bring into being, "shall be brought into being by Royal Proclamation," but "the Royal Proclamation shall not be issued until both Houses of Parliament have presented an Address to the Crown with a prayer for its promulgation"! But one or both of the two Houses may not agree to present such an address to the Crown!!

Another condition precedent to the bringing into operation of the Federal Constitution, proposed by His Majesty's Government in the White Paper, is that

"the Rulers of States representing not less than half the aggregate population of the Indian States and entitled to not less than half the seats to be allotted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber shall have executed Instruments of Accession."

According to the latest information (if there can be any latest definite information!) there is little prospect of the States joining the Federation. If they join, they would join through a confederation of their own! And

they want to say what they will do *after* the Constitution Act has been passed!

The Rulers of the States may have minds of their own. But it is not these minds which decide. It is the minds of the British officials who are their tutelary deities which decide for them. That is the general rule. If the unwillingness of the Princes to join the Federation represents the mind of these British officials, that may be taken to be an indication of the attitude of the British Ministry themselves.

We are not in the least eager for the passage through Parliament of any Constitution Act like that outlined in the White Paper, nor of any Act which the Joint Parliamentary Committee may adumbrate; which is likely to be worse than the former. What we want is that the state of suspense should be quickly over and that we should know the worst at the earliest possible moment. There is no best, better or good to be expected.

The British Parliament and people appear to be determined not to part with the least bit of real power over India. What is the good of any camouflage then? The cry of "Abdication" raised by Churchill and Co. is a lie which does not deceive Indians. Can it possibly deceive any other people? Is it really believed in even by the British people? We wonder.

The British are a more united, better organized and stronger people than the Indians. Why cannot they then have the courage to tell the latter with unflinching frankness what is in their minds? Is it the so-called world public opinion which makes cowards of them? The Japanese have shown utter contempt for this world public opinion. Why cannot Britishers? Or is it a case of conscience making cowards of them? May be. For, it cannot be dogmatically asserted that they do not possess a conscience.

### *Disarmament and Moral Substitutes for War*

What is briefly referred to as disarmament is really reduction of armaments. This problem has all along been considered from the point of view of independent nations. But subject nations also have their point of view.

Independent nations attack one another for economic and other reasons. Whether by peace pacts, reduction of armaments, etc., war can be prevented in *future* (considering *present-day* facts, one finds that Japanese bellicoseness has not been prevented), it is for independent nations to consider. What subject nations or peoples have to consider is how they can obtain or win freedom. From that point of view they have to consider whether disarmament or reduction of armaments will in any way improve the prospects of their obtaining freedom. It is well known that large numbers of Indians do not entertain the idea of becoming free by armed rebellion. But the repeated boasts of British politicians and newspapers that they could hold India by force if they wished to, cannot but suggest the idea that, if Great Britain's military, naval, and air forces were sufficiently reduced—reduced, say, to the domestic police level, then Britishers could not perhaps indulge in that boast. Every one knows, however, that whatever reductions might be made in the forces and armaments of imperialistic nations, they would suffice to hold their alien disarmed and unarmed subjects in subjection. Hence, and also (as said above) because large numbers of Indians are not thinking of rising in rebellion, it is necessary for them to know whether there is or can be a moral substitute for a war of independence.

As wars between independent nations have been prevented—at least in a few cases, by the settlement of disputes by arbitration, negotiation, etc., there is no question that there are non-violent substitutes for war among independent nations. But as yet there has not been a single case of a really subject nation winning freedom by any other means except war in the literal sense. War, however, is out of the question in the case of India, because large numbers of Indians do not want to obtain freedom by fighting and because those among them who may want to fight cannot do so owing to their disarmed condition. For this reason, so far at least as India is concerned, the search for a non-violent substitute for war is not a mere academic subject of research. It is a vital

problem on the solution of which India's life and strength depend.

This substitute for war must be such as would be acceptable not only to the subject population but also to the dominant people. Gandhiji thought (and perhaps still thinks) that the sacrifice and sufferings involved in Non-co-operation would be an effective substitute for war. It has not yet proved effective, and so far as an outsider can judge, the sacrifice and sufferings of Non-co-operators have not even produced any effect on the hearts of any appreciable section of the British public.

The majority of Oxford and some other British University undergraduates may say, as they have done, that they would not fight for their king or country—though it is not clear whether they would refuse to fight to keep India as a part of John Bull's estate. Supposing they would refuse, they are a small fraction of Britain's possible soldiers. And even if the British imperialist politicians could not count upon British soldiers to hold India in subjection, many of India's own "sons" could be hired to preserve her present political status.

The question then of a non-violent substitute for war cannot but engage the attention of Indians. But it ought to engage the attention of the British people also—of the British rulers of India, including British subordinate officials, and of British men of business. The British people should know, if they do not know it already, that the desire for freedom has permeated all sections of the Indian people and that, whilst many will not or cannot fight for freedom, some may continue to put up a fight, in however disorganized or ineffective a manner. Their attempts will fail and may be considered foolish. But the day is far off when all men will be wise. And so long as superior force is the sole or chief means employed to meet inferior force, the use of force itself will not stand morally discredited in the eyes of those whose force is inferior.

Taking it for granted that the use of force by any section of Indians can be frustrated by the employment of superior and organized force, that must mean much expendi-



ture of time, intellectual and physical energy, and money. As the object of British rule in India is to make it profitable to the British people, the more time, intellectual and physical energy, and money are devoted to that end the better. Hence, it is to the interest of the British people to create and preserve such conditions as would not lead any section of Indians to use force for winning freedom, necessitating the employment of force to crush it. Moreover, trade does not flourish during times of unrest, nor are a discontented people the best possible purchasers of the goods manufactured by a foreign people against whom the discontented, rightly or wrongly, think they have grievances.

It is, no doubt, true that a free India will manage somehow to do without the cotton textiles made in Lancashire and some other British manufactures. But a free India will require more machinery and other classes of goods which India does not at present manufacture and cannot do so for some time longer. These she will buy from Britain even when free, if price and quality be satisfactory.

### *"We Could Hold India By Force"*

*Says The Daily Telegraph :*

We could hold India by force in the final necessity, but an India governed in that manner would be the gravest threat to the empire... A rebellious, or even a sullen India, would be a burden such as even our financial resources could not sustain. That is the direct material argument, but there is the higher consideration that to hold India by force would be foreign to the whole genius of our rule. Statesmanship has to consider not what is the last desperate measure it can take, but what will promote best the ends at which it aims.

"We could hold India by force in the final necessity"—this assertion is not demonstrably untrue. But its repetition by British publicists cannot increase our national self-respect, particularly as Indian soldiers are among the very best fighters in the world and as Indians are more than seven times as many in number as the British people.

But the paragraph quoted above is, as a whole, unexceptionable. The only words to which exception can be taken is, "to hold India by force would be foreign to the whole

genius of our rule." We could wish it were true. The genius of British rule wanted to hold the American colonies in America by force, but failed. The same genius wanted to subdue the Boers in South Africa and keep them in subjection, but found it a very expensive and troublesome business and hence gave them self-rule.

Where and when have the British people given self-rule to any non-European people whom they could hold by force ?

### *Supporters of Sir Samuel Hoare's Procedure of Indian Reform*

A year ago, on July 13, 1932, Sir Samuel Hoare, in answer to a question put in Parliament by the Hon. M. Jones (Caerphilly, Lab.), among other things, said :

The Hon'ble Member for Caerphilly is quite correct in saying that certain distinguished Indian public men are gravely anxious as to the programme which I announced to the House ten days ago. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and two colleagues have resigned from the Consultative Committee. Thirteen others who met in Bombay on Sunday have sent to me and the Prime Minister a protest against our programme of procedure. At the same time the House should know that I have had other communications from India, also from very responsible Indian public men representing more than one great interest in India, strongly approving of the procedure that I described ten days ago.....

Who were the responsible representatives of more than one interest of India supporting Sir Samuel Hoare? And who are they now? As a matter of coincidence one Azizuddin Ahmed, who seemed to know the secrets of Sir Samuel, published the following letter in

*The Times* of July 14 last year :

To

The Editor of *The Times*

Sir,

It is good to read the procedure announced by Sir Samuel Hoare, and I trust that no notice will be taken of the petulant non-co-operation of the so-called Liberals.

Sir Samuel rightly thinks the Moslems, the land-holders and Princes more worthy of consideration in political questions than a coterie of charming high-brows. However much parties and castes may wrangle about their shares of the political broth, Government must be firm and keep the stirring of it to itself or it will inevitably be spoiled.

Yours faithfully,  
AZIZUDDIN AHMED.

It would be a matter of some interest for Indian nationalists and those Liberal leaders,

who *had* the courage to disagree with Sir Samuel, to know if the British Government *had been* encouraged by "the Moslems, the landholders and Princes," to ignore the demands of those who represent the vast majority of the politically-minded population of India.

The great defect of some Indian political "leaders" has been their want of confidence in themselves and their countrymen and a spirit of compromise even in essentials.

Why have Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his colleagues who refused to co-operate last year agreed this year to fill a role of lesser power and dignity—that of glorified witnesses? What grounds have they had for greater optimism? None at all!

T. D.

### *British Headmaster Paints Gloomy Picture of Today's Public Schoolboys*

"LONDON, July 28,—Liars, thieves, coxcombs and cowards—that is the postwar generation of English public schoolboys. Cuthbert Blackeston, headmaster of the fashionable Lancing School, told a startled British Medical Association today when he addressed its convention as a guest.

They are indifferent to the traditional interests of a gentleman, represented by horses and above all cricket he said. Worse still, they are destroying the old boast that an Englishman's word is his bond. The Duke of Wellington reputedly declared after Napoleon's defeat, 'The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton.' But the Iron Duke ought to see what's happening now.

"Above all things, the boy today fears to be alone," said Blackeston. "He fears loneliness and boredom. This state of things has to a large extent destroyed the old spirit of adventure and has done much to impair his power of initiative. This is manifested in the unwillingness of boys of 18 to 19 to go abroad to seek their fortunes.

"A great deal of the difficulty of administering a school today arises from the prevalence of untruthfulness. Stealing books and gramophone records is regarded as an extended form of borrowing. Also the impulse is expressing itself in pinching anything which will adorn their persons—socks, ties, and so on. It's peacockery. The generation of today is suffering from instability of a new type." (*Tribune Press Service of America.*)

The above-cited paragraphs appeared a year ago in a prominent American newspaper. Has there been any appreciable improvement since then in the moral condition of public schools in England?

Lt. Col. Osborne, the author of "Must

England Lose India?" held that the tyranny sometimes practised by some British officials in India and other parts of the world, especially upon the weak, was the result of the training given to the British ruling class in the Public Schools.

T. D.

### *Devadas Gandhi's Marriage*

Some orthodox Hindus have been hurling anathema and abuse at Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari because they (a Baniya and a Brahman respectively by caste) have consented to the marriage of their son and daughter. But intercaste marriages were not forbidden in ancient India. Marriage of "higher" caste bridegrooms with "lower" caste brides was, of course, more prevalent than the marriage of "lower" caste bridegrooms with "higher" caste brides, but the latter was not prohibited. Intercaste marriages are prevalent and valid in Darjeeling district, Sikkim and Nepal.

Mr. Mahadev Desai writes in *Harijan* (June 24, 1933) in connection with this marriage that, on the part of Gandhiji and Sjt. Rajagopalachari, "There was no objection on the ground of different *varna*. . . Neither Gandhiji nor Sjt. Rajagopalachari believed in the practice that bars inter-marriage and inter-dining between castes." Mr. Desai takes care to explain, however:

Let no one imagine that inter-caste wedding is any part of the anti-untouchability movement or even that it is part of a separate intercaste marriage campaign. The warning has to be given, because both the fathers of the bride and the bridegroom are the principal leaders of the anti-untouchability campaign. The wedding has no connection with it, as is shown by the circumstances I have narrated above, nor does it arise out of any anti-*Sanatani* proclivities of the parents, as some of the anti-reform papers have tried to insinuate.

Describing the marriage, the Bombay correspondent of *The Leader* writes:

It was celebrated in the Vedic manner in the first instance by the curious ceremony of making a Brahmin of Mr. Gandhi Junior. The reformers are glad that a civil marriage has taken place. But their satisfaction was somewhat marred by this wonderful ceremony of making a Brahmin of Mr. Devadas Gandhi. This ceremony shows the inferiority complex of those who allowed it. Either Mr. Devadas Gandhi is as good as a Brahmin and then this ceremony was stupid. Or, he is inferior to a Brahmin, and then there is

no process known to orthodox Hinduism by which Brahmins could be manufactured out of non-Brahmins.

### *What is "Sanatan Dharma" ?*

Orthodox Hindus who observe the present-day Hindu customs style themselves Sanatanists. It is not necessary for us to dispute their claim to that name. But approaching the question purely in an academic spirit, one may say that *sanatan* means perpetual, constant, eternal, permanent, primeval, ancient, and that it cannot be shown from history that the social polity and customs and the religious beliefs, practices and worship of the Hindus have been from primeval times constant and what they are at present. What one finds in the Vedas and the Upanishads is somewhat different from and more ancient than what one finds in the Puranas and Smritis.

### *Inter caste Marriage and Racial Purity*

Those who oppose inter-caste marriages profess to do so on the ground of racial purity. But all the different Hindu castes do not represent different races anthropologically. Moreover, without discussing that question at all, it may be pointed out that racial purity is a myth. In support of this statement it is not necessary to quote authorities in anthropology. A passage from a popular author will quite serve our purpose. Says Mr. H. G. Wells :

To exaggerate the dangers of miscegenation is a weakness of our time. Man interbreeds with all his varieties and yet deludes himself that there are races of outstanding purity, the "Nordic," the "Semitic" and so forth. These are phantoms of the imagination."—*What are we to do with our lives ?* by H. G. Wells, Chap. xii, p. 95.

### *Mazzini, Patriot and Moralist*

In a review in an American paper of an American book, named "Mazzini: Prophet of Modern Europe," by Gwilym O. Griffith, occurs the following passage :

Mazzini lived at a time when the great national problems of Europe were approaching a climax, while the social problem could no longer be ignored even by a middle-class publicist. Concerning the national problem Mazzini's thought was clear and precise : "You cannot *pray* Austria out of Italy." He saw clearly into the future of

Austria, more clearly than Marx and Engels, the weight of whose thought lay elsewhere : "In Austria there is a Slav movement which no one troubles about, but which one day will wipe Austria off the map of Europe." But when it came to the social question, Mazzini talked of faith, love and self-sacrifice ; charged the utopian communists of Cabet's school with substituting the idea of material well being for any idea of moral progress, thus reducing civilization to a society of bees and beavers ; and when in 1848 he was dictator of Rome, he would not confiscate the property of the papal emigres in order to raise funds for the revolution. His social program is : No war of classes, no wanton or unjust violation of the rights of property, but a constant disposition to ameliorate the condition of the least favoured.

### *"The Way to Improvement"*

According to Oswald Spengler, the famous author of *The Decline of the West*,

It is now possible in every country for the whole weight of political influence, capital, and armed force to be used to perpetuate the nation in its present form and position or to improve it, regardless of whether its government is receiving support or opposition within the country.

The way to improvement is not confined to technical processes and methods. The whole of culture is included. Let me therefore repeat : *political power, without which there can be no extended economic success, no longer resides in money, cannon, and treaties, but, to an increasing degree, in individuals who through their superiority represent real power and can therefore replace the anonymous power of greater quantity.* My hope for Germany arises from the fact that during the last century we have been the nation that has developed the strongest individuals in technology, science, economic organization, military force, and governmental administration, and that this power of production is obviously far from being exhausted. [Italics ours. Ed. M. R.]

### *Rammohun Roy Centenary*

We take the following from *The Christian Register* of Boston, a journal of the Unitarian and other free churches :

The American Unitarian Association, at its meeting in Boston, Mass., May 23, salutes its brethren of India at their approaching celebration of the centenary of the death of their distinguished apostle of civil and religious liberty, Rajah Rammohun Roy. A relentless foe of every kind of superstition and intolerance, equipped by a powerful intellect and long and arduous training for a sympathetic understanding of India's various faiths, passionately resolved to do everything in his power for the emancipation of women and the destruction of the evils of the caste system, the founder of colleges and of journals which were to shed the light of learning upon some of the dark places of the earth, he gave unstintingly of his time and fortune to the founding and maintenance of the Brahmo Samaj, the Free Church of

modern India, and won for himself a place with Channing and Parker and other emancipators of the human race as one of the world's immortals.

### *Rammohun Roy and the Brahmo Samaj*

Prof. H. C. E. Zacharias, Ph. D., lecturer on Modern Indian History at the Catholic University, Lille (France), devotes his recently published (May 2, 1933) book on "*Renascent India: From Rammohun Roy to Mohandas Gandhi*," published by George Allen and Unwin, to an account of the social and political movements in modern India. In his account of the Brahmo Samaj, after mentioning a few prominent Brahmos, he observes :

"I only mention these by name: but cannot forbear personally to testify to the charm of intellect and character, which quite generally distinguishes the men and women of Brahmo society, and which makes them an elite, of whom any nation might be proud.

"And this elite has really been what the Brahmo Samaj was intended to be: a leaven, working away gradually from above downwards, leavening the whole mass of Indian society. In the event, the Brahmo leaven, when reaching other strata of society, other regions of India, other periods of India's evolution, became transformed—often so radically that no connection between such growths and the original Brahmo germ-cell is suspected: the fact remains and becomes manifest to patient research, that the connection exists and that, however indirectly, Rammohun Roy and his Brahmo Samaj form the starting-point for all the various Reform Movements—whether in Hindu Religion, Society or Politics—which have agitated India during the past hundred years and which have led to her wonderful Renaissance in these our own days." (Page 23.)

"In Bengal itself the leading politicians have practically all arisen out of the Brahmo milieu." (Page 24.)

### *Dr. Zacharias on the Ramakrishna Mission*

On the Ramakrishna Mission Dr. Zacharias writes in the same book partly thus :

"In Bengal itself, the Ramakrishna Mission makes its principal appeal nowadays by the splendid social service, in which its members engage—dispensaries, orphanages, schools, etc.—and these activities are, to some extent, also carried on outside their native province, as for instance in Madras, Bangalore and Bombay, but their headquarters remain at Belur Math on the outskirts of Calcutta. Their admirers—such for instance as the great Indian Y. M. C. A. leader, the late K. T. Paul—still see in the Ramakrishna Movement the most living as well as the most characteristic expression of Indian nationalism. Truly centred on the Brahma Sutras, faithful also

to the interpretation of Sankara, the Ramakrishna order has still taken a clear step forward, by reading into *Karma Yoga* selfless service in the most human sense of the term.' To me this appraisal of their actual influence seems somewhat exaggerated: the fact remains, that since Vivekananda's death, in the absence of a successor willing or capable of filling the rôle of a national figure, the Society continues to do meritorious social service work and acts in this respect as a leaven of undoubted power and usefulness. Pp. 24-25.

### *Dr. Zacharias on the Arya Samaj*

In the same work Dr. Zacharias says that "the excellent and far-reaching work the Arya Samaj has done in the domain of social reform is undoubted.

After its founder's death that part of the work indeed was emphasized and great education and famine relief enterprise added to it, whilst the purely religious propaganda slipped a little more to the background." Pp. 39-40.

"The political side of the Arya Samaj, inherent in the Nationalist outlook of its creed, has received a special impetus through Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), ... At this point I can sum up the Arya Samaj as a religious force working for social reform, which remains a great and powerful factor to this day in the national life of India, and seriously to be reckoned with in its future. Pp. 41-42.

### *Dr. Zacharias on the Prarthana Samaj*

In the opinion of Dr. Zacharias the Prarthana Samajists "never were interested in religious speculation in the way that Keshav and Dayanand were :

being of a more practical turn of mind, they rather concentrated upon Social Reform, as it can be known—upon "works" rather than "faith." As for the latter they considered themselves in the true line of the great Theistic (Vaishnavite) tradition of Maharashtra, made famous by such popular saints as Namdev, Tukaram and Ramdas. All they strove to do was to apply this "love of God in the service of man," as the needs of the day demanded it....." P. 43.

### *"Purna Swaraj" and "Isolation"*

More than two-thirds of *Renascent India* is devoted to the political movement in India. In the concluding paragraphs of the book the author observes "that in this interdependent world of ours the ideal of national solidarity has become as idle and as mischievous a dream, as that of national sovereignty."

There is no difficulty in admitting that the interdependence of nations is a higher and sounder ideal than the mere independence of



nations or national sovereignty. But the question is, can there be real interdependence between nations whose political status is not the same? Take concrete examples. There can be interdependence between Great Britain and U. S. A., because the two countries can negotiate as equals and impose on each other and accept conditions equally binding on both. Similarly, both these countries, as well as every other independent country, can enter into relations of reciprocity and interdependence with other independent countries. Take now the case of India and of Great Britain and other independent countries. It goes without saying that, as a subject country, India cannot enter into any relations of any kind—not to speak of relations of reciprocity, with any country outside the British Empire. Of course, there may be, as there are, certain relations between Great Britain and India. But the character of these relations is in all cases, not that between equals, not that of interdependence or reciprocity, but that between a master and a servant. Under the circumstances, to talk of interdependence in their case would be a mockery.

But it may be said, as the author says in effect in a subsequent paragraph, that when India obtains Dominion Status and "National Sovereignty" according to the Westminster Statute of 1931, there would then be relations of reciprocity between India and Great Britain. But on the 29th of June 1933, when we write, no political cynicism is required to observe that Great Britain would as soon recognize India's right to be independent as her right to be a fully self-ruling Dominion within the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations. After definite Royal and Viceregal pronouncements that India's goal was Dominion Status, towards which the British Government was to work, the White Paper has deliberately and carefully avoided even the mention of those words and outlined a "constitution" whose natural evolution can never lead to Dominion Status, and a Lord Salisbury does not feel ashamed to openly make light of Britain's pledges to India! But why blame smaller fry? Even the Premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, has observed that the British pledges to India were only

declarations of intentions! It is said that Hell is paved with good intentions.

The penultimate paragraph of Prof. Zacharias' book runs as follows:

"Purna Swaraj," an India absolutely independent and therefore absolutely isolated, an ideal? Perish the thought—with my great political master Gokhale I rather hold that India's linked destiny with Britain is ordained by Providence for India's good and that true Indian patriotism does not consist in handing India over to the Purna Swaraj of an Iraq or China, but rather demands the swift, but ordered, progress of the Motherland from Self-government to the National Sovereignty within the British Commonwealth of Nations, which the Westminster statute of 1931 has secured already to those, who but a generation ago formed the British Colonies. Pp. 296-97.

It will, we hope, be admitted that Great Britain, France, Italy, U. S. A., etc., have "Purna Swaraj." Are they absolutely isolated? Certainly not. Why then is it taken for granted that, if and when India would get "Purna Swaraj," she would be absolutely isolated? We are not in the counsels or secrets of Providence. But we shall not in the least hesitate to admit any State to be the instrument in the hands of Providence for the good of India, when that State really leads India to the goal of "National Sovereignty," or, at any rate, places India definitely on the way to that goal. Numerous persons have faith in God and adhere to that faith in spite of warring circumstance. Very often it becomes extremely difficult for them to preserve this faith. It would be hard lines for them, if faith in God and faith in Great Britain were placed in the same category.

Probably because India is an Asiatic country, therefore, the author names two Asiatic countries, Iraq and China, to indicate what Purna Swaraj would mean to India; otherwise, that is, if India had not been an oriental country, he could have named Poland or Czechoslovakia, for example, which obtained Purna Swaraj on account of the last great war. But even among Asiatic countries, why pick out Iraq or China? Why not name Japan or Persia? Are they doing very badly under Purna Swaraj? Of course, the author may say, that India under Purna Swaraj is more likely to be like Iraq or China than like Japan or Persia. But would he suspect that in that answer there would

be implied a very great compliment to England, India's master, teacher and guardian angel for wellnigh two centuries ?

From the example of the quondam British colonies becoming sovereign Dominions the author assumes that India has an identical future. But India has never been a colony—*British* or otherwise, India is not inhabited by people of European descent, and India is not Christian—which all British colonies have been. So India cannot have the same relations with and sentiment towards Great Britain as the British colonies have. Moreover, even after the passing of the Westminster Statute, the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire do not possess "National Sovereignty" in the sense in which France, Japan, Italy, U. S. A., etc. possess it. *British* Dominions may be content with a political status within *their* Empire which is somewhat inferior to complete national sovereignty. They may be satisfied with relations of interdependence with Great Britain only or mainly, because they are British. But if a large country inhabited by a non-European and non-Christian people has to imagine a political future for itself, why should it not imagine its destiny linked in an interdependent manner with the whole world instead of with the British Empire alone ? We use the word 'imagine' advisedly, for at present both Dominion Status and Independence are equally in the hardly realizable region of imagination than in the terra firma of reasoned expectation.

The author, no doubt, suggests a reason why India should naturally prefer comparatively closer relations with Britain. He says that, though Modern India is "Indian in all the fibres of its heart and in the innermost depths of its ancient tradition and specific individuality," it "is British as well as Indian—British in the essentials governing its public life, its educational system, its legal concepts, its economic outlook, its literature, its whole mental orientation." The author is only superficially right. The very fact that India is Indian in all the fibres of its heart and in the innermost depths of its ancient tradition and specific individuality, and the additional fact that the British people are at present determined to practically

tell India that her place as a servant is outside the household of the British Commonwealth of Nations, should have told the author that, as soon as India came into her own, her natural inclination would be to shake off her superimposed special Britishness, though she would be *modern* and Western to the extent that national strength and efficiency would require her to be. Even at present, the craze for Anglicization is at an ebb—particularly in Bengal, where it is said to have begun. India's economic outlook is no more British than Japan's—it is modern. India's *modern* literature has received stimulus from Europe, mainly but not entirely *via* English literature ; but it is *not* British literature. Nor is India's mental orientation at bottom British.

We know all this academic discussion leads to no practical conclusion or goal—we are not going to have either Dominion Status or Independence to-morrow. But even political speculation should proceed not on the basis of preconceived ideas, but on that of facts and reason. Hence this note.

### *Servocracy.*

If India had real popular self-government, the present servocratic form of her Government might perhaps come to an end. According to theory, no doubt, the Secretary of State for India and under him the Governor-General and the Governors rule the country. And it is also true that the boss at the top determines the policy of British rule in India according to the needs, interests and temper of the British people. But the actual administration of the country is in the hands of the police and the executive, who are nominally the servants but really the masters of the people. Hence the day-to-day governance of the country is servocratic.

To people who are not accustomed to living under a servocracy, it may seem preposterous that public servants like the officers of the civil service and the police service should be allowed to say what the future Indian constitution should be like. But there is nothing surprising in the matter. There is servocracy in India at present and the public servants want that their rule should continue and their right to rule should be recognized by statute in the coming constitution. Hence

their anxiety to see that the Ministers and the Legislatures in the future constitution should have nothing to do with their appointment, promotion, degradation, dismissal, pension, punishment for faults, transfer, and the like.

The word servocracy is not used figuratively or sarcastically. It is implied in official mentality that the police and the executive can do no wrong. When there is any complaint that they have done something wrong, it is they who act as judge, jury and witness, and the authorities, from the Secretary of State downwards, accept their verdict as infallible. The latest episode to prove the truth of this observation is what has happened in relation to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's allegations of ill-treatment of Congress delegates.

#### *Wise Man Chooses to Live in Fool's Paradise*

The English language is more merciful than, say, the Sanskrit or the Bengali language. It has provided a delectable abode for fools, called the Fool's Paradise. Our classical and vernacular languages do not provide such a blissful retreat. But the pity is, wise men sometimes poach on this preserve of fools and choose to live there.

A statement circulated by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya contained allegations of ill-treatment of Congress delegates by certain Calcutta policemen. The Bengal Government, the Government of India and the Secretary of State have declared, on the strength of an official inquiry privately made (by whom, it has not been published), that the allegations were false, "vicious," and "malicious." Pandit Malaviya demanded a public inquiry or his own prosecution. Other gentlemen, including an American citizen, Mr. Bancroft (junior), have borne public testimony to the truth of those items in Mr. Malaviya's statement of which they were eye-witnesses. Mr. Malaviya has issued a fresh statement after examining more than a dozen eye-witnesses, and has again demanded a public inquiry or, in the alternative, his own prosecution. But Sir Samuel Hoare, like the wise man that he is, would fulfil none of the old Pandit's wishes. If Sir

Samuel is satisfied, why should we disturb his self-complacency? But he says in addition that the general public also share his satisfaction with the conclusions contained in the official communiqué. If by the general public he means the British public in Britain and India, he may be entirely or partly right. But if he includes the Indian public also in the expression, we must tell him that he is not their spokesman, that he is absolutely wrong, and that he is infringing the exclusive right of fools to live in the fool's paradise set apart for them. A wise man and an upholder of law like him ought not to do such a thing.

#### *H. G. Wells' "Open Conspiracy"*

In "*What are we to do with our lives?*" Mr. H. G. Wells suggests an 'Open Conspiracy' or an organization of thinking minds all the world over for the salvage of civilization by the establishment of a world commonwealth and the abolition of war. While the less vigorous intelligences of the submerged oriental world may regard "this mighty liberation as though it were a further enslavement to the European tradition" and will consequently look upon it with suspicion—a suspicion justified by the standing feud between black and white "too intimate and pervasive to permit of any long views of the world's destiny,"

"to a number of the finer, more energetic minds of these overshadowed communities, which have lagged more or less in the material advances to which this present ascendancy of western Europe and America is due, the Open Conspiracy may come with an effect of immense invitation. At one step they may go from the sinking vessel of their antiquated order across their present conquerors, into a brotherhood of world-rulers. They may turn to the problem of saving and adapting all that is rich and distinctive in their inheritance to the common ends of the race." P. 87.

"India, like Japan, is cut off from the main body of Asiatic affairs. But while Japan has become a formally westernized nationality, in the comity of such nations, India remains a world in itself. In that one peninsula nearly every type of community is to be found, from the type of jungle savages, through a great diversity of barbaric and mediaeval principalities, to the child-and-woman-sweating factories and the vigorous modern commercialism of Bombay. Over it all the British imperialism prevails, a constraining and restraining influence, keeping the peace, checking epidemics, increasing the food supply by irrigation and the like, and making little or no effort to evoke responses to modern ideas. Britain in India is

*no propagandist of modern ferments, all those are left the other side of Suez.* In India Britain is a ruler as firm and self-assured and *uncreative* as the Roman. The old religious and social tradition, the complex customs, castes, tabus, and exclusions of a strangely mixed unamalgamated community, though a little discredited by this foreign predominance, still hold men's minds. *They have been, so to speak, pickled in the preservation of the British raj.*

"The Open Conspiracy has to invade the Indian complex in conflict with the prejudices of both ruler and governed. It has to hope for individual breaches in the dull Romanism of the administration : here a genuine educationist, here a creative civil servant, here an official touched by the distant stir of the living homeland, and it has to try to bring these types into a co-operative relationship with a fine native scholar here or an active-minded prince or landowner or industrialist there. *As the old methods of passenger transport are superseded by flying, it will be more and more difficult to keep the stir of the living homeland out of either the consciousness of the official hierarchy or the knowledge of the recalcitrant "native".* Pp. 91-94. [Italics ours. Ed. M. R.]

### German Scholarships for Indian Graduates

India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie announces the award of six new scholarships for the academic year 1933-34 to the following Indian graduate students who are to carry on higher studies in various German universities and institutes : Mr. B. N. Sharma, M. B., B. Sc. ; Mr. B. K. Palit, M. Sc., M. D. ; Mr. H. D. Mookerjee ; Mr. S. N. Sanyal, M. B. ; Mr. N. G. Chokkanna, M. Sc. ; and Mr. S. Hariharan, M. A., M. Sc.

The following scholars of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, who have been enjoying scholarships since the academic year 1931-32, will receive further help during the summer-semester 1933 to enable them to finish their studies for Doctorate : Mr. Narayan Ch. Chatterjee, M. Sc. ; Mr. R. K. N. Iyengar, B. E. ; Mr. R. K. Dutta-Roy, M. Sc. ; Mr. Kramadishwar Dutt, B. Sc. ; Mr. H. K. Ogale, L. M. E. ; Mr. Ch. Barat, M. Sc. ; Mr. Niaz Ahmad Khan, B. Sc. ; Mr. S. K. Majumdar, M. Sc. ; Mr. Balmukund Piplani, B. Sc. ; and Mr. A. K. Bhatta.

Mr. Indra Sen, M. A. (Panjab), Dr. Phil. (Freiburg) has been awarded the Teaching Fellowship (Hindi) in the University of Königsberg.

During the last semester the following Indian scholars of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie have successfully passed their doctor's examination.

### MUNICH UNIVERSITY

Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, M. B. (Calcutta), House Surgeon, Chitta Ranjan Seva Sadan Women's Hospital, Calcutta, passed the examination of Doctor of Medicine from Munich University, specializing in children's disease. Miss Bose after visiting various hospitals in Berlin has left for India.

### COLOGNE UNIVERSITY

Mr. J. C. Gupta, M. B. (Calcutta), formerly House Surgeon, Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Calcutta, passed the examination of Doctor of Medicine from Cologne University, specializing in heart diseases. Dr Gupta, who because of his excellent work in Germany has been awarded the "Ghosh Travelling Fellowship," is now carrying on further research work at the Medical Hospital of the University of Heidelberg. Before his return to India Dr. Gupta will carry on special studies in the field of heart diseases at the University of Leipzig, Gottingen, and in the Kerkhoff-Institute in Bad Nauheim.

### FREIBURG UNIVERSITY

Mr. B. M. Sengupta, M. B. (Calcutta), has successfully passed the Doctor of Medicine Examination at the University of Freiburg, specializing in Gynaecology. He has been carrying on research work in the Pathological laboratory under Professor Dr. Aschoff of Freiburg and also in Berlin hospitals. Dr. Sengupta will spend a few months in the University-Hospital of Kiel and visit other German cities before his return to India.

We wish to remind the prospective Indian students, business men and others who wish to visit our country that Germany has been passing through a National Socialistic Revolution, with the least possible disturbance. Germany seeks as before cultural contacts with other countries, especially the people of India. However, it should not be forgotten that present-day-Germany does not welcome alien Communists and those who are anxious to meddle with Germany's internal and international politics, in a way which may be detrimental to her national interest. We hope that the work of Indo-German cultural co-operation will not only continue undisturbed but be strengthened, and we shall continue to do our best with the hope of co-operation from cultural leaders of India.

Those who wish to secure any definite information regarding educational facilities in Germany should communicate with us directly.

GEZ. DR. THERFELDER

### Lady Tata Scholarships for Indian Graduates

The trustees of the Lady Tata Memorial announce the award of the following five scholarships of the value of Rs. 150 per month each for scientific investigation having a bearing on the alleviation of human suffering :

1. Nirode Chandra Datta, M. Sc., (University of Dacca), Assistant at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. For research in the Contamination of



Food-stuffs due to the use of Metallic Vessels for Cooking, Storage and other purposes; its effect on Growth and Metabolism and the effect of traces of Copper and Iron Nutrition. Under the direction of Prof. V. Subrahmanyam, D. Sc., F. I. C., Head of the Department of Bio-Chemistry at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

2. Dr. Sudhendra Kumar Ganguli, M. B., (University of Calcutta). For research in Chemo-Therapy of Anti-Malarial Drugs. Under the direction of Lt.-Col. R. N. Chopra, I.M.S., Director, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta.

3. Narendranath Ghatak, M.Sc., (University of Allahabad). For the Chemical Examination of certain Indigenous Plants of India. Under the direction of Prof. N. R. Dhar, D.Sc., F.I.C., I.E.S., Prof. of Chemistry in the University of Allahabad.

4. Dr. Mattengunta Venkata Radhakrishna Rao, M.B., B.S., (Andhra University, Research Fellow). For the Chemical Animal-Experimental, Bio-Chemical and Pathological Investigation of "Decompensated Portal Cirrhosis" and allied diseases. Under the direction of Dr. T. S. Tirumurti, B.A., M.B., C.M., D.T. M., and H. (Lond.), Professor of Pathology at the Medical College, Vizagapatam.

5. Har Dayal Srivastava, M.S., (University of Allahabad). For research in the Life History of Helminth Parasites of Man and Domestic Animals. Under the direction of Prof. D. R. Bhattacharya, D.Sc., Ph.D., Professor of Zoology in the University of Allahabad.

### *Hindu Mahasabha and the Poona Pact*

"A summary statement of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha on the communal and constitutional problems of India before the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee, London," submitted by Dr. B. S. Moonje, working president of the Mahasabha, has been published by Mr. Ganpat Rai, honorary secretary of the Mahasabha. It is stated therein that "the Poona Pact should be amended so far as the Panjab question is concerned to restore the *status quo ante*." We are not opposed to such amendments, not only for the Panjab but wherever they may be necessary.

The Mahasabha statement says that "the Hindus of Panjab have always contended that there is no depressed classes problem in the Panjab." We should be glad to believe that this is quite true. But the following communication published in *The Leader* of the 15th June last tells a different story :

LAHORE, June 12.

The Panjab Provincial Depressed Classes' Conference which was held under the presidency of Principal Ramdass and attended by delegates from all parts of the Panjab concluded after passing a number of resolutions. The conference congratulated Mahatma Gandhi on his successfully

emerging out of the long fast and also thanked him for his efforts for the amelioration of the condition of the Harijans. The conference requested the Panjab Government to recognize Harijans as cultivators who cultivate land. The conference appealed to the Government to give free education to the children of the depressed classes up to X class and fix five scholarships in each district of the Panjab for the depressed classes' children for higher education. *The conference also requested the Government to increase the number of the depressed classes' seats in the new constitution to 10* and urged the caste Hindu organizations who are taking interest in the uplift of the Harijans to give them posts in their institutions. The conference thanked his Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir for declaring certain depressed classes as cultivators and demanded that more posts should be given to the depressed classes in the state and that one depressed class member should be taken in the state cabinet.

We note without surprise that the *All-India Hindu Mahasabha* statement treats with silent contempt the objections to the Poona Pact raised in Bengal by various sections of Hindus.

### *Objectors to Dr. Moonje's Proceeding to England*

Those Indians who co-operated with the Simon Commission and those Indians who co-operated with the Round Table Conference, in any capacity, could do no good to India. And our opinion is that those Indians who have been co-operating with the Joint Parliamentary Committee, either as "consultants" and "glorified" witnesses or as ordinary witnesses, will not be able to do any good to India. Hence we have not advocated or supported anybody's co-operating with that Committee. In our opinion nobody ought to have co-operated with the British imperialists; those who have done so have done a disservice to India. But if any persons believe that they can do any good or right any wrong, we have not felt called upon to condemn or ridicule them. Let them try.

But we have not been able to understand why Dr. Moonje should be specially selected for attack. He has never claimed any special rights or privileges for the Hindus. His object is simply to get the various kinds of injustice done to the Hindus, which are all obvious and flagrant, redressed and rectified, if possible. What is wrong there in such an attempt? It is *not* communalism, though in the peculiar dictionary of many leaders and

publicists communalism means both the promotion of the interests of one community at the expense of those of other communities as well as the effort to right the wrongs of unjustly treated communities.

It has been alleged that Dr. Moonje's efforts to get the Premier's communal decision amended, would make a united front impossible and divert attention from the "national demand." United front indeed, when all the genuine communalists are trying to get still more privileges and jobs for their community!

However, if anybody can assure us that if the Hindu Mahasabha accepts the communal decision, Sind separation, etc. as sacrosanct, the Aga Khan and all other Musalmans will really make common cause with the Hindus to fight for Dominion Status and will not accept any constitution which does not definitely provide for such status, then Dr. Moonje, we are sure, will not only not stand in the way but will also be helpful in doing and promoting team work.

### *Reuter's Anti-Indian Partisanship*

News agencies should be impartial. But *Reuter* has never been so in matters Indian. Those who give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee with the object of preventing India getting self-rule have their evidence cabled quite adequately, but truthful evidence making out a strong case for India is treated by *Reuter* in a niggardly manner. Hence is it that the evidence of so important a witness as Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha of Bihar has been dismissed with the following lines :

London, June 23.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, cross-examined, expressed the opinion that no section of India was prepared to accept the White Paper without modification. He said that it would make the position even worse than now. The country was expecting substantial reforms, and unless Parliament was prepared to advance beyond the White Paper "we prefer the ills we have."—*Reuter*.

### *Flood Havoc in U. P. and Ajmer*

It is with sorrow that we have read the news of the terrible havoc caused by floods in U. P. and Ajmer. We sympathize with the sufferers in their great distress.

### *The World Economic Conference*

Though the results of the deliberations of the World Economic Conference will affect India deeply one way or the other, the personnel of the "Indian" delegation to it and of its body of advisers is predominantly non-Indian, the head of the delegation being Sir Samuel Hoare, the greet friend of India. The Indian members of the delegation and of its body of advisers have not been chosen from among India's foremost independent economists, industrialists and financiers. Therefore, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyangar have done well not to accept the office of advisers offered to them. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, has asked Sir Purshottamdas to lodge a formal protest against the selection of the personnel of the delegation and its advisers.

### *Calcutta University's Improved Financial Position*

We are glad to note that the budget estimates of the Calcutta University for the year 1933-34, presented by Dr. B. C. Roy, President of the Board of Accounts, at a special Senate meeting, show improvement in the financial position of the Calcutta University.

### *Nepotism in India and in England*

There is no country in which there is no nepotism, Britain not excepted. Perhaps there is more of it in England than in India. There much bigger offices and jobs are disposed of 'nepotistically' than in India. Yet Sir Patrick James Fagan and Sir Evan Cotton insinuated before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, without being able to cite a single case, that Indians in high office were particularly notorious for nepotism. So, at a sitting of the Committee Sir T. B. Sapru said :

"We Indians attach so much importance to this charge that in fairness to ourselves and to our countrymen we must be allowed an opportunity of testing it. I protest in the name of my country that the charge is most unfounded, and appeal to the three ex-Viceroyes present to say whether

any of us in their Executive Council ever approached them for jobs for our sons or relatives, or tried to secure them jobs."

Lord Reading at once responded and said that it was impossible to allow the appeal to pass without making a statement on the subject. "I have made it several times publicly. I made it at the Round Table Conference. I do not hesitate. Indeed I am glad to take the opportunity to say that not only as regards Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru but as regards other valued Indian members of the Council that none could have been better servants of the Crown, none could have been more loyal to me and none, so far as I know, gave an occasion for any such charge as is made. I am not speaking of India generally, but only of my own experience of those who were with me and none more faithfully kept the secret of Councils than the Indian members."

Lord Irwin associated himself absolutely and entirely with Lord Reading and completely concurred with every word from his own personal experience.

Lord Hardinge also desired to associate himself with Lord Reading and Lord Irwin.

Sir Tej Bahadur expressed sincere gratitude and said, "After the three ex-Viceroy's statements we will not trouble anyone with regard to these questions." The matter, accordingly, was not pursued.

In a communique just issued by the Panjab Government, it refutes the charge of nepotism in the judicial services brought by the *Civil & Military Gazette*.

### *Final Conservative Decision Deferred Till Select Committee Report*

Neither with gladness nor with sadness do we note that

The Central Council of the National Union of Conservative Associations at its meeting on Wednesday adopted the following amendment moved by Sir Thomas White, Chairman of the Liverpool Association, by 838 votes to 356 :

"This meeting express approval of the caution with which the Government is framing its (India) proposals, and urges that the Council should not come to a final conclusion until the Joint Committee has finished hearing evidence and has made recommendations."

The original resolution, moved by Lord Lloyd, ran as follows :

"This meeting congratulates the Government on the success of its policy in maintaining law and order in India, but views with grave anxiety the proposals to transfer responsibility at the Centre and to place the control of the judicial system and the police in the hands of Ministers responsible to elected provincial assemblies."

The following bit is rather amusing :

The liveliest phase of the meeting was during Mr. Winston Churchill's speech. When Mr. Churchill stated that Mr. Baldwin today admitted that he had made up his mind over the Indian

question three years ago, Mr. Baldwin rose and tapped Mr. Churchill on the shoulder, waited for abatement of cheering and counter-cheering, and said heatedly, "I said I took three years considering it." There were shouts of "withdraw," but Mr. Churchill stuck to his gun and proceeded with his speech, which was interrupted by shouts compelling the speaker to depart from the prepared text.

### *Japan's Threat of Boycotting Indian Cotton*

It is not a fact that Japan thought of boycotting Indian cotton or any other Indian goods after the introduction and passing of the Anti-Dumping Act by the Indian Legislature, and the levying of the extra duty, announced on June 7, 1933. The following extract from *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* of May 11, 1933, shows what the Japanese had been doing much earlier, even before the Indian abrogation of the trade agreement :

Much has been written about the Indo-Japanese trade since the Indian abrogation of the trade agreement, but it is as remarkable for what has been omitted as for what has been mentioned. For instance, we find that the *Japan Times* has published a Japan-India number of sixteen pages in the whole of which there is hardly a mention of the iron trade except such as was unavoidable in giving general statistics. Yet it is a subject that is not without interest. Japan was one of the first customers of the great Tata Iron and Steel Works, one of the most remarkable of Indian ventures, and the imports of Indian iron into Japan have been very large : it would seem that their doom is sealed, however. *For years there has been a campaign carried on against the import of Indian iron*, and those interested in the import lost a hard fight in the end, though as it apparently could not be done without altogether, a small quantity was agreed to by way of "compromise"... It is rather singular that no word of this commercial incident is to be found in the Japan-India Number or in any other diatribe on the subject of the recent legislative action. (*Italics ours. Ed., M.R.*)

As regards Indian cotton, read the following extract from the same issue of the same paper :

The great bulk of imports from India has always been raw cotton. Japan has developed a large cotton industry, for the raw material of which she depends on other countries. In such circumstances it would kill her own industry to charge an import duty on the raw cotton. The industry can only prosper when its principal raw material is imported duty-free, and as there is no home industry in cotton-growing to protect, it is out of the question to impose an import duty on Indian cotton. Yet that is what has been threatened. An official spokesman has suggested that there may be retaliation against Indian cotton. He doubtless consulted some of the cotton masters

on the subject, and found them quite willing that he should make this threat: it need not be carried out. It is seemingly supported by the fact that spinners have themselves ceased to buy Indian cotton, there having been a remarkable change-over last year, American cotton making a long stride forward and Indian falling back. So it was perfectly safe to make such a threat. It seemed to be in the course of immediate fulfilment; but if prices changed so as to make it advantageous to buy Indian cotton, nothing could prevent Japanese spinners from buying it, whatever officials might have said. The argument, therefore, which has been advanced, that if India abrogates the Agreement and Japan retaliates by refusing to buy raw cotton, it will greatly injure the Indian producer of the raw material, is all beside the mark. [Italics ours. Ed., M. R.]

### *A Grotesque and Retrograde Constitutional Scheme*

Colonel Wedgwood's proposed constitution for India is so fantastic and retrograde that, had it proceeded from any other man, it would not have received much notice. But Col. Wedgwood was believed to be a friend of India, and hence Lala Lajpat Rai got a foreword to his book *Young India* written by the former in 1917. So a few words of comment on the Colonel's scheme are called for, but no detailed criticism. The following extracts from *Reuter's* cable will give an idea of his scheme:

London, June 20

Replacement of the White Paper by a scheme providing for the representation of the British Parliament in the Indian Legislature and *vice versa* was advocated by Col. Wedgwood, while giving evidence at yesterday's meeting of the Select Committee.

He vigorously criticized the White Paper as an abdication to a narrow oligarchy, and said that there were safe-guards for the Services and Finance, of all religions, "except Communism, of course," but for the poor there were no safe-guards, not even the vote.

He declared that the Federal Legislature, as contemplated, would be composed of representatives of absolute rulers of States, of communal interests and wealth. It must lead to emphasizing of religious differences and preserving every cruel custom by excessive nationalism and isolation, while every failure would be attributed to England or British officials.

That was not the sort of Parliament to which we could give support or entrust the people of India. He proposed, therefore, that there should be a Central Legislature consisting of about 10 constitutional representatives of States, 40 (temporarily) nominated representatives of communities, 30 representatives of the British Parliament, 70 members indirectly elected by Provincial Legislatures and 10 British officials.

He expressed the opinion that an assembly so constituted would not need paper safe-guards by

the presence of representatives of the English Parliament and could be relied upon to preserve items enumerated in the list of safe-guards and simultaneously preserve the liberal traditions of the English Government. The British representatives should consist of 15 members of the House of Commons and 15 Lords to be elected by their respective Houses. The House of Commons' representative, therefore, would be responsible to the House and indirectly to the British people. They would go to India for the Indian session and be replaced here by Indian members of Legislative Councils, similarly elected.

Replying to a question, Col. Wedgwood said, he contemplated that reciprocity of representation of British and Indian legislators would be a permanent arrangement.—*Reuter*.

To talk of the White Paper as an abdication to any Indian body—oligarchic, aristocratic, democratic or autocratic, is the height of absurdity. The White Paper keeps all real power in British hands.

The Colonel is quite right that an assembly constituted as proposed by him would not require any paper safe-guards for any British interests. A central legislature of 160 members, of whom 30 would be British M. P.s, 10 would be British officials, 40 would be nominated by the British-Indian Government and 10 would be representatives of Indian States (whose rulers are under the thumb of British bureaucrats), could always be depended upon to carry out all the wishes of the British people implicitly.

There is no precedent or justification for British M. P.s sitting in the Indian Legislature and Indian legislators sitting in the British Parliament. But assuming that such a reciprocal arrangement is allowable, the representation of the United Kingdom and the Indian Empire should be proportionate to their population. Now, in 1931 the population of India was 352,837,778 and of England, Wales, Scotland and North Ireland 46,208,712. So, roughly India's representatives in the British Parliament should be at least 7 times as many as the British M. P.s in the Central Indian Legislature. If there are to be 30 M. P.s in our legislature, there ought to be 210 Indian legislators in the British Parliament. Or the proportion may be fixed in another way. The 30 British M. P.s in the Indian Central Legislature of 160 would be three-sixteenths of the whole House. The House of Commons consists of 615 members and the



House of Lords of 762 members, total 1377. Three-sixteenths of 1377 would be 258. So, for 30 M. P.s in our assembly 258 Indian legislators ought to sit in the British Parliament, according to a logical working out of Colonel Wedgwood's idea.

### *Nuptial Taxes*

In Czechoslovakia there is a tax on dowries. The Belgian colonial government levies a tax on each extra wife of a man in Urundi and Ruanda in Belgian Congo.

If such taxes were imposed in India, the cry of "Religion in danger" would be raised by some sections of the people.

The Assam Census Report contains the following passages, page 192 :

The chief reason for increase among the Mahomedans is that every one of them, whether a male or female, who can produce children does produce them. Although there is no limit to the number of wives a Hindu can marry he generally marries one wife at a time. With the Mahomedans the rule is to marry to the limit allowed by law—i.e., four wives at a time. Plurality of wives is very common among Mahomedans of all ranks. So-called *Khadimas* are almost an institution among wealthy Mahomedans.

Every Mahomedan has a large family. To help him in his work he marries as many wives as his law permits.

Polygamy will perhaps disappear from Mahomedan society when there is spread of high education among Muslim women. The abolition of polygamy by law in Turkey is partly due to that cause. Such abolition has not destroyed Islam in that country.

### *Lord Lloyd's Lie*

A *Reuter's* telegram, dated London, May 24 last, has it that at the Licensed Victuallers' Protection Association banquet Lord Lloyd said :

"I do not believe that responsible self-government can ever succeed in eastern countries."

"The story of self-government for India," he added, "was a tragic one. There was no municipality in India which did not crash into bankruptcy again and again during the last few years."—*Reuter*.

Responsible self-government has succeeded in Japan and Persia, and they are eastern countries.

Year after year the provincial Government reports on the working of the municipalities show that the vast majority of them, if not

all of them, are solvent. So Lord Lloyd's statement is false. Yet the man who indulged in this glaring falsehood was Governor of Bombay !

An article in *Tit-Bits* throws light on the corrupt practices prevalent in British municipal councils. But their existence in Britain would not excuse or minimize their heinousness if they existed here.

By the by, the Resolution of the Government of Bengal reviewing the reports on the working of the Municipalities in Bengal during 1931-32, just published, observes :

A great deal of good work was undoubtedly done by municipal authorities. Administration generally was honest, if often timid, and there was almost everywhere enthusiasm among both commissioners and rate-payers for improvements, especially in connection with public health.

### *Recent Calcutta University Women Graduates*

Twenty-two lady students have secured Honours in different subjects at the last B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University. Of them, fifteen have secured Honours in English (one First class first and fourteen Second class), one Second class in Sanskrit, one First class First in Persian, one First class First in French, two second class in History, one Second class in Philosophy, and one Second class in Economics.

Srimati Sujata Ray, of the Scottish Church College, has stood First class first in English Honours, Rokeya Zamar Sultan Muwayyidzada (Non-collegiate student, Diocesan College) has topped the list of successful Honours students in Persian, and Mother H. Sacrifice (Non-collegiate student) has stood First class first in French. A Muslim lady, Shaista Akhtar Banu Suhrawardy Begum, has secured Second class Honours in English.

Srimati Kamala Chattopadhyaya, a detenu in the Hijli Detention Camp, is the only lady candidate to secure Honours in Economics. She has been placed in Second class.

### *Eightieth Birthday of Sir R. N. Mookerjee*

We congratulate Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee on his eightieth birthday and wish him a longer lease of life still. He carries his weight of years lightly, and there is, therefore, every prospect of years of usefulness before him.

He has been a builder all round—the builder of his own fortunes and of many things else besides. The secret of his success lies in his knowledge of his work, his





Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee

character, his industry, his power of choosing his assistants and his regular and methodical habits. His somewhat cold exterior conceals a warm heart, in which there is a soft corner, not only for relatives and friends, but also for those who stand in need of brother-help. Some of his benefactions are known. But he has also done good by stealth without finding it fame. In his own line he is a prince among men, and his countrymen may well be proud of him.

### *Success of Detenus in University Examinations*

Scores of detenus have passed the recent examinations of the Calcutta University, some with distinction. Their success in spite of obvious handicaps shows their intellectual capacity.

These are the kinds of young men and women who have been deprived of their liberty without charge or trial. Assuming

that they really wanted to do something against the Government, is it certain that they alone were to blame?

### *Punitive Fines or Taxes*

To Chittagong and Midnapur and some areas in other districts, some villages in Barisal have been added as those from which Government must realize punitive fines. The people of Bengal have been suffering from the effects of economic depression and unemployment for years. So the large numbers of people, most of whom are as innocent as the high officers of Government, who will have to pay the collective fine, will consider it a great hardship and an undeserved infliction. This will not make for allaying unrest.

If the police cannot prevent or detect certain kinds of crime, it is the people who are to be punished, on the assumption that they collectively and secretly frustrate the efforts of the police. Well and good. But the volume of thefts, robberies and abductions in Bengal is far larger than the volume of real and manufactured political crimes in Bengal, and they are sapping the foundations of civilized life and causing sufferings not less but more than the real and alleged political crimes. Whom have the Government punished, whom will the Government punish collectively for these crimes? Not the offenders. For they are inconvenient customers. They cannot always be found, and when found, they do not go undefended like non-violent non-co-operators. Nor can the ordinary townsfolk and village folk be punished for the thefts, dacoities and abductions committed in their houses by others. For even the bureaucracy will find it hard to believe and argue that these urban and rural people have conspired with rogues to get robbed of their property and their women.

### *Indians in British Guiana*

Referring to a communication, addressed to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, published in *Liberty*, it says:

Mr. V. R. Kawall, the writer of the article, appeals to the Indian people to come to the aid of their nationals in British Guiana. Through mixed marriages with people not of the Aryan race the Indians in British Guiana are likely to

lose their national self-consciousness and sink down in morals. This is the danger that threatens the Indian residents in British Guiana. The percentage of literacy among them is very low. It lies with the Government of India to make immediate representation to the Colonial Secretary on behalf of our nationals in British Guiana.

### *Mr. Chawla's Proposed World Flight*

Mr. Chawla, the young Panjabi aeronaut, proposes to undertake a world flight. He fully deserves support. The money required is not much. Any first-class ruling Prince can easily pay the whole amount himself.

### *Rice from Japan*

The attempt to export rice from Japan to India and sell it here below cost price, is not new. But it appears that the anti-dumping Act and the increased duty on cotton textiles from Japan have led the Japanese to devote greater attention than before to the export of rice to this country. The Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, has taken time by the forelock and has telegraphed to the member of the Government of India in charge of Commerce and Industry that this new menace has alarmed the merchants and unless protection is given to Indian rice, the condition of the peasantry, who have already been hit hard by the low price of their produce, will become deplorable in no time. The Government should take all necessary steps early.

### *High Education of Girls in Bengal*

There is a growing demand for high education of girls in Bengal. The number of high schools and colleges for them is too small to meet this demand. The latest figures available are to be found in the Supplement to the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1930-31. In that year the total number of High English Schools for boys was 1055 and the total expenditure on them from all sources was Rs. 95,72,948. In the same year the total number of High English Schools for girls was only 34, and the total expenditure on them from all sources Rs. 6,96,287. The number of colleges meant only for women



are Bethune College, Diocesan College (college classes will be abolished from the current session), Intermediate classes attached to the Eden High School for girls in Dacca and Loreto House in Calcutta. The colleges for boys are about 20 times as many. More colleges and high schools for girls are required. Co-education is being tried to some extent.

### *Recommendations of the Panjab University Enquiry Committee*

Some of the recommendations of the Panjab University Enquiry Committee deserve support: *e. g.*,—the medium of instruction as well as of examination in secondary schools should be Vernacular; a Training College for Women should be instituted; Government grant to the University should be made statutory.

We are not in favour of the detachment of the Intermediate classes from the University course and their inclusion in separate self-contained higher secondary institutions, to be controlled by a Board of Higher Secondary Education. So far as our information goes, Intermediate Colleges and Boards of Higher Secondary Education have nowhere fulfilled the expectations of even their advocates—they have not been a success. And no wonder. You cannot secure the services of as good men for teaching only two college classes as for teaching four or five college classes—the cost for one thing stands in the way. A principal for a full-fledged college is well paid-for. But to pay for a principal for the Intermediate Classes and a principal for the B. A. Classes is wasteful and unnecessary expenditure by half or more. Laboratories, libraries, etc., for an Intermediate College cannot be as satisfactory as those for colleges containing all the classes. Junior college students profit by the influence and example of senior students. In Intermediate colleges there are no B. A. or M. A. students for freshmen to look up to. Moreover, college loyalty and college *esprit de corps* should be unbroken as far as practicable. After matriculating let students choose their college and have sufficient time to develop love and loyalty to it by association

with the staff and fellow-students, hard work, team work and devoted service.

We are not at all convinced that communal representation is necessary or would be beneficial in any University Senate, or in the Panjab University Senate in particular. The University should be the last place for the introduction of the virus of communalism. However, the Panjab may be thankful for the slight mitigation of communalism which the committee's recommendation makes.

The Committee recommends:—

- (a) For a period of 12 years, or of four triennial elections ten seats should be reserved for Muslim graduates, five seats for Sikh graduates and ten seats for graduates of other communities;
- (b) The electorate should be common to all communities;
- (c) Graduates of all recognized universities should have the right of registration;
- (d) The registration fee should be a single payment of five rupees;
- (e) The rules in regard to qualification for registration should remain as at present, but the period of standing required should be reduced from ten to three years.

Why 12 years? At the rate at which Muslim graduates have been increasing in number, five or six would have been enough to get a sufficiently large number of Muslim registered graduates to return their chosen men. Hindus are the biggest minority in the Panjab and they have the largest number of graduates; yet they are only among the "other communities." It is, however, an indirect compliment to what Mr. Har Bilas Sarda may call "Hindu superiority"! The electorate common to all communities is the mitigating feature of the Committee's recommendation.

### *The Servants of India Society*

Though we have never been able to accept the creed or teaching of the Servants of India Society relating to the permanency of the Indo-British connection, we fully appreciate the valuable and useful political, economic and social work which the Society has rendered for well-nigh three decades. Their studies of political, economic and social problems and questions have been as thorough, thoughtful and scholarly, as their active service has been devoted, energetic and methodical. It is a pleasure to learn that



Mr. G. K. Devadhar is steadily improving in health and has been elected president of the Society, that Mr. Hridaynath Kunzru has been elected Vice-president and that Mr. P. Kodanda Rao was reappointed Secretary. The participation of Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri at the celebration of the Society's 28th anniversary was fully appreciated.

### *Congress Leaders' Coming Conference*

It has been announced that the Congress leaders who are now outside the jail will meet Mahatma Gandhi on the 12th of July next to deliberate as to the future policy and course of action of the Congress. It is said that the number of invitees is to be 25. Whether the list would include non-Congressmen also has not been made known.

It is welcome news that Mahatma Gandhi has been steadily improving in health. He is expected to take the lead in the deliberations.

### *Another Bloodless Revolution in Siam*

There has been another revolution in Siam. This time also it has been bloodless. That is certainly the right thing in a Buddhist country under a Buddhist King. King Prajadhipak has acceded to the popular will.

### *"The Nazi Terror in Germany"*

We have received a protest from a very responsible quarter about two extracts published in the Foreign Periodicals section of our last month's issue. Both of them relate to Germany under Nazi rule, and one of them, entitled "the Nazi terror in Germany" was quoted from the *Manchester Guardian*. Our correspondent considers them to be very biased and thinks that "the traditionally friendly feelings between our two nations | i. e. German and Indian | will be adversely affected by letters of that kind."

Now, we wish to assure our correspondent that we have no wish to lose the friendly feeling of any nation on earth, which we badly need, and we have no desire to take part in purely internecine quarrels and controversies. But at the same time we would not be

true to our journalistic duties if we did not attempt to give all the sides of a question. The Nazi case has been put again and again and with considerable *parti pris* and warmth even in the Indian Press. What was needed was to give the other side of the picture, and that from as impeccable a source as we could avail ourselves of. We believe we have not overstepped this limit of fair play by quoting the *Manchester Guardian*.

### *The Nazis and the Aspirations of Subject Nations*

There is, however, one feature of the Nazi outlook on world affairs, of which we should like to remind our correspondent and our readers. This belongs to the field of international affairs and vitally affects the aspirations of Indian nationalists and of all nations subject to European domination. It is the quite outspoken Nazi partisanship of British and all other forms of Imperialism.

No one would perhaps dispute that Herr Hitler can claim to speak authoritatively on behalf of German Fascism. On pp. 744-745 of his book, *Mein Kampf* (I volume edition, 1932) he writes:

"Already in 1920-21, when the Young National Socialist movement was slowly coming into prominence on the political horizon...there had been an attempt from different quarters of the Party to make an alliance with the freedom movements in other countries. This referred to the much advertised idea of an 'alliance of the exploited nations,' chiefly in the Balkan States and in Egypt and India...."

"I was always very much against it, not only because we have other things to do than indulge in 'fruitless' promises but also because I consider the whole thing—even if we had to deal with the authorized representatives of such nations, as unworthy of us and even harmful."

On the next page, he refers pointedly to India:

"I remember still," he writes, "the childish and unintelligible hopes, which people entertained in 1920-21, that England was faced with the problem of losing India...."

"England will lose India only when the English administrative machinery in India will be composed of both the races (which is not the case now) or when the sword of a powerful enemy will compel her to do so. Indian revolutionaries will never be able to do this. How difficult it is to coerce England, we Germans know well enough. And apart from this, as a German, notwithstanding everything, I would always wish to see India under English domination rather than under any other."

The reason for all this is, of course, plain. Nazi Germany looks eastward "with the idea of acquiring colonies for the livelihood of the German nation" (*Mein Kampf*, p. 757) and believes that "for such a policy there is only one ally for Germany...England. ...To win England's alliance, no sacrifice is great enough." (*Mein Kampf*, p. 154).

### *Early Editions of Rammohun's Works*

It is proposed to bring out an authoritative and complete edition of Raja Rammohun Roy's works to commemorate the centenary of his death. The text of this collection will be based on the first, and, where the first edition is not available, on the earliest extant edition of the Raja's works. It will materially help the compilation of this edition, if the possessors of such editions will kindly co-operate in the task by giving information to the editor of this *Review* and allowing facilities for examining the copies in their possession.

### *The R. T. C.'s and Selection of Delegates*

The British Indian delegates to the R. T. C.'s are nominees of the Government of India, "a subordinate branch of the Home Administration"—thanks to the late Lord Curzon. They were not chosen even either by the Indian Legislative Assembly or the official-ridden Council of State. The people may think that the delegates representing the Indian States were chosen by the Rulers or the Governments of those States. But such is not the case. The Travancore Administration Report for 1931-32 says :

"Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, was NOMINATED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA to represent the South Indian States at

the first Round Table Conference in London and Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, C. S. I., was, with the previous approval of this Government selected to instruct him on behalf of Travancore, Cochin and Pudukotta. For the second Round Table Conference held in London during the year, Mr. Raghaviah WAS NOMINATED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA to represent Travancore and the other South Indian States. An officer of the State was deputed as Mr. Raghaviah's Secretary. Since the close of the year, the third Round Table Conference met in London in November 1932. At this Conference, Mr. G. Paramesvaram Pillai, Political Secretary to the Government, was deputed to watch the interests of the State."

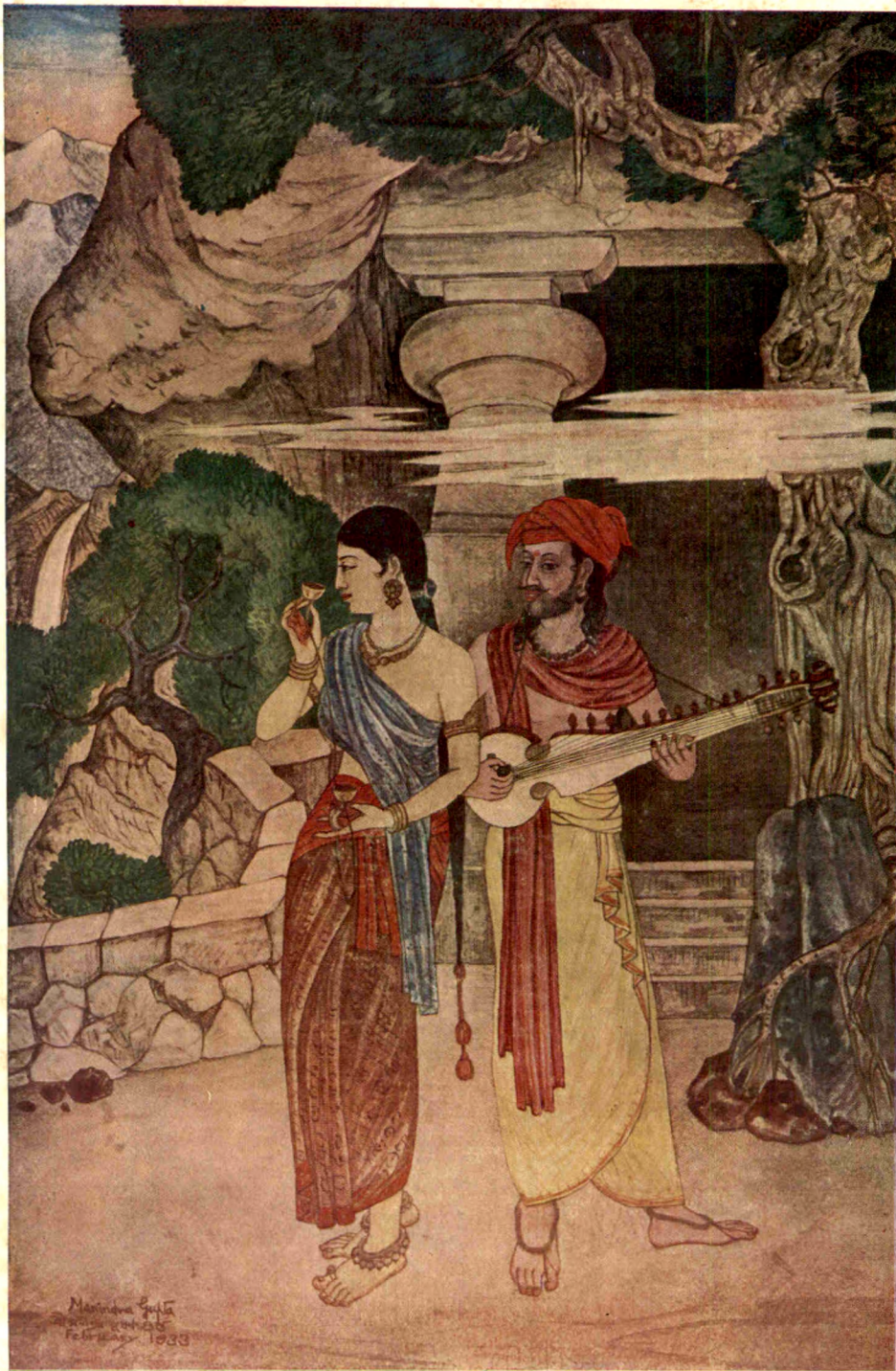
And Travancore is third among the Indian States in population. Its ruler has 19 guns as a mark of distinction; and it is in direct political relation with the Government of India. We do not know how the representatives of the smaller Indian States were selected. So much for the representative character of the delegates to the R. T. C.'s

Perhaps, in the coming Federal Constitution, the representatives of the Indian States will be selected on the advice of the "safe-guarded" Governor-General. That will mean an indirect nomination of the members of the Federal Legislature; and that explains a great deal of the anxiety for safe-guarding the 'legitimate' interests of the Native States.

J. M. D.

### *Uday Shankar*

Music and dance is a part of the cultural legacy we have received from ancient India. Uday Shankar has revived the tradition of dancing, with elements of his own invention which are in perfect keeping with its spirit, and won recognition for it at home and abroad. By this he has rendered a service to the culture of his country and earned the gratitude of his countrymen.

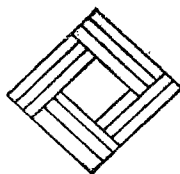


GANDHARVA COUPLE  
By Manindra Bhusan Gupta

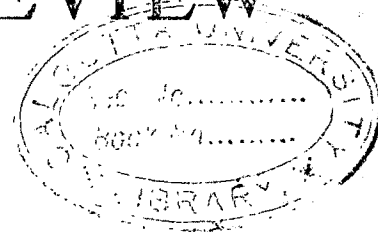
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## MAHATMA GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF TRUTH

*(Studied in relation to Western Mysticism)*

BY VERRIER ELWIN

### PART ONE

#### I

OF the three ultimate values of Platonism—Goodness, Truth and Beauty—Truth, which includes the other two, may be considered as the most important. But it is surprising to find that only a few of the great religious teachers of the world have adopted Truth as their sole ultimate category. The love of Truth runs as a majestic under-rythm to the majestic harmonies of the Upanishads, but it is far from being the only value exalted there. Christ preferred to speak of God as love. Neo-Platonism thought of the Ultimate in terms of Beauty: Philo declared the Beatific Vision to be the vision of Peace. Others have used such terms as Light, Wisdom, Being, the Infinite, the Boundless. Many mystics, both Eastern and Western, will only use negative terms holding that these come nearer than any affirmations to the description of the reality, that is, above all, thought and all knowledge. Kabir speaks of Perfect Bliss: Tagore of Beauty and Joy: the majority of the Western mystics of Love. Thus Augustine is the apostle of intellectual love of the Divine; Bernard of

emotional love; Francis of practical love; John of the Cross of romantic love.

But there have been others who have thought of Reality chiefly in terms of Truth, and this article will attempt to relate their teaching to the mystical philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi.

It will be noticed that I use the word "Mysticism" in connection with Mahatma Gandhi. By mysticism I do not, of course, mean the extraordinary phenomena of visions and ecstasies, nor do I mean a vague and nebulous theology which will serve as a refuge of those who are tired of thinking. By mysticism I mean the conviction that man is capable of a real knowledge of God and of communion with Him; that even here and now we may see within and beyond the temporal the gracious features of the spiritual world; and that the pure of heart may live a life of conscious union with transcendental Reality.

In this sense Mahatma Gandhi is a mystic. Particularly does his underlying mysticism display itself in his teaching about Truth. The word is as a trumpet which rouses the level-headed politician and social reformer to the greatest heights of mystical intuition.



## II

I propose then to attempt to set the Mahatma's teaching on Truth in the context of the "Truth-Mysticism" of the West. This does not imply any borrowing from Western thought: the Mahatma's roots go deep into his own soil, and I do not suppose that he has ever heard of John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist, whose outlook on Truth is so similar to his own. But it will help us to see its grandeur and dignity, as well as the beauty of a life spent in its service, as we watch the one love of Truth spanning the vast divergence of the hemispheres.

Our survey could be enlarged indefinitely, for the history of the quest for Truth is the history of religion. But I am deliberately confining our discussion to those who can be called Truth-mystics, those who actually think in terms of Truth. The title of the article should also be remembered: it is a study of the Mahatma's philosophy of Truth in relation not to all mysticism but to Western Mysticism, for this is the field in which I am most at home. I am not unaware of the ideal of Truth which has dignified the work of almost every Indian thinker and mystic, but this side of our subject must wait treatment on another occasion.

The identification of the Ultimate Reality with Truth is very old, and Mahatma Gandhi is original not so much in speaking of Truth as in speaking of practically nothing else. His conception of Truth is metaphysical, mystical and moral: there is no aspect of it which is not real to him. It has been his special task to bring this lofty philosophical idea down to earth, to introduce it as a working principle into the lives of ordinary people, to direct its austere moral challenge upon world-politics, to exalt it as a practical basis of business and personal relations, and to work out with great exactness what is implied in the quest for its realization.

But we are anticipating. Let us turn first to the West, where after a brief survey, we shall construct an outline of "Truth-Mysticism" against which we may examine the Mahatma's teachings in greater detail.

## III

The conception of Truth as an adequate definition of the Ultimate Reality, and as an ideal basis of the moral life, goes back to Plato and Stoicism, and may be found also in the religion of ancient Egypt, where the God Thoth, the Egyptian Hermes, who reveals the hidden truth to humanity, is given the attribute of Eternal Truth. In the famous *Book of the Dead*, dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty, there is a picture of the Last Judgment, where the heart of a dead man is being weighed in the scales against the feather of Truth. Truth is the standard on which men will be judged.

For Plato, Truth is more than one of the soul's proper jewels which adorn it on its earthly pilgrimage: it is more than a definition of God: it is a great ontological reality, existing in its own right, "knowledge absolute in existence absolute." The quest for the triple star of Goodness, Truth and Beauty is held to be the one life that is worth living, and the one life that leads to a life beyond. For the mind that is set on Truth becomes immortal, as it grows like to that which it loves. Plato does not offer us much hope of attaining the vision of Truth while we remain in the body, for only a life of perfect holiness can give us that.

"We must set the soul free of the body; we must behold things as they are, and then, belike, we shall attain the wisdom that we desire, and of which we say we are lovers: not while we live but after death...For then and not till then will the soul be parted from the body, and exist in herself alone...And having thus got rid of the foolishness of the body we shall, it would seem, be pure and hold converse with the pure, and shall in our own selves have complete knowledge of the Incorruptible, which is, I take it, no other than the very Truth."

It is easy to misunderstand Keats' famous equation—Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty—and Mahatma Gandhi is right, as we shall see, in questioning it. But in Plato, Beauty and Truth at their highest do converge. For the Beauty, of which he writes with so great an enthusiasm, is not mere æsthetic beauty like the beauty of a face or of a hand, but it is a

"Beauty eternal, not growing or decaying, not waxing or waning; but beauty absolute, separate, simple and everlasting."

And this Beauty is attained in the following manner:

"He should begin by loving earthly things for the sake of the absolute loveliness, ascending to that as it were by degrees or steps, from the first to the second, and thence to all fair forms; and from fair forms to fair conduct, and from fair conduct to fair principles, until from fair principles he finally arrive at the ultimate principles of all, and learn what absolute Beauty is."

And in this vision, being in contact not with images but with realities, "he will give birth not to images, but to very Truth itself."

#### IV

For Platonism, then, Truth is almost synonymous with Reality or Existence—the conception is ontological. For the earlier Judaism, Truth meant constancy or faithfulness—the meaning is ethical. In the Old Testament, Truth does not mean scientific truth of fact: it means that which is consistent with itself, loyal to its own nature. It is thus not usually applied to propositions, but to persons. The oft-repeated saying that the truth of the Lord endureth for ever means that God will never contradict himself: his dealings with mankind will always express his nature. For the Jew thought of God as active, as having dealings with the world, and when he said that God was true, he did not mean only that God existed, but that he also acted and acted according to a plan. "To the ancient Hebrews," it has been said, "truth was a matter of motive and character rather than of accuracy. Thus in the Decalogue there is no actual and direct condemnation of lying, but the prohibition is directed against the bearing of false witness, the dastardly motive being the thing denounced rather than the failure accurately to describe facts." The idea of Truth, therefore, which Christ inherited was that Truth meant consistency of character: it was truth of action rather than truth of idea. And we find in fact in that part of his teaching which may be regarded as authentic, no conception of metaphysical or mystical truth, but a great emphasis on Truth as the basis of morality. The life and character of Christ give us in dramatic human form the perfect embodiment of Truth; but it is only in the Fourth Gospel that the idea is invested with philosophic dignity.

The author of the Fourth Gospel uses for Truth the Greek word *Aletheia*. *Aletheia* implies the ultimate significance of things: it is that which is finally real in a realm of ends and values. Truth is the will of God: it is God himself: to act according to Truth is to follow the will of God, to become like God. Truth is the law of the transcendental world of spirit. As later for Augustine, Truth and Light are for this writer almost identical terms. The children of the light know truth and walk in the truth. The spirit of truth dwells within them, leading them forward to an ever deepening realization of God. The sons of truth—those who are real and sincere, whose characters are transparent—are free. Truth is the basis of all liberty. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." This Truth is not only metaphysical truth; it is essentially truth of action, truth of character. "If we say that we have fellowship with God, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth." "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." "He that saith, I know God, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him." "He that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God." It is by truth that our lives are purified. "Sanctify them in the truth." True action is the source of true knowledge. "If any man will do the will of God, he shall know."

Since God is truth, the only worship that can be acceptable to him is that which is offered in spirit and in truth. Truth can only be approached in the spirit of truth. This spirit of truth, dwelling in the soul, is a permanent bond of union between God and man.

The special task of the Fourth Gospel is to identify this *Aletheia* with the figure of the historic Jesus. By regarding Jesus also as the Logos, or the underlying reason or intelligence of the universe, it implies that truth is the directing law of the world. This law is revealed in Jesus. He is the Way, the Truth and the Life. He came into the world to bear witness of the Truth, and to draw to himself all those in whose hearts truth was dwelling. He is the King of the realm of

Truth which confronts, and opposes the Kingdom of the world. "He reigns as himself holy and true, by the power of the truth which he reveals—truth in the conscience, truth in the heart, and truth in the mind and over those who through his grace and spirit have become fundamentally true, who stand in the eternal, abiding relationship of peace and love and holiness towards God." This is not a narrow conception, for the Kingdom of Truth is wide as the truth itself. "Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice." The divine light lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

The human life of Christ reveals Truth in all its details. Fearless, honest, candid, he displays a character of luminous sincerity. His controversies with the Pharisees are essentially controversies about Truth which their traditions had obscured. His hatred of hypocrisy was due to the fact that it was a betrayal of truth. It is not too much to say that Christ died as a witness to Truth. His moral teaching is based on truth. Let us take for example the Beatitudes. "Blessed are the poor in spirit," (the word, according to many of the Fathers, means the detached) for they, understanding the truth about outward things, are not held by them. "Blessed are they that mourn," for they have entered into the truth of sorrow. "Blessed are the meek," or the non-violent, for they alone can inherit the kingdom of truth. That which is gained by meekness will be kept by meekness, but that which is gained by violence will be lost by violence. "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness"—the ancient word that meant the life of truth. "Blessed are the merciful"—for they know the truth about all humanity, and the compassion created by such knowledge leads them to the blessedness of the pure in heart, who experience the immediate vision of the Perfect Truth. "Blessed are the peacemakers," for truth is ever creative, and must bring its healing energies to regulate the life of society. But the lover of Truth will suffer, and "blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake," that is, for their loyalty to their ideal of Truth. Thus every Beatitude may be regarded as deriving its power from Truth.

## V

Clement, the first Christian snob, insisted that education was as important for the life of truth as holiness. For truth is not to be picked up at any street corner. "The vision of truth," he says, "is given only to a few." The real Christian is he who loves and honours truth, and the first step in attaining it is to wonder at things, as Plato taught. It is impossible, therefore, for an ignorant man to understand Truth, for he has not grasped the idea of wisdom. The real lover of Truth is he who mobilizes the whole range of human knowledge in the interest of a pure life to which music, astronomy, grammar philosophy, geometry, are all auxiliaries.

Clement insists on the unity of Truth. The way of Truth is one, but into it as into an ever-flowing river, streams flow from every side. A piece of money when it is given to a ship's captain is called the fare; in the hands of a revenue officer, it becomes the tax; to a landlord, it is rent, to a school master, fees, to a shopkeeper, the price of his goods. But always it is same piece of money. This reminds us of Ramakrishna Paramahansa's famous parable of the bathing ghats.

"The tank has several ghats. At one Hindus draw water in pitchers and call it *jal*; at another Musalmans draw water in leathern bottles and call it *pani*; at a third Christians and call it *water*. Can we imagine that the water is not *jal*, but only *pani* or *water*? How ridiculous! The substance is One under different names and everyone is seeking the same substance: nothing but climate, temperament and name vary."

But Clement would probably have said that the water after all was always Jordan water, while I doubt if Ramakrishna whatever some of his followers might say—would have claimed that the water in the tank necessarily came from the Ganges. Clement does not however deny the possession of truth even to his philosophical opponents. All are illuminated by the dawn of light. In the universe all the parts, though differing from one another, preserve their relation to the whole. But it is Christ who will bring the scattered discords of partial truth into one harmony.

Clement insists also that the seeker after truth must be pure. His guide and master is love. For the more a man loves the more

deeply does he penetrate into God. He quotes the famous inscription over the entrance to the temple at Epidauros—"He who would enter the incense-perfumed shrine must be pure"—and he adds that purity is to think holy thoughts.

For all his sense of intellectual superiority, Clement must be regarded as a genuine Truth-mystic. His stress on a liberal education, generously planned, broadened the conception of Truth and made possible his vision of its unity, binding together the thought of the whole world. His belief that it was only through the portals of love and purity that men could pass within to the shrine of Truth, shows that he was more than a mere scholar. But his great fault lay in a sort of spiritual snobbery that confined the knowledge of the deepest things to the few.

## VI

To read Plotinus is to be stirred with a great love of Truth, and a longing to be rid of the world of shadows which hides it from our eyes. Plotinus does not, however, speak often in terms of Truth. His goal is the One which is above all description or definition, and the approach thither is by way of the eternal Beauty. But for Plotinus as for Plato, this Beauty is not the beauty of sense or form: it is an intellectual beauty, free from all taint of the sense-world. At its highest it is one with Truth.

Truth is within ourselves, and it must be sought by "an intellectual touch" and by a life of holiness and renunciation. "The eye cannot behold the sun unless it be itself sunlike, so the soul of man cannot behold God unless it be God-like and hath God formed in it." We are to act as does the maker of an image who strikes off a part and a part planes away, as he makes this smooth and releases that, until he has revealed upon the image the face of beauty. The soul that would find truth must be kindled with love.

"Some there are that for all their effort have not attained the vision; the soul in them has come to no sense of the splendour there. It has not taken warmth: it has not felt within itself the flame of love for Truth."

Plotinus draws a terrible picture of the fate of those who are unwilling to rise above

this world of shadows to the intellectual or spiritual world where Truth is seen. They will in the end lose the capacity for truth. There can be no hell worse than this.

"The man who holds fast to the loveliness of bodies, and will not let it go shall sink down, not in body but in soul, to certain pits of the dark where thought has no joy; there blind he shall abide in the house of the Invisible, and his fellowship shall be with shadows, there as here."

In the strict sense of our expression Plotinus is not a Truth-mystic, but his influence on the Truth-mystics has been so great that some reference to him was necessary. His emphasis on the asceticism of the will and the intellect, his vivid and enthusiastic descriptions of the real world of Truth and Beauty, his account of the path thither by intellectual travail and renunciation of all pleasures of the world of sense, his fervent faith in the possibility of attainment, have stirred many hearts to follow him on the high quest of Truth.

## VII

In St. Augustine we come to the first of the great Truth-mystics. For him God is Truth. "Where I found Truth," he exclaims, "There found I my God, the Truth itself." And again, "I invoke thee, O God, the Truth in whom and from whom and by whom are true all things that are true."

For Augustine, Truth does not mean only truth of fact; it is objective or ontological truth, the eternal or unchanging truth which is existence itself. God is "Ultimate Reality, Absolute Being, That which Is," and this Reality is Truth. One of Augustine's favourite ideas is that God is the Truth Unchangeable. Above the rival schools of the philosophers, above the tottering fabric of society, there dwells the "Truth not subject to change, the Substance not capable of failing." There is no higher adventure possible to man than to find this unchangeable and true eternity of Truth that rises above his own changing mind.

In this unchangeable Truth all truths are perceived. "There is the Truth unchangeable containing all things that are unchangeably true." It is only in the Truth and Light of God that the human mind can recognize Truth at all. If a man would gain true wisdom,



Truth itself must shine like a sun within his own spirit, which thus becomes partaker of the Truth itself, and in its power and illumination perceives all truth without cloud or darkness. A similar thought is to be found in the Flemish mystic Ruysbroeck. Few men, he says, attain to the vision of God, "because of our incapacity and of the hiddenness of that light in which one sees. For all words and all that one can learn or understand naturally, are foreign to the truth that I mean and far below it. But he who is united to God and illumined by this truth—he can understand truth by Truth."

To understand Truth by Truth is the fundamental principle of this type of mysticism. Like is known by like, and it is only by a life lived according to truth that our minds can rise up above all phantom values and transitory things to the Truth unchangeable. So Augustine bids us destroy in ourselves all that is contrary to truth, for till the serpents of vice are killed we will not be filled with the Divine light in which Truth is seen. Passion is irrational and disorderly; Truth is order and reason, the essential law of man's being; and the soul that would know Truth must have a harmony about it. "When the soul is composed and orderly, when it has made itself harmonious and beautiful, it will dare to contemplate God, the source whence flows all truth."

Augustine experienced every aspect of the search for Truth. He sought with desperate earnestness for intellectual Truth, seeking it in many philosophies before he found it in the Catholic faith. His *Confessions* reveal his struggles to gain moral Truth. And yet he was never one to claim dogmatically to have "found." Always the Eternal Truth rose high above the utmost reach of his thought eluding the outstretched grasp of his love. The quest was one that knew no ending. It was the supreme task of life.

"The highest spiritual state of the soul in this life consists in the vision and contemplation of Truth, wherein are joys, and the full enjoyment of the highest and truest good, and a breath of serenity and eternity, such as certain great and incomparable souls have described in some measure."

(This reference is, as Dom Cuthbert

Butler admits, "without doubt" to the ecstasies of Plotinus and Porphyry, and indicates the grand catholicity and universalism of Augustine's mysticism). By him who has tasted of these joys, death is no longer feared, but desired as the greatest gain, "that the soul may be free to cleave wholly to the whole Truth."

St. Gregory the Great also uses this imagery, but with less depth of meaning. He speaks of contemplation as the search for Truth: he calls God the Boundless Truth and describes his worship as the "tasting of the savour of unencompassed Truth." But in the mouth of Gregory, as Dom Butler says again, "the word Truth is not the great vital ontological reality that the Platonic ideas were to Augustine. They are but the commonplaces of theological language taken over from St. John. There is no suggestion of Augustine's conceptions that all truth is perceived in the unchangeable Truth above the mind, and that the light in which purely intellectual truths are seen is God himself."

St. Bernard thought of God as the Divine Lover of the world, and of the spiritual life as the quest of the lover for his Beloved. Yet to him also, the final vision is Truth. Contemplation, he says, may be defined as "the soul's true unerring intuition, the unhesitating apprehension of Truth," and in his moral teaching he has some very beautiful things to say about Truth, which relates closely to the virtue of humility. We seek for Truth in ourselves, in our neighbours and in its essential nature. We find it first in ourselves by self-examination; then in our neighbours by the virtue of compassion; and finally in its essential nature by that direct vision which belongs to the pure in heart. The first degree of truth is to know ourselves. Pride darkens the mental vision so as to hide the truth. Before a man can ascend to the ultimate truth, he must, therefore, remove the clouds of pride which prevent him from finding truth in himself—or rather finding himself in truth. And then when in deep humility a man recognizes himself as he really is, he will no longer sit in judgment upon others. He will gain a new vision of the world—the vision that is only open to the

tender eyes of compassion. And this vision is the second degree of truth. Pride now hides neither himself nor the world from his gaze. He is ready to ascend to the third degree of truth, which is that enraptured and direct vision which displays itself to the pure in heart.

"Thus by the tears of penitence, by the pursuit of righteousness, and by persistence in works of mercy, is the spiritual sight cleared from all stain ; and to it Truth promises to reveal itself in its purity. There are thus three degrees of Truth. We rise to the first by humble effort, to the second by loving sympathy, to the third by enraptured vision. In the first truth is revealed in severity, in the second in pity, in the third in purity. Reason, by which we analyse ourselves, guides us to the first ; feeling, which enables us to have compassion on others, conducts us to the second ; purity, by which we are raised to the level of the unseen, carries us up to the third."

Many of the mystics have told us that humility is the first and necessary step to Truth—for example, the medieval English writer, Walter Hilton, says, "Truth and Humility are full true sisters, fastened together in love and charity, and there is no distance of counsel betwixt them two." But there is originality as well as great beauty in Bernard's insistence that the degree represented by "Blessed are the merciful" must precede that represented by "Blessed are the pure in heart." If the religious world had only kept this one thought in mind how many persecutions and enmities in the name of Truth would have been avoided !

### VIII

The great Schoolmen of medieval Europe busied themselves rather with the organization of all ascertained truth than with the quest for the Eternal Truth rising above the mind. But the School of St. Victor in Paris, as well as the greatest philosopher of them all—St. Thomas Aquinas—occupied itself with the double task of the harmonizing of all knowledge into one coherent system (which in those days was not the impossibility it would be today) and the search for the mystical vision of the True. The School of St. Victor was famous for the consistency of its intellectual discipline and for the passion with which Truth was sought within its boundaries. The great Victorine teachers, especially Hugh and Richard, were

deeply affected by Platonic ideas. They do not believe that Truth is to be found by logic or argument, but by contemplation. Yet they add to the older view of contemplation a new element. Contemplation must be accompanied not only by a heroic moral discipline, but also by intellectual effort. And so it is now that Meditation, which is the intellectual side of prayer, enters the history of mysticism. The practice of meditation, especially in its later developments, introduced orderliness into mysticism : it rescued it from vagueness by giving it some kind of intellectual content. But it could only build the road to the land of Truth : contemplation was needed to carry the traveller to the goal.

The method and the process of the contemplation of Truth has never been more beautifully described than by Hugh of St. Victor.

"Damp wood," he says, "kindles slowly under fire, but a strong breeze will fan it into flame, with black clouds of smoke. Little by little the smoke is dissipated as the moisture dries up, and the blaze spreads freely over the whole crackling pile, till the wood is wholly changed into the likeness of fire. Then the crackling ceases, and nothing is to be seen save the victorious fire, glowing in the profound peace of great silence. First fire and flame and smoke ; then fire and flame, but smoke no more ; last of all pure fire, with neither flame nor smoke. As is the damp wood, so are our carnal hearts. Touch them with the spark of the fear of God, or divine love, and great clouds of evil passions and rebellious desires roll upwards. Then the soul grows stronger ; the flame of love burns more hotly and brightly ; the smoke of passion dies down ; and the purified spirit rises to the contemplation of Truth. Last of all triumphant contemplation fills the heart with truth ; we have reached the very source of the Sovereign Truth and have been enfolded thereby, and neither trouble nor anxiety touch the heart more. It has found peace and rest."

From the Scholastic period onwards, the "Truth-mystics" of Catholicism come largely from the ranks of the Dominican Order, that Order which above all others gave itself to the pursuit of knowledge and intellectual discipline. The chief glory of the Order—St. Thomas Aquinas—sought to bring into one majestic harmony the whole range of Truth, and he devoted himself to this task with a passionate ardour that wore out his life before its time. St. Thomas teaches that everything is intended to reach its own perfection. It is the business of man, therefore, to discover what the true end or goal

of his life is, and then to follow that end with all the powers of his spirit. St. Thomas points out that the true end of man cannot be sensual enjoyment or material advantage, for in these there is nothing distinctively human. Nor can it be wealth or power or honour—for these are all external things. It cannot even consist in the good life alone, for this is not an end in itself. The only satisfactory end for the life of man is the vision of Truth. This satisfies that which is the noblest and most distinctive part of man, his intellect. There is no end beyond it, for the contemplation of Truth is an end in itself. And to this end, all other human activities seem to be directed.

"For the perfect contemplation of Truth we require bodily health. We require freedom from the disquietude of the passions—a goal attained by the moral virtues and by prudence. We require freedom from external perturbations—a freedom at which the entire organization of civil government aims. So all human occupations seem to be directed to the needs of those who contemplate Truth."

This contemplation is the height of human felicity. It is more, it is a foretaste of eternity. As the mind embraces more and more of the whole order of the universe, so our felicity increases, and the perfect joy of eternity will be no other than perfect and full knowledge.

Professor Kirk thus summarizes the care, the diligence, the thoroughness with which St. Thomas sought for Truth.

"His exposition is never hurried, never superficial. No stone is left unturned, no avenue unexplored, no problem, objection, criticism undiscussed...If we take from him two thoughts only—that honest intellectual endeavour (impossible, be it remembered, without moral effort of the highest kind) is no less a service of God than any other, and that ordered discipline is the condition of success in all things, even in the pursuit of the vision of God—and add to them the lesson of his life, that he counted the world well lost if he could bring these two truths home to men in a time of wild and fantastic imaginations, we shall not think any place too high for him in the roll of Christian heroes."

(To be continued)

## AN INDIAN IMPERIAL HISTORY OF INDIA

600 B. C. to 770 A. D.

By K. P. JAYASWAL

THE Puranic scheme of history is to register an imperial history of India, and that closes with 348 A. D. After that date we have had, up till now, no written imperial history of India by an Indian, whether ancient or modern. Practically, the only source of our knowledge consisted in inscriptions which give such a fragmentary view as to call for the following conclusions from Vincent A. Smith:

"Very little is known about the history of India during the second half of the sixth century. It is certain that no paramount power existed."—*Early History of India*, p. 341; and

"Interior India was exempt from serious foreign aggression for nearly 500 years, from the defeat of Mihiragula in A. D. 528 until the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni at the beginning of the eleventh century, and was left free to work out

her destiny in her own fashion. In political institutions no evolution took place, no sovereign arose endowed with commanding abilities." *Ibid.*, p. 371.

To the historian of India, the Imperial history of India ended with Harsha:

"Harsha's death loosened the bonds which restrained the disruptive forces always ready to operate in India, and allowed them to produce their natural result, a medley of petty states." *Ibid.*, p. 371.

The above conclusions are due to the fragmentary view presented by inscriptions and for want of a written history. Inscriptions by themselves are powerless to delineate a full picture of the past. And a partial picture is a dangerous thing. Imagine to yourself a history of India prepared in the year of Grace 2933, with all books lost and

the so-called history recovered from inscriptions on some of the statues in the Calcutta maidan, at Allahabad, Delhi, Lahore, Madras, Bombay and other places. Archaeologists in 2933 A. D. will come to the conclusion that the spoken language of the country was a mixture of Latin and some advanced European vernacular, that street names and notice-boards in the parks "proved conclusively" that the population was non-Indian, that at least the ruling community was of black complexion (inferred from the colour of the bronze statues) and that there was a sprinkling of white population which was 'self-evident' from the fragments of the alabaster statues discovered at the site of the College Square and the crossing of the Cornwallis Street and Beadon Street, that the climate of Calcutta was severely cold for the statues on horses are heavily clothed. Mr. Ramaprasad, an eminent ethnologist of 2933 A. D., took careful measurements of the skulls and the nose indices of the statues on the maidan and came to the finding that they did not tally with measurements recorded either for Europe or Asia and he threw out suggestions of a pre-historic race of Devas and Asuras.

The reader may smile and take me to be indulging in a light vein, but speaking quite seriously, such conclusions would be quite natural if we were left to mere archaeological finds to determine history. A history constructed from remains may be as false as the conclusions of 2933 A. D. The history of Vincent A. Smith mentioned above, now turns out to be a similarly false history in the light of the written history of Hindu times by Hindus, now discovered. Archaeological remains can only serve as a commentary on a written history, but they can never take the place of the text itself.

In a Buddhist work called *Manjusri Mulakalpa*, which is in Sanskrit, there is a 'Book of Royal History.' The whole book has been printed by the Travancore Government and the part having the "Royal History" came out in 1925. This book gives the history of India (a) from the time of the Buddha up to the Mauryas, (b) the persecutors of the Buddhist religion (*i.e.*, Pushyamitra) under the name "Gomin," then, (c) the reviver

of Buddhism—a dynasty of two kings from Yaksha country whom for reasons set out elsewhere, I have identified with the two Kadphises, then after dealing with some (d) provincial histories, it takes up (e) the imperial history of Inner-India. This imperial history begins with the Saka dynasty (*i.e.*, the Kushans—78 A. D.) and has the following continuous successions of empires down to the rise of the Pala Empire :

1. Saka Dynasty.
2. Naga and Sena [In another place, namely, the provincial history of Bengal, 'the *Naga-rajā*' and '*Prabha-Vishnu*,' *i.e.*, the Bharasiva Nagas and the Vishnu-vriddha Vakatakas.
3. Imperial Guptas up to the end of Budha-Gupta.
4. Vishnu (Vardhana—Yasodharman and two successors).
5. Maukharis.
6. Dynasty of Thanesvara.
7. Dynasty of Valabhi—beginning with the grandson of Harshavardhana. (They were strong also in navy.)
8. Later Guptas [Aditya Sena], Devagupta, Chandraditya [Vishnugupta], and Dvadasaditya.

9. The Palas, beginning with Gopala.  
[This imperial history is mostly repeated in the provincial history of Bengal and Magadha.]

It will be noticed that the imperial periods of Vishnuvardana (4), the Maukharis (5), the Valabhis (7), and the Later Guptas (8) have been all sadly missed by V. A. Smith and his followers. It must be said, to the great credit of modern Indian historians, who have raised occasional protests and notes of dissatisfaction on this treatment of Indian history. But those protests were the protests of the weak. It had been assumed that unless a Vincent A. Smith recognized a period it had no existence.

The *Manjusri Mulakalpa* decides once for all that the treatment of Indian history from the Gupta times up to the Pala period has to be radically revised and that the bible of the Early History printed at Oxford will henceforward be obsolete. Let us hope that Indians will now execute the imperative duty of writing a history of their country and of



completing the tradition which their forefathers carried on for several centuries through their Puranas and the chronicles as preserved in the *Manjusri Mulakalpa*. It is a humiliation unworthy of any civilized nation and more so of the countrymen of Kalidasa and Kalhana, to read their histories written by outsiders who are least fitted to understand and interpret it. We shall always remain grateful to Smiths and Rapsons for what they have done, but the mistakes which they have committed and the mistakes which they commit everyday amount at times to libels, and that is due to that innate and inherent disability of an outsider to read the thoughts and actions of a stranger.

To return to the history in the *Manjusri Mulakalpa*. I have analysed all the historical data in the *Mulakalpa*; the result of that study has become too large to print in any periodical. I am bringing it out as an independent book with annotations on every section wherein I have discussed the different periods in detail. Here I should like to mention some of the important new matters gleaned from that history.

The writer or writers of the *Manjusri* history had at least three historical manuals before them, the last of which related very fully the Later Guptas, just preceding Gopala and his descendants. The book was written after the reign of Gopala (772 A. D.) who is given 27 years and who is described as having been a Sudra. It seems to have been written in the reign of Dharmapala. After two centuries and a half, it was translated in Tibetan [about 1060 A. D.] The Tibetan text is a word-for-word translation, and I have utilized it largely in my edition now in the press. Necessarily, the historian had the written records of the Later Guptas available to him in the secretariat of the Palas who succeeded the former. The official designation of the Later Guptas, our history gives, as *the Gauda Dynasty*. Our history itself was composed in Bengal by a Bengali author who writes with an intimate knowledge about Bengal and surveys the past from the standpoint of Bengal.

The author had a very good historical manual for the Imperial Guptas and a very full record for the whole of India for the

period of the Thaneshvara dynasty. It supplies full details of the war of Harshavardhana against Sasanka. As a system, the Buddhist writer has omitted the real names of the three persecutors of Buddhism—Pushyamitra, Mihirakula and Sasanka. He has given for Pushyamitra—*Gomin*, for Mihirakula—‘the Planet’ (*Graha*), for Sasanka—‘the Moon’ (*Soma*). The last two are practically translations of the actual names. Their histories, however, are unmistakable.

#### SASANKA

About Sasanka, the new information, which had been badly needed is that (i) he was a Brahmin and he came to the forefront on account of the extreme weakness amongst the Gauda Guptas and consequential oppression that resulted in Bengal. Harsha invaded Sasanka and a battle was fought outside Pundravardhana in which Sasanka was defeated and he accepted the terms imposed by Harshavardhana, not to leave Pundravardhana for the rest of his life. The author notes a great orthodox revival in Bengal and Bihar under the leadership of Sasanka. He says that private houses were constructed with materials from Buddhist monasteries and on their ruins.

#### CHARACTER SKETCHES

The Buddhist author or authors have given in this long history of 1000 slokas character sketches of the Gupta Emperors and other kings which we lack in the Puranas. These character sketches, apart from the peculiar Buddhist view on the ethics of warfare, are sound. About Samudra Gupta, for instance, it is noted that the king was a superman; he was ever vigilant; he cared all for here and nothing for hereafter—‘he indulged in bloody sacrifices’; men and manes, *pitris*, enjoyed all luxuries during his reign. About Skanda Gupta it is recorded that he was the noblest and the best of the Imperial Guptas, that he realized his duties in an ideal way. About Bindusara that he succeeded his father as a minor and had firm judgment and also eloquence amongst his accomplishments. About Gopala, that he had a sweet tongue and patronized both orthodox and

Buddhist sections and was a successful ruler, that he made pious buildings more for the sake of his name.

#### REPUBLIC AND ELECTION OF KINGS IN BENGAL.

Our history describes an interesting fact that after Sasanka a republic was tried for a short time in Bengal. We all know about the election of King Gopala, but we know now that a few years before Gopala a popular Bengali leader, by caste a Sudra, was elected King and that he ruled successfully for 17 years. His description is amusing, for he anticipated modern centuries. He was fond of controversy, he was a lifelong invalid, he was very particular about "law and order"; he held both Brahmins and Buddhists monks as undesirable hypocrites; his rule was marked with impartiality. The election of this king as well as of Gopala, both of whom were men of character and known ability (Gopala was elected at the age of 52), shows that Bengal in the eighth century had freed herself from the law of caste and the Vedic theory of birth superiority and that Bengal had anticipated in 700 A.D. Govinda Singh and Ram-mohun Roy, Dayananda Saraswati and Gandhi.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF UNIDENTIFIED GUPTA COINS.

Three Gupta coins which had remained hitherto unidentified can now be identified with the help of our new history. We have in the Gupta coins a name *Dvadasaditya*. It was not known who this king was. Mr. Allan in his *Catalogue of Gupta Coins* has assigned a tentative date avowedly in the absence of evidence, which date now proves to be wrong. Our history gives these names of the Gauda Guptas :

Deva [Gupta]

Chandra [Chandraditya]

His son—Dvadasa [aditya]

Dvadasaditya was the last king of the Later or Gauda Guptas and his time would be *Circa*, 710-720. A Chinese pilgrim, Hui Lun, who visited Magadha about 700 A. D., found Adityasena's (Sun-Army's) temple being completed by his successor Deva (verman), *i. e.* Deva Gupta about 700 A. D.

We know from the coins of Chandraditya that his personal name was Vishnu Gupta. According to the inscriptions Vishnu Gupta was the son of Deva Gupta, and Vishnu Gupta's son was Jivita Gupta, who was probably the last king of the dynasty. Dvadasaditya, who was the son of Chandraditya [Vishnu Gupta] according to our history, was either identical with Jivita Gupta or was his brother.

In the imperial series of the Gupta coins we have a coin of *Prakasaditya* (प्रकाशादित्य) with the symbol name U (उ). This king has not been identified so far. Our history gives the name of the successor of Kumara Gupta II as king U (उ). We know from inscriptions that Kumara Gupta was succeeded by Budha Gupta. U (उ) is, therefore, identical with Budha Gupta who seems to have had the *biruda* of Prakasaditya as well as some other title or name beginning with U (उ). Our history notes U as the last king of the Guptas whom he calls emperors and says that after his reign the family broke up and the line of the Gauda Guptas arose whom the author calls the *Separatist Gaudas* (महाविश्लेषणा गौड़ाः)

#### BREAK-UP OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE.

Our history shows that the modern historian's theory on the break-up of the Gupta Empire which dates it in the reign of Skanda Gupta, is entirely wrong. The *Manjusri* history lights up the break-up account with considerable details. According to it, after the death of Budha Gupta two kings in the Gupta line were crowned, one in Magadha and another in Bengal. This led to an invasion of a Sudra called H. (Huna) (Tibetan text). The H(una) king brought out a Gupta boy from prison who had been imprisoned by king Goparaja, and crowned him at Benares. His name was Pra(kataditya). We know both Goparaja and Prakataditya from inscriptions. Prakataditya was king of Benares according to the Sarnath inscription and was the son of Baladitya II. It is thus evident that the Baladitya who was a contemporary of Toramana, Mihirakula and Goparaja was Baladitya II and not Baladitya I with whom he has been identified by European scholars. In fact European scholars lost sight of the

distinction between the two Baladityas. In the light of our Buddhist history Baladitya II seems to have been identical with Bhanu Gupta. The H(una) king died at Benares suddenly the same year he crowned Prakataditya, and his son the "Planet" (Mihir=sun) succeeded him. The Planet was invaded by various enemies and was killed. He was extremely wicked.

#### PRAKATADITYA

After the death of the Planet Prakataditya became the king of Benares and Magadha. He ruled for about 54 years and like Francis Joseph witnessed great vicissitudes and change of history. In his latter days arose a rebellious branch of his family in the Vindhyas under the name Deva Simharaja. This was evidently the Malava Gupta family. There also arose Sasanka in Bengal. Deva Simharaja was killed in battle by Rajyavardhana. Prakataditya was succeeded by his brother V (व), who had a successor for a short time and the family came to an end with the rise of Rajyavardhana.

Amongst these Later Guptas Ka (Kumara Gupta III) is described as an independent sovereign.

This detailed history fully establishes that Skanda Gupta had throughout a victorious career and that for 40 to 50 years after him the Huns dared not raise their head again. This is further borne out by the *Chandra garbha sutra* cited by the Tibetan author Buston (14th century A.D.) which gives details of the war of Skanda Gupta described as son of Mahendrasena, according to which Skanda Gupta as a boy defeated the united forces of the Huns, Parthians and Sakas—three lakhs in number—with a gigantic hecatomb and after several battles captured the barbarian kings and executed them and thereafter ruled in peace and prosperity. A full extract on the subject I have given in my book mentioned above.

#### CASTES OF KINGS

Our author, as if to anticipate certain ethnological controversies raised by modern historians, has recorded castes and origins of almost every important dynasty. Adityavardhana and Harshavardhana are noted to

be Vaisbyas. The Guptas are noted to be Kshatriyas. The Valabhi dynasty was from Ikshvakus. [Drona Simha according to inscriptions was installed by the Emperor of the whole country which means the Gupta Emperor. They were first *senapatis* of the Guptas, and they evidently went from Oudh under the Guptas.] Without the slightest evidence, Vincent A. Smith and others persisted in calling the Valabhi dynasty Huns. That is now definitely proved to be false.

The Nagas are called Vaisyas by origin. The Palas are called Sudras. About the family of Harshavardhana, our history says that they descended from Vishnu Vardhana. In this connection it should be noted that Vishnu Vardhana Yasodharman did not belong to Malwa as commonly supposed but to Thaneswar. For he registers in the Mandasaur inscription that he bent his head to God Sthanu only, who was the royal deity at Thaneswar. Malwa was under his governor according to the inscription.

#### FACTS BEFORE THE GUPTAS

It is noteworthy that the Sakas are treated as Kings of Mid-India, which means that the Kushans are called Sakas. The Sakas lose their kingdom on account of the Naga Senas who are split up in the section dealing with the history of Gauda as Nagas and Prabha Vishnu. The Naga-Senas are treated as the emperors succeeding the Sakas and coming before the Guptas.

For the history before the Sakas, the writer has drawn exclusively on his Church history. Some notable facts are these :

The Buddha's teachings were reduced to writing in the reign of King Udayin (उदयि), successor of Ajatasatru. Nanda [Mahapadma] was the Prime Minister of the previous king. Nanda earned the title of being the lowest man in India in his time. He was a very capable and able ruler and just in his administration. In his later years he suffered great opposition from his Council of Ministers. Panini was a personal friend of this Nanda. Chandra Gupta died comparatively young and was succeeded by his minor son Bindusara. The Prime Minister under both these reigns was Vishnu Gupta Chanakya. His ministry extended for some time to the

next reign. He was very strict and a very able administrator, but his wrath is noted and so is recorded his poverty. From the Saisunaga down the Maurya times, Council of Ministers and Chancellors are treated as having great powers in the matter of administration, overshadowing those of the kings.

Nagarjuna is placed in the first century B. C.—400 years after the Buddha.

#### GREATER INDIA

How great is the value of the history of Manjusri, will be seen from one more fact which is to us of high importance. Only the other day, Dr. Kalidas Nag started his agitation against the neglect of FARTHER and INSULINDIA in our study of Indian history. At that time, forced by his vigorous agitation I looked round, but found no authority in Indian literature to connect Greater India with the mother country. It was only the study of Samudra Gupta's inscription which led me to connect the Puranic description of the eight *dripas*, from Ceylon eastwards, with Indian history. In the train of my proposition put forward in my History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D., I am gratified to find that the Manjusri author has treated the history of Indian Archipelago and Farther India as part and parcel of the history of India. He has given names of the kings of the seventh century whom I have indentified. The author of the Manjusri history is fully supported by another writer of the Pala period who flourished about 50 years later—Sulaiman the Arab. Elliot has translated his work in the opening pages of his volume I. Sulaiman has definitely said that he found

Java and other islands as dependencies of India. Everybody knows the connection between the Pala Empire in the time of Deva Pala with the Hindu kingdom of Sumatra, fully established by the Nalanda copperplate published by Dr. Hirananda Sastri. The *Manjusri Mulakalpa* notes that the Gauda dynasty of Bengal ruled up to Burma in the reign of Prakataditya. It also has given names of certain Hindu artists who went from Southern India to the islands and beautified Buddhist monuments and monasteries there.

#### ARTISTS AND SOCIAL LEADERS.

The book gives at the end a short history of religious and political leaders, artists and philosophers of art (iconography), both Brahmanical and Buddhist. Some of them were Sudras. The survey covers the whole land from the north up to Ceylon and embraces Greater India.

The Book of History in Manjusri is as large as consisting of a thousand *slokas*. Half of this will not interest the present-day materialist reader, for the writer does not forgive like the modern historian the wickedness and arbitrariness in kings. He would have thrown into the waste-paper basket all modern histories as so many veiled and covert panegyrics on force and fraud and virtueless greatness. His outlook is different. He emphasizes the relentless law of morality, the avenging principle of *Karma* and he follows the rascally kings to their tortures in hell. This, to follow the current of the time, I have omitted in my analysis. Yet the material so curtailed is unexpectedly large.

## CHRISTIAN, BUDDHIST AND HINDU ART

By PROF. N. NIYOGI, M.A.

There is one thing that strikes the student of Christiainty as rather puzzling. The religion preached by Christ is said to be one of peace and joy—peace that passeth all understanding, and joy, or bliss, let us call it, that is born of the Spirit. Yet it is strange to contemplate that in the majority of paintings and

sculptures in which Christ appears, whether as a child or as a grown-up man, he is represented with a sad and melancholy face, hardly consistent with a message of peace and bliss. It is an interesting study and one which should yield food for thought.

The origin of the traditional face and features of Jesus, as is well known, is hidden



in mystery, for there is no historical evidence as to who the first painter or sculptor was who gave to the world these conventional features of Christ, nor is it possible to say how they came to be accepted as his. A glance, however, at the paintings of different periods will reveal the fact that these features have not always been the same, but that, on the other hand, they have gone through a process of evolution. In fact, in the earlier paintings we find them rather coarse and uninspiring, without any grace or beauty whatsoever. But very soon, evidently, the artist found it necessary to add lines and light and shade to bring out beauty, softness and refinement. Of course, this indicated not merely a better technique, but also a clearer comprehension of the Message and the Message Bearer. But whatever the subject of these paintings, there is one characteristic common to all, with a few exceptions soon to be noted, and that is that the face of Christ is always full of sadness and melancholy too deep for words. It is the invariable expression in almost all these works of art, and the question with which we are faced is this: How is it that Christian art has failed to give expression to the cheerful aspect of Christ's religion, to the hope and joy that Christ's message gave to the world?

Some, indeed, meet this question by arguing that the predominant characteristic of this sinless life was compassion for all mankind, and that it was but natural that this particular note of compassion should be found in all his portraits. But that would be an argument hardly fair to the message of the Gospels, for mere compassion without the promise of heavenly bliss, would not give Christ the position he occupies now, nor would make Christianity a complete religious system, for both these elements are, fundamentally, necessary and complementary to each other. It is true that the events of the life of Jesus, which form the subjects of these paintings, make it almost inevitable that melancholy should be the prevailing note, for the Crucifixion, the Trial, the tragic scene at Gethsemane, cannot but be taken by artists as wholly sad and melancholy episodes of that sancti-

fied life, unredeemed by any rays of joy and hope. Yet it has to be pointed out that the sad and sorrowing Christ is the conventional type in Christian art, both mediaeval and modern, irrespective of the nature of the occasion depicted, for subjects like the Baptism, the Blessing of the Children, the Transfiguration, the Resurrection, etc., which, properly interpreted, should be themes of joy, cheerfulness and triumph, are found in these paintings to suffer from the same obsession of melancholy.

This, again, is not all, for even the Child in Christian art has not escaped the dreary touch of this gloom. With very notable exceptions, again, it is rather distressing to find in most of the child Christs an expression nearer sadness than joy, which latter is surely the distinguishing characteristic of the child all the world over. As could not but be expected, in most of these paintings the Child is something unnatural, while the Mother, inevitably, shares this burden of sorrow. Coming to others, again, *i. e.*, the Angels, Apostles and Saints, who figure so often here, we have the same feeling of sadness forcing itself upon us, for there is hardly a cheerful or smiling face to be seen in these groups.

But, as mentioned above, there are not a few notable exceptions where some masters have set aside this conventional sadness and given us representations of Christ more in accordance with the spirit of the events depicted. Such are Leonardo da Vinci's *Madonna of the Rocks*, Raphael's *Sistine Madonna*, Murillo's *The Holy Family*, almost all of Luini's child Christs and other paintings like *Christ Disputing with The Doctors*, Ferrari's *Christ Rising From The Tomb*, and a few more. It must be admitted here that in Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* we have the noblest achievement of art, for the expression on the faces of the Mother and the Child here is unequalled in the whole world for its purity, serenity and ineffable bliss. It is really a welcome relief to come upon paintings like these, for they serve to break the monotony of sadness that meets us in the other paintings. These exceptions, however, are proportionately so few that one is led to believe that in these the

artists concerned were guided more by their own temperaments, rather than by the orthodox interpretation of their subjects. Judging from all this it would not be far wrong to say that the shadow of the Cross has been upon the whole field of Christian art and has deprived it of the high privilege of revealing the light eternal, serene and joyous that shines beyond that shadow.

In aesthetics art reveals and expresses beauty, but in religion it reveals and interprets the spirit. This is how it serves religion, and so while considering how art has interpreted Christianity, it should be profitable to examine how it has interpreted Hinduism and Buddhism, the only other important religions which have stamped their spirit on successive stages of sculpture and painting.

Buddhism bears a resemblance to Christianity in some respects. Like the latter it is centred in one person, and, as in the case of Christ, the origin of the traditional features of the Buddha also is hidden in mystery. Buddhism, however, is usually supposed to be a joyless religion, beginning in pessimism and ending in extinction. Were this a true estimate of the spirit of the Buddha's preachings we could expect in Buddhist art nothing but gloomy and cheerless presentation of life. But what we really find there is something just the reverse, for everywhere, almost without exception, it is the scenes of joy, mirth and music aglow with the beauty of cheerful adoration and worship, that meet us in the sculptures and paintings. In fact, it would be difficult to point out any number of such works of Buddhist art as are pessimistic or gloomy in their tone. To crown all, there shines before us the central figure of the Buddha in whose features and lineaments we discover the easy triumph of the oriental artist, who with a subtle and sure instinct born of a mystic consciousness of the true meaning of *nirvana*, succeeded in investing these features with a serene peace and bliss passing all human comprehension. The crudest representations of the Buddha are not without this characteristic, while the best reach an expression conveying that beatitude which all the world's a-seeking. In fact, in the presence of such a finished piece of art we feel that all struggle has here come to an

end, that all problems have been solved, that all "the knots of human death and fate" have been unravelled, and nothing but peace and joy and bliss, the true concomitants of the attainment of *nirvana*, remain. Indeed, if it were necessary to give the lie to the misinterpretation of Buddhism as a religion of pessimism and of *nirvana* as extinction, the serene features of the Buddha should be enough to do it.

There is, however, an instance of closer resemblance between the lives of the Buddha and the Christ, and that is the Temptation to which both are subjected at a critical period of their spiritual history and this gives us a singularly favourable opportunity of studying this contrast between the methods of Buddhist and Christian art. When Jesus is represented at the moment of his triumph over Satan with that memorable rebuke on his lips, the Christian artist retains the usual expression of deep melancholy and only adds to it a touch of sternness suited to the occasion, but he does not throw the happy radiance of triumph over his face. Very different, indeed, is the method of the Buddhist artist, who in the wall-paintings of Ajanta paints the Buddha in his moment of triumph over Mara, the Tempter, with all the serene and radiant beauty of conquest over sin and evil desires. In fact, the only occasions when the Buddha is represented with an expression other than that of joy are those when he, perplexed with doubts and difficulties, is leaving his home in search of Truth, and, again, when as a result of his austerities, he has reduced himself to a skeleton and made himself miserable. But both these incidents, it should be borne in mind, belong to the long period of spiritual struggle which preceded the attainment of *nirvana*, and so the artists were justified in representing him as they did. So true, indeed, is the insight of the oriental artist into the realities of peace beyond things mundane, that even on his death-bed the Enlightened One is usually depicted as reposing in undisturbed bliss, without a line of pain or sorrow on his face. Truly says Goethe, "Über alle Gipfeln ist Ruh." Upon all Heights there is Peace.

Here, then, we have a striking instance

of art revealing and interpreting the true spirit of a religion in an unmistakable manner and there is no reason why the triumph of Christ over death and sorrow should not be represented in the same unmistakable language, for we certainly want religion not merely to remind us of our sorrows and sufferings here and hereafter, but to tell us also of the hope and joy that are beyond them.

In Hinduism, again, we have an inexhaustible store-house of spiritual truths embodied in sculpture and painting, but nowhere do we find any gloomy or cheerless atmosphere which does not suit the occasion. These representations range from the heights of calm serenity to the wildest orgies of grotesque imagination, but everywhere the scene matches the idea to be expressed. Leaving aside the endless attempts made by the genius of Hinduism to give shape to the Infinite and the Ineffable, we can examine one particular instance for comparison and contrast with Christian art. In the wonderful variety of religious experience encompassed by it, Hinduism has not missed the idea of divinity in the child, and so we have Yasoda and the child Krishna as the exact counterparts of the Mother and the Child in Christian art. Yasoda is, of course, Sri Krishna's adoptive mother, but the tender yearning that tradition makes her feel for him puts this fact in the background. However, though the theme is the same, a mother and a divine Child, the methods of artistic treatment of the subject are strikingly different. As already mentioned, in Christian art most of these scenes are joyless and the sad faces of the mother and the Child are full of the most distressing melancholy. The knowledge that the Mother evidently possesses of the tragic end of the Child is much too apparent in the deep sadness that clouds her features, and, what is worse and still more intolerable, the Child himself seems to be filled with the same gloomy forebodings. Hinduism, on the other hand, has given us in colour, poetry and music, the joy divine that the Mother, Yasoda, and the Child, Sri Krishna, represent. Many are the paintings that depict the Mother and the Child, many

the lyrics that describe them, and many the songs that sing of this eternal theme, but nowhere do we find any trace of cheerlessness or gloom, unless, of course, the situation demanded it. Indeed the artists never fail to delineate the Child or the boy Krishna in his happiest moods and the mother's face shows nothing but joy and pride. There is, in this sense, no *Mater Dolorosa* in Hindu art.

Indeed, a gallery of paintings representing Christ and Christian art is a gloomy place to be in, for there is so much of sorrow and suffering and so little of the joy and bliss of beatitude, that so far as art is concerned, one cannot help characterizing Christianity as a cheerless religion, and feeling, as has been said above, that the shadow of the Cross has been over it too much. But the triumph of Christ should not remain misinterpreted for ever. Not to speak of such scenes as the Baptism, the Raising of Lazarus, the Transfiguration, the Blessing of Children and the Resurrection, which should naturally lend themselves to treatment in joyous and radiant colours, there is no reason why Christ should not be painted with a face full of a serene and transcendent joy in scenes where he stands before the Pilate, carries the Cross, is bleeding from the wounds of the Crown of Thorns, or is breathing his last prayer on the Cross. A Christ triumphant over sorrow and suffering, with that triumph beaming through his face and features resplendent with joy and love, is certainly a nobler sight than a Christ weighed down with his burden of sorrow. Christian art has hitherto failed to bring out fully this triumphant note and thus to do justice to the blissful beatitude of which Christ spoke so often, and it is time that this were rectified. Indeed, why should there not be a new school of painters who would do away with the conventional misinterpretation of Christ's character in art and give the world a Christ smiling triumphantly upon the Cross with a Crown of Thorns on his head, proclaiming to all mankind the death of Death and of all suffering?

## THE AFTERMATH OF THE GREAT CHICAGO PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS OF 1893

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

THE unique and impressive "Century-of-Progress Fair" in Chicago, now inviting the attention and patronage of the world, naturally calls to mind its remarkable predecessor, the Columbian Exposition of 1893. That Exposition was memorable for several reasons, but probably for none more justly than on account of its great World Parliament of Religions.

I think few persons today realize how great a thing that Chicago Religious Parliament was, and fewer still how wide-reaching and important have been the results following it. It is probably not an exaggeration to represent it as marking an epoch, if not in the religious *history*, at least in the religious *PROGRESS* of the world. It was something absolutely new, unique, unprecedented; mankind had never seen anything like it. The history of the past had known numberless religious gatherings, conferences, councils, congresses, parliaments, some of them on a large scale, but they all had been limited in their fellowship, sectarian in their nature, confined to single religions or single religious denominations. Buddhism and Christianity had had their councils called *Universal*, but they were not universal, they were merely *Buddhist* councils and *Christian* councils.

At last something larger and better had come,—something not sectarian, something not limited, something really universal. In that great Chicago Parliament, for absolutely the first time in human history, eminent representatives of *all the important religious faiths of mankind* came together in a great world assemblage, and what was more, came in the spirit of *equality* and *mutual respect*; came not to antagonize or criticize but to *fellowship*; came not even for debate, but for thoughtful and brotherly conference over the great world-wide problems and interests of religion, each to present for the considera-

tion of the rest and of the world, an affirmative statement, a constructive interpretation of the central truths, principles, aims and ideals of the faith which he represented, as understood not by its enemies but by its friends, by those who believe in it, love it and worship at its altars.

The parliament continued three weeks, holding daily sessions in two great halls near each other, which were crowded to their utmost capacity. To the tens of thousands of people who attended the various sessions the addresses heard were such a surprise as they had never known. Most of the attendants, of course, were Christians, who had all their lives been taught to believe that there is one true God, our own, and that all others are false; that there is one true revelation of God, our Bible, and that all other sacred books are from men or the devil; that there is only one true religion, our own; and that if the adherents of other faiths are to be saved from eternal perdition, they must give up their religion and accept our Christianity. Judge of the surprise which men and women accustomed to this way of thinking experienced when they met in that Parliament men as devout and full of the spirit of worship as any Christians, and yet who were not Christians, but Hindus, or Muhammadans or Parsees; when they heard in that Parliament, representatives of the great non-Christian faiths of the world setting forth ethical and spiritual truths, precepts and ideals, many of which were as pure, as high and as uplifting as our own. For the first time in their lives they learned the meaning of the New Testament teaching, "God hath not left himself without witness in any land." For the first time they got a vision of a God not limited to Christians, or Christians and Jews; of worship confined to no religious name; of inspiration as wide as humanity; of revelation as large as all truth.



The total number of persons who heard these better views of religion at the Chicago Parliament was very large. What was still more important, all the principal addresses were printed in full in the great Chicago dailies, and in many papers of other cities, thus reaching some millions of readers. Finally, when the Parliament was over, careful reports of all were published in two great volumes which soon made their way into nearly all the principal libraries of the world.

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Certain important results have come from that remarkable Parliament.

Since that time and largely in consequence of the new interest created there in the non-Christian faiths of mankind, we have seen a great enlargement and enrichment of religious literature in those fields. A large number of books on the comparative study of religions and on all the great religions of the world, and many of them the very best we possess, have been written during these thirty years since the Parliament, not only in America but in Great Britain, on the Continent of Europe and in the Orient.

Another result of the Parliament scarcely less important has been the establishment of chairs of Comparative Religion or for the study of Oriental and other non-Christian Faiths, in great numbers of universities and Theological schools in America and other Christian lands. Before the Parliament there were very few such chairs; now they are found in nearly all higher institutions of learning that make any claim to broad scholarship.

The effect of the Parliament appears also in connection with Christian missions. Since Chicago it has been impossible for intelligent men to take the narrow and bigoted view of the non-Christian religions and peoples of the world that was almost universal before that illuminating gathering. If the work of Christian missions, particularly in the Orient, is slowly but steadily growing broader, more reasonable and more useful, and if the spirit of those missions is becoming more sympathetic toward what is good in other faiths, to the Chicago Parliament must be given much of the credit.

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Still one more very interesting and very important result followed the great Chicago Parliament, which is probably less known to the world than any other. It is to this that I wish to call particular attention. Indeed, it is primarily to tell the story of this that the present article has been written.

It was impossible that a gathering so notable as the Chicago Parliament should pass away without being followed by efforts, later, to perpetuate or reproduce it. The memory of such a congress could not fail to suggest the holding of other congresses of like character to carry forward still further the good work which it had begun. Exactly that was what happened. There has been held no other single great Parliament on a world scale, but there has been a considerable number of smaller ones, having essentially the same object in view. The most important of these have been six International Congresses of Liberal Religion held between the years 1900 and 1913 in London (England), Amsterdam (Holland), Geneva (Switzerland), Boston (United States), Berlin (Germany), and Paris (France), under the auspices of an organization called the International Congress of Religious Liberals.

However, with all their excellence and all their success, these congresses had the limitation of all being confined to the Occident. To be sure their doors were opened toward the Orient, and no session was held without at least a few representatives of Oriental and non-Christian faiths being present. But the distance from the Orient was too great to allow this representation to be adequate. Hence, as time went on, the question arose and grew persistent: Why should we not carry the Congresses to the Orient?

By the years 1912 and 1913 the bold determination was reached to organize without delay, not a single international liberal congress in the East, but a chain of such Congresses beginning in Europe and extending through Asia. Planning was begun at once for carrying the idea into effect. After much deliberation the decision was reached that the congresses constituting this chain should be eleven in number,—

one in America, two in Europe, one in the Near East and seven in the Orient. Those in America, Europe and the Near East were placed in charge of Rev. Charles W. Wendte of Boston, who was commissioned to make full plans and arrangements for the same. Those in the Orient were assigned to me, with the request that I go to India, Ceylon, China and Japan and make all necessary preparations for congresses to be held there. It was hoped that all the preliminary arrangements, both in the West and in the East, would be completed by the autumn of 1914, the date set for the congresses to begin.

The general scheme to be carried out was the following: A small company of men of eminence, representing all forms of liberal, religion, that is, representing all denominations or groups of people in sympathy with the Chicago parliament idea (Unitarians, Universalists, Liberal Jews, Quakers, Liberal Orthodox and others), was to be enlisted in New York or Boston for the whole chain of congresses—for the whole tour from America to Japan. These pilgrim missionaries were to hold an Initiatory Congress in the American City from which they started, after which they were to go to London, where a Second Congress would be held and where their number would be increased by the addition of several other religious leaders of distinction. The augmented company would then proceed to Budapest for a Third Congress, and to Constantinople or Cairo for a Fourth, which would be held under mainly Muhammadan auspices.\* After the last-named Congress was over (probably in December) the missionaries were to go on to India, Ceylon, China and Japan, to hold the congresses there.

As has been said, my responsibility was only for the Asiatic congresses. The seven I arranged for were: one in Tokyo, the capital of Japan, and the largest city in the East; one in Shanghai, the commercial emporium of China, and for our purpose the most important city in that great

Republic; one in Colombo, the largest city in Ceylon, and four in India, to wit: one in Madras, the principal city of the South, one in Bombay, the commercial metropolis of the West, one in Lahore, the most important centre in the North, and one in Calcutta, the great city of the East, and until lately the Imperial capital.

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[Before proceeding further with my story, let me express to my readers regret at being compelled to make so much use of the personal pronoun, "I"; but the nature of my task is such that I see no way to avoid it.]

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In going to the Orient for the discharge of my duties I did not take the route through Europe and the Near East which was marked out for the pilgrims. Instead, I sailed from San Francisco to Japan, and began my work in Tokyo, where I spent six weeks.

Of course, I knew that if a Congress was to be held, and if it was to be successful, men of character and influence must be interested in it. And why should not men of influence, why should not the best men and the leading men of the city and land, become interested in it if they knew the breadth of its spirit and the nobleness of its aims?

Through letters of introduction and the influence of friends living in Tokyo, I was able to arrange for an early interview with Baron Sakatana, the mayor of the city, who received me most courteously, and when he fully understood the nature of my mission expressed distinct sympathy with it and offered to give me assistance.

An interview of much importance was obtained with Count Okuma, who had been Premier of Japan and who later was made Premier again. Count Okuma received the congress idea warmly and made many inquiries about the Chicago Parliament, about the International Congresses which have been held since, about the men who had conceived the idea of the Oriental Congresses, and especially about the men likely to come from the West to speak and to bring from the West to the East the message of religious brotherhood. So impressed was this distinguished statesman with the greatness

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\* Dr. Wendte had been assured of hearty Muhammadan interest and co-operation in this Congress.

and nobleness of the thought that had given birth to the congress plans, that he insisted on prolonging our interview from twenty to fifty minutes that he might learn all about what had been done, and what we desired to have done in Japan; and when we separated it was with a strong expression of desire on his part that arrangements might be made for a Congress in Tokyo, and with assurances that he himself would gladly render any assistance in his power.

An interview of even greater importance was obtained with Baron Shibusawa. Baron Shibusawa was often spoken of as the Pierpont Morgan of Japan. He was at the head of more large business enterprises than perhaps any other man in the Empire. He was also a distinguished philanthropist. The Women's University of Tokyo, which had excellent buildings and grounds and 1,500 students, was financially largely his creation. Several of the best charitable institutions of the city were also due to him. At one time he was a member of the Imperial Cabinet.

He was even more deeply interested in the Congresses than Count Okuma had been. He inquired minutely regarding the principles upon which they were based, the aims they had in view, what they had accomplished in the West and what they hoped to accomplish in the Orient. Desiring not to consume too much of the time of a man in his position, twice I arose to take my leave, but twice he detained me, saying: "Don't go; I want to hear more; I am greatly interested; such congresses as you propose cannot fail to do great good in Japan and in other countries of the East. I want to learn all about your plans, and especially in what ways I can render aid." When I left at the end of an hour he said: "This is not all. I would like in a few days, if you are willing, to arrange a dinner for you in my home, at which you may meet a number of invited guests, men of distinction and influence, whom I would like to interest in your mission." Of course, I gladly consented.

On the day appointed he came in his automobile and took me to his palatial residence where I met at dinner a dozen gentlemen of influence, leaders in education, in business, and in public affairs. When the

dinner was over Baron Shibusawa said to me, "Now will you be good enough to tell these gentlemen the story of the Congresses as you told it to me?" I did so. An hour and a half was spent in discussing the subject, and at the close all agreed upon the desirability of having a congress in Tokyo, and all pledged their hearty co-operation in bringing it about.

Furthermore, all agreed that the plan which would ensure to the Tokyo Congress the greatest possible success, would be to have it held under the auspices of a very influential organization in the city (of which they were all members) known as the "Association Concordia." Accordingly, arrangements were made for me to present the subject to that Association, which, after full consideration and discussion, voted unanimously to invite the holding of one of the Oriental Congresses in Tokyo, the Congress to be the guest of the Association Concordia, and the Association to be the host, making all local arrangements and meeting all local expenses.

It will be seen more clearly how fortunate we were in being able to make this plan for the Tokyo Congress, if I tell a little about the Association Concordia. The Association's name revealed its character. It was an association which existed for the distinct object of promoting concord, friendship, brotherhood, international, inter-racial and inter-religious. It consisted of about a hundred men, as eminent as there were in the nation, cabinet ministers, members of both houses of the Imperial Parliament, government high officials of various kinds, generals in the army, high officers in the navy, presidents and professors in universities and colleges, literary men, editors of the most important papers and men eminent in connection with the different religions of Japan, Christian and other.

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The arrangements which I was able to make for the Congress in Shanghai, China, were hardly less favourable than those in Tokyo.

For twenty years or so there had existed in Shanghai an institution called the International Institute of China. Its objects were

almost identical with those of the Association Concordia in Japan, namely, the promotion of acquaintance and fraternal relations between all classes of the people in China, and also between China and foreign nations. Its organizer, director and head was the Rev. Gilbert Reid, a very able and broad-minded American Presbyterian missionary. Dr. Reid had been in China nearly thirty years. At first he worked on the same general religious lines as other missionaries. But after a few years he became convinced that a kind of work much broader in its character was greatly needed—a work educational rather than propagandist, more sympathetic than ordinary Christian missions are toward the non-Christian religions of the country, more appreciative of the civilization and the native institutions of China, and helpful to the Chinese people in new and wider ways. To promote such a work he organized the International Institute of China.

I was invited to deliver a series of lectures before this Institute, and in connection with the same to present the subject of the religious congresses—those that had been held in the West and the results that had come from them, and the plan to hold a series of similar congresses in the Orient. I gave the lectures, and submitted to my audiences and to Dr. Reid the question, "Shall a congress be held in Shanghai?" After the matter had been fully considered, an emphatic answer was given in the affirmative.

Probably I ought to add that the Institute had connected with it many men of distinction—Chinese high officials, like Wu Ting-fang, who served two terms as Chinese Minister to the United States, and Chinese scholars of note; leaders and men of influence in connection with each of the principal native religious faiths of China, including the Taoist Pope; a few Christian missionaries of the broadest type, including Dr. Timothy Richard and Dr. W. A. P. Martin, who, with Dr. Reid, were probably the best known and most honoured missionaries in China; and other foreigners of influence residing in the country. For such a body of men to invite the holding of one of the Congresses in

Shanghai, under their auspices, was most gratifying. No more satisfactory arrangement could have been desired.

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The Congress planned to be held in Colombo, the chief city of Ceylon, was to be briefer and simpler than any of the others; yet it promised to be of much interest. It was to be held at the Ananda (Buddhist) College, and mainly under Buddhist auspices.

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The four congresses arranged to be held in India all promised to be large and of great importance.

There is in India a non-sectarian religious organization called the All-India Theistic Conference, which holds its annual meeting each year during Christmas week in some large city. When I landed at Calcutta I was met at the wharf by a company of gentlemen who had come to convey to me an invitation from that Conference to serve as its President during its coming annual session a month or so later, and to urge upon me an acceptance of the invitation on the ground that by so doing I would be able to meet in a most favourable way leading theists and others from all over India and plan with them the Religious Congresses which I wished to organize. I accepted the invitation, and found that the position of presiding officer of that important national gathering afforded me exactly the opportunity which I desired for inaugurating the Congress movement in all parts of the land.

Before the Conference adjourned we had decided upon the number of congresses, their general character, and the cities in which it seemed desirable that they should be held; we had also appointed committees of arrangement—a general committee for all India, and strong local committees to have charge of each individual congress.

The month following the All-India Theistic Conference I devoted, as I had done the month preceding it, to giving public addresses and to privately interviewing prominent men in various Indian cities, in the interest of the Congress Movement. Before I left the country I had the great satisfaction of seeing the movement well



under way in all sections of India with encouraging prospects of final success.

The religious body in India that was most warmly in sympathy with the congresses and which promised to do most for them, was of course the Brahmo Samaj.

Important co-operation was also pledged by prominent leaders of the Arya Samaj, a progressive and growing theistic body in the North-west; by leaders of the Sikhs, a theistic church or nation numbering four or five millions also in the North-west; by leaders among the Parsees, a small but enlightened, prosperous and influential religious body, essentially theistic in faith, in Bombay and other places on the west coast; by the Theosophists, who have a considerable number of societies in India; and by liberal Hindus and liberal Muhammadans in all parts of the land. Among all these supporters of the congress, the Raja of Pithapuram who was so much interested in the movement that he promised himself alone to bear the whole expense of the congress in Madras, and the Gaekwar of Baroda pledged hearty co-operation in every way in his powers including the service of presiding at the Congress of Bombay.

Of course, I took pains everywhere, alike in India, Ceylon, China, and Japan, to have it clearly understood that all the Congresses were to be wholly unsectarian. Not only were they not to represent any Christian sect, or denomination, except as they represented all Christians of every denomination who were willing to take their stand on the broad platform of ethical and spiritual theism, but also they were not to represent Christianity in any sense in which they did not represent all the great historic non-Christian theistic faiths.

Believing that there is one God over all the world, and that all religions contain truths that are of vital and permanent importance to men, representatives of all faiths were invited to come together to confer with one another as brothers, on the broad basis of the universal Fatherhood of God and the universal Brotherhood of Man.

The objects which the congresses hoped to accomplish were primarily three:

One was the promotion of better acquaintance

between the various religions of the world. Such better acquaintance is greatly needed. The different religions hold themselves aloof from one another far too much. Thus they fail to understand one another, and as a result, alienations, jealousies and antagonisms easily arise. Better acquaintance would do much to remove these jealousies and antagonisms, and to create a feeling of friendship and brotherhood.

Second, the Congresses were designed to stand for the universal elements in all the religions, and to put supreme emphasis upon these in all that was said and done. This would help the different religions to see how much they have in common.

Third, and most important of all, the Congresses would endeavour to create in all the religions a conviction that they have a great work to do together for the moral uplift of the world. Religion ought to be the world's greatest power for the moral regeneration of men and society. It would be, if all religious faiths would subordinate the local, the peculiar, the relatively unimportant elements which separate them, and place their emphasis upon the great moral and spiritual elements which they possess in common and in which their real life consists. If all the great religions of mankind would do this—would overlook their minor differences, rise above their enmities and unite their efforts for the one supreme end of curing the world's evils, and lifting the nations up to righteousness, justice, brotherhood and peace, nothing could withstand them. Wars would cease; crime would well-nigh disappear; prisons would become mainly things of the past; the dark streams of suffering and sorrow which now flow over all lands would for the most part be dried up, and the earth would become a very real heaven.

Why should not the religions of the world lay aside their antagonisms and unite in this their supreme mission? It was with the hope of doing something to effect this most desirable consummation, that the Congresses were planned.

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Were the congresses held? Alas, no! Why not? The question hardly needs an answer. In July, three months after my

return from the East and four months before the Congress speakers were to start from New York on their journey, the great war broke out. Every nation interested in the congresses was soon immersed in the terrible struggle. As a result, of course, all plans had to be postponed until the war was over. At the end of a year, and again at the end of two years, the committees of management in Japan, China, Ceylon and India, all sent us word that they were holding on, and hoped still to carry out their plans when peace should arrive. But the conflict continued so long, and so seriously disturbed the affairs of the entire world, that the whole project of the Congresses had at last to be abandoned.

Will the project be revived? Why not? Is it possible for the human mind to conceive of anything better calculated to heal the long-lasting wounds of the Great War, and to lift the nations out of the divisions, the hates and the antagonisms that the awful struggle created, than Inter-national, Inter-racial, Inter-sectarian, Inter-religious Conferences, Councils, Congresses, Parliaments, like the great historic Parliament in Chicago, like the Congresses held in America and Europe from 1900 to 1913, like this chain of Congresses planned to circle the world with the purpose of winning its religions, races and peoples to a common brotherhood?

## THE NAZI MENACE TO GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH. D.

GERMANY'S political turmoil is strikingly reflected in her universities and in the attitude of her students. With the advent of Nazidom, the German universities have really become the most prolific incubators of chauvinistic nationalism. The revolutionary fervour of the German youth is growing so rapidly that many of the distinguished professors at the universities are most anxious about the future of German scholarship and its scientific spirit. Though they declare that there has been no serious decline in the accomplishments of German scholars, yet they view with deep concern the intensification of political party feeling among the students and the frequent recurrence of outbreaks against university authority and discipline which hitherto had been jealously guarded. Further they seem also to be much disturbed over the uncalled for repressive measures that are being adopted by the Nazi government to discourage liberalism and freedom of thought. Germany has long been known as a land of professors and as a country that has produced prodigious monu-

ments of scholarship and men with great erudition. But now the German university, the centre of *Kultur*, is no longer the centre of peaceful research and scientific scholarship. It has, on the other hand, become the focus of intense social and political unrest.

### HITLER INSPIRES STUDENTS

The total number of students in the German universities and higher technical schools amounts to 140,000. While there is a slight fall in the enrolment of students in the technical schools, the enrolment in the universities has been steadily rising. In 1914 there were 116 university students per 100,000 of the population; in 1930, however, the ratio almost doubled. Hence in Germany a larger proportion of the population is made up of university men than in most other countries. This situation also has created a serious problem,—the problem of the educated unemployed. It is estimated that there are 330,000 positions in Germany for which academic training is required, of which 10,000 are available yearly. But the universities of Germany turn out

about 30,000 graduates every year. We may, therefore, conclude that two-thirds of all who leave the universities have little hope of securing positions. This surplus of university men is piling up every year, and it presents a social and economic, and possibly a political problem, of a very grave nature. Since the German university aims chiefly to train productive scholars, most of the students are trained to be independent in their thinking, and consequently the German student finds it difficult to make compromises which naturally results in an utter lack of political efficiency and co-operation.

Apart from their university work, the chief interest of the German youth of today is in politics. It is reported that nearly 75 to 80 per cent of the present university students in Germany are anti-capitalistic in their outlook. Though they feel that the present capitalistic system is a huge failure and must be changed without much delay, yet the majority of them, strange as it may seem, are not Communists. Hitler has, no doubt, stirred their imagination and fired their enthusiasm. Many of them are looking to him not only to save their country but also to bring about such changes in its administration as would improve their economic conditions. Their admiration for Hitler is partly spontaneous and partly inspired. But the disturbances that are continually breaking out in the universities are supposed to be largely due to the leadership of Hitler's political lieutenants. Students the world over are only too anxious to be entrusted with the task of creating a new social order. And the German students are no exception to this rule. They too are quite ready to accept the commission to create a new civic cohesion, a new nationalism. They feel proud to think that they are co-workers with the political leaders in the great struggle to bring about the economic and political redemption of their fatherland. And it is to their high and noble idealism that Hitler strives to appeal in order to win their co-operation in carrying out his programme. Students enjoy the militant method of extending German *Kultur* and the quasi-military system,—the uniforms, the discipline and the fervid rhetoric of their

Nazi leaders. But it is still a question whether Hitler will be able to satisfy the students, who are being brought up in an atmosphere of revolt,—in their expectations either as to their careers or as to their political ideals.

#### HIGH-HANDED METHODS OF STUDENTS

The high-handed methods which Hitler encourages, or at least condones, are sometimes tragic in their results, and his tremendous influence over the student population has dealt a serious blow to academic freedom. No professor or lecturer is quite sure that some day he may not be the victim of the attacks of students. When a new man is appointed to a university faculty, the student corporations study very carefully his previous record and try to find out if he is really a scholar in his subject, whether he has any leanings towards the internationalist point of view, what his attitude is towards pacifism, above all, if he is a Jew. If the results of their investigation are not satisfactory, they launch a campaign against him, and all kinds of disturbances break out in the class room. Sometimes students go even to the extent, as in the case of Prof. Cohn of Breslau, of using tear gas and stink bombs. In this manner a number of men have already been driven out of the German universities,—as was Cohn,—by the activities of the students.

The new method of putting on "enforced leave" not only new but even old and tried faculty members, who have been unfortunate enough to incur students' displeasure, is one of the most active symptoms of the revolutionary spirit of the German youth, aroused by the Nazi leaders. Most of the deposed professors seem to accept their fate with the same stoicism with which the rest of Germany is becoming reconciled to the Nazi rule. Only one prominent educationist has thus far stood up to protest against such usurpation of authority over the universities and the suppression of academic freedom by the student corporations and Nazi authorities. It is Prof. Eduard Spranger, the famous pedagogue and philosopher of Berlin, who resigned his professorship as a protest against the present tendencies which threaten to leave the universities at the mercy of the

unruly and irresponsible student groups. In defence of the step he took, Prof. Spranger issued a most striking statement of which the following is a part:

"The widespread rejoicing over the rebirth of Germany—nowhere did it provoke such genuine and intense joy as among the German universities—is already being obscured by a deep and menacing shadow. Aside from the revolutionary transformation of their fundamental charter, whose implications cannot yet be surveyed, it is already plain that every teacher finds himself compelled to give searching thought to his relations to the new academic youth. On them not only does his spiritual life now depend, but also the genuineness of his teaching. It grieves me to behold how the student corporations, to which responsible rights have just been accorded, are assuming an attitude toward professors that oddly enough recalls that of a Metternich towards students and professors. I am deeply concerned for the principle of authoritative leadership, whose ethics I keenly esteem, when it becomes manifest that neither the rector nor the Prussian minister is able to demand the removal of a proclamation from a bulletin board that all fair-minded persons will admit was destined to give grave offence. [The reference is to a proclamation by students at the University of Berlin, condemning all literature put out by the Jews.] This with certain happenings at other Prussian universities has aroused within me the feeling that I am no longer competent to find the approach to the new generation."

Prof. Spranger's resignation is the outstanding episode of the present university upheaval under the Nazi leadership.

It certainly seems strange that Prof. Spranger who, more than any other German scholar, has devoted himself to exploring the psychology of youth, should now confess that he is unable to find the approach to the new student generation. The student leaders of the newly created student corporations called a press conference in Berlin the same day Prof. Spranger's resignation was announced, at which they proclaimed that the student corporations had just come into being, that they forecast an active "politicalization of the

un-German spirit" and that they demand the abdication of liberal professors and the installation of only such men as could be regarded as "truly German" in respect to their intellectual orientation and scientific equipment. Student corporations are now quite active in the different university centres and they are doing everything they can to spread the "New Spirit." Recently fifteen young Nazis in uniform entered the State Art School in Berlin when an examination was in progress, seized the four professors who were in charge, carried them out into the street, then returned and nailed up the doors of their studios. After this episode the Nazi flag was hoisted on the Art School. The press bureau of the National-Socialist Association issued an official statement on the occurrence and charged the four professors with holding Marxist-Communist views.

#### STUDENTS INVADE LIBRARIES

About the end of last April the students of Breslau University, a detachment of Nazi Storm Troops, invaded bookshops in Breslau and demanded the withdrawal from sale and exhibition of works by Arnold and Stephen Zweig, Jacob Wassermann, Thomas and Heinrich Mann, and also German editions of Emile Zola's works. About the same time the university and public libraries of Kiel were purged of "muck and smut" literature and "saucy" periodicals by a revolutionary students' committee from Kiel University which has decreed a crusade on printed matter which is "un-German" in spirit. Scientific and other publications by the "un-German" members of the faculty were also confiscated. The students, of course, declare that their strictures are directed solely against such members of the faculty as do not enjoy the confidence of the student body and who are therefore "undeserving of participation in the regeneration of German universities."

The crusade of German student-hood or corporations against the un-German spirit in literature and in the classroom became even more severe from the beginning of last May in all the German university centres. In Berlin it opened with a formal attack on Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld's "Institute for



Sexual Science", which has long been a place of interest for research scholars. The signal for the raid was a shrill trumpet blast, and as soon as the signal was given about eighty students rushed up the premises and in less than an hour gathered up about half a ton of books, pamphlets, photographs, charts and lantern slides. These they carried away to the students' social centre to be sorted out by medical experts. The scientific part of the materials thus collected are preserved for legitimate use and the un-German part is consigned to the Nazi fires which from time to time light up the university campus.

Is it surprising then if the rectors and professors are anxious about the future of German scholarship and scientific research? They never know when an outbreak may occur; the protection of a professor, who is the victim of the students' attack is sometimes beyond the power of the university authorities, and the discussions with students on such occasions are often humiliating. Quite apart from the constraint that is caused by the continued fear of student demonstrations, there is the cramping effect upon academic life of the feeling that the universities have been forced to work for an intense form of nationalism. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that in spite of the many adverse conditions, research is being pursued as devoutly and possibly as effectively as ever. Some of the professors feel constrained, some humiliated, some alarmed but, it must be said to their credit, they have not relaxed so far their high standards of research and intellectual life. But one wonders if it would be possible for them to maintain such standards much longer if the Nazi spirit continues to dominate the universities.

#### SOME PROBLEMS OF GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

In spite of the permanent feverish spirit among the students of Germany, magnificent work is being done, especially in the fields of pure and applied science. Such an organization as the Kaiser Wilhelm-Gesellschaft, which supports a group of research laboratories in various parts of Germany and which draws some of its funds from

private individuals, is feeling the pinch of hard times; all the same, its work is being carried on with the usual enthusiasm. It is probably the greatest single agency for the advancement of pure science in the world. And Dahlem, the little suburb of Berlin, where most of its laboratories are assembled, is outwardly untroubled by the storm of nationalism which is sweeping over the country. Hence at least in their research work they are not worried by the demand for practical results and by the necessity of teaching large numbers of students.

However, one wonders if the German system of highly specialized instruction is the one best suited to produce individual happiness and national efficiency. At the beginning of the century, the universities adapted themselves, it is reported, to the spirit of the times instead of striving to direct and mould it. The natural sciences should have attempted to create a higher conception of life. Instead of this, a calculated practical form of specialization split up education in the universities into narrow fields. The upper classes of the population in spite of their admirable professional training, failed to gain the desirable humanistic elements in their education. But now the relieving of the tension between the people and the university must be accomplished through means that are intellectual. A philosophical superstructure—with a religious element in it,—that will cover and unite all the sciences, must be created.

In the earnest seeking for the new, the natural sciences are already finding their way back to philosophy, and thus they are helping to bridge the gap between the humanities and science which have been more or less irreconcilable. In this epoch of synthesis, science must assume a more generous, a more universal form. This intellectual revolution which will change the present cultural diffusion into a rational unity will remove the disappointment which the students and citizens feel towards university training. Since Hitler himself has great admiration for German *Kultur* it is up to him now to give the right lead. The Hitlerite students are selfless and patriotic: they feel keenly that the future of the State and of their

national culture is in their hands and that all loyal university men must work to promote the German spirit. They enjoy being agitators and rejoice over having something to do in bringing about the German renaissance. Though we greatly admire their idealism and selfless service, yet we cannot uphold their insurgent activities.

The present revolutionary methods of the German students is sure to drive eventually all intellectual life underground. The unwarranted and reckless dismissal of professors not only involves the question of their material status but deprives them of their professional honour since their enforced leave of absence is in a certain sense an attestation that they lack the ethical and scientific equipment for their work, that they are not good enough Germans to instruct the German youth. The lofty ideal that the German scholar usually sets up for himself

has now been dragged down under the Nazi dominance. No doubt it is difficult in a period of economic distress and political ferment to cultivate the humane aspects of the intellectual-life. It is little wonder therefore if one finds in the German university centres conscious efforts made to foment racial enmities, intensify anti-foreign propaganda, promote a militant *Kultur* and, finally, limit academic freedom by bringing the university under the dominance of political leaders. All these are only the inevitable consequences of the whole complex of German conditions, political, international, educational, social and economic. Albeit, we must say that the rebellious spirit of the chauvinistic student bodies and the Nazi interference with the affairs of the university are bound to cause irreparable loss to the reputation of German scholarship.

## SONORITY OF NATIONS

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

**L**ONG ago it was said that the souls of the peoples resound not only in their very words but precisely in the sounds of these. And this is the sonority which truly expresses the essence, because sound is also colour and also the entire essence of beingness. The comparative phonetics of languages provide a beautiful mirror of the souls of peoples. Of course, often the primary sonority has been spoiled through the changes of ages. Not without reason it is said that every language changes thrice during a century. But, if we would hear a language in its purity, spoken by persons born to the language, no doubt the true sonority of the language would also explain much of the character of the nation itself.

In mentioning the word nation we must fearlessly define what nationalism means. If it is a concept identified with hatred for mankind, then it is merely harmful and must be eradicated, as must be each evidence of

hatred, wrath, egotism and ignorance. But in the concept of nationalism, there are such precious fundamentals that, conceiving it in the purest sonority of the nations in their highest manifestations, we may envisage one more factor of progress.

Nobody objects to individuality as the expression of an inimitable and most precious compositeness of feelings and creative abilities. And if there exists an individuality of personality, guarded by all, then in every collective—whether it be a collective of family, state or nation—there is reflected its own individuality. This means, that this quality must also be safe-guarded. Thus nationalism instead of being pauperized because of its self-ness, will become an essential new sonority in the choir of all earthly peoples.

It is necessary that not only the personal soul but also the great composite soul of the people express that which is best, most

precious, highest and most beautiful. If this expression is truly beautiful and exalted, then concepts that are intolerable because of their limitations, such as chauvinism, will find no place in this purified mighty choir of true progress.

Nationalism, impoverished by conventionalities and prejudices, is counterposed by internationalism: but each contraposition often contains in itself the threat of reverse conventionalities. The same has occurred with the contemporary understanding of internationalism. In its striving to find some general formulae, in the effort to eradicate conventional boundaries, internationalism became something obliterative, something dim, eschewing lofty distinctive expressions. One fervent internationalist proclaimed that world-balance should destroy each personality and if differences in brain-capacity should impede this task, then by means of some operation, the brains ought to be equalized and levelled to some middle scale. Such an absurd obliteration of brains was recommended by a man with a university training. We could overlook his formula of destructive wrath, but we note that in many of his expressions, internationalism, with all its new superstitions, begins to incline towards an elimination of individuality and an eradication of everything which makes it valuable.

Least of all do we wish to criticize. For, as it is, people in their criticism of each other have reached simple slander in such dimensions that to proceed further is already hardly possible. But happily, during all tragic moments of human history there has evolved some precious and all-embracing conception which served to reconcile the horrors of effacement of individuality with the selfhood of an embittered personality.

If, in all parts of the world in various languages, culture is discussed so steadfastly, this unique *possession* of humanity contains the true salvation. Never has there been evident so unanimous a choral repetition of the word culture as now. Before us, we have a multitude of books, periodicals and newspaper articles, where precisely this word is pronounced in various redeeming and forewarning concepts.

There, a French academician Louis Madelin

speaking about true nationalism, speaks of the culture of entire humanity. And you understand that the nationalism of this outstanding historian is not chauvinistic hatred, but precisely the best manifestation of the worthiest essence of a people. No educated man can fail to accept the type of nationalism which has in its formula the culture of pan-humanity. Here, from another end of the world, a wonderful philosopher and writer Sri T. L. Vasvani, discusses religion and culture. And again, from completely different, heartfelt sources he comes precisely to the same conclusion, the reviving of religion through culture and the vital development of human possibilities and responsibilities. From the other end of India, in *The Educational Review* of Madras, a Hindu scholar, Mr. P. K. S. Ayangar, approaches the pain-evolved theme in an interesting article, "Culture and Nationalism." In beautiful expressions, the author formulates the concept of culture as something living, uplifting, inspiring and adorning. I do not know the author but because of one and the same law of existence, we have begun to speak in the same language, resounding in the constant renovation and improvement of human life.

And in other countries, in various combinations, this word culture is pronounced but everywhere, as a thing indeferrable, as a true refuge for humanity. Probably the defender of culture, a Hindu retains his national garments; probably the Chinese poet who thinks of culture, does not surrender his Chinese traditions. The son of the Caucasus thinks uplifted by the noble beauty of snowy summits. The scholar of France dwells among all those beautiful historical traditions upon which numerous generations have constructed a highly humane culture. And the followers of Shakespeare and Dante and Goethe and Cervantes understand their romanticism in their own armours. And the newly elected President of the United States, Roosevelt, knows the complicated composite of American progressive nationalism.

Precisely in the conception of culture, as in a vital daily existence which tends to success, we all gather and rejoice at each national manifestation. Verily strengthened

by the broad conceptions of culture, we mutually guard the treasures of human genius. The same culture will help us not only to safe-guard them as a museum heritage of the past, but it will spiritualize these treasures as the milestones for a luminous future. And nationalism, culture and even effactive internationalism, all human conceptions, firmly point out to us that it is impossible to proceed further along the path of hatred for humanity.

The daily newspapers in limitless reproach assail us with condemnations of inhumanity and ignorance. Despite all its conventional and often stillborn treaties, humanity has reached a horrifying subtlety in crimes of hatred. We would wish greatly, that what is here told might be exaggeration. But not only is it not exaggeration, but even much is omitted for lack of expression.

All humanity has united in another cry ; men clamour about a crisis and under their thresholds try to hide at least a bit of gold in a stocking. But, at the same time, people understand perfectly well that these gold nuggets cannot safe-guard their daily bread for long. If humanity would close and place mines under the thresholds of all its homes, then probably only for one day it would not go to market and perhaps only for a single week it would be willing to remain without inter-relations. But after that, civilization would again make its demands. But civilization in its mechanical conventionlity will never understand what is true nationalism, what is the characteristic sonority of nations, full of creative possibilities. As the next step of civilization, comes striving and longing for culture. The values of nationalism must be synthesized ; because for the treasures of creativeness, a setting and understanding are needed.

And the voices of the nations chime out concerning culture. Each one in his own way has begun to compare this blessed concept with various social tasks. All the embittered and the oppressed have begun to remember that we are gathered here not for mutual annihilation. Each nation wishes to develop and be successful in true self-improvement, otherwise speaking, to do that for which we all exist upon earth. And the ignorant concept of selfhood will be

transformed into the heroic deed of achievement, if the vital conceptions of true nationalism and true culture will be understood as the foundations which are inseparably linked with each other.

After the world deprivation during the past war, it appears that during this entire decade nothing has improved in human life ; on the contrary, everything has become paler, poorer, and still more embittered. As a reaction from war, people sought unity in the League of Nations, which was begun with the most benevolent intentions ; but, as it appears, it does not afford sufficient unity even for half of the world, and the League is often a source of all kinds of new misunderstandings. Everyone has heard how more than once, just in the League of Nations, States have quarrelled which had no common problem either geographically or spiritually.

After the growing disappointment in the League of Nations, there have begun divisions—tariff, passport-separations, etc., Thinkers and leaders understand very well that we cannot go far in absolute isolation. At the same time, they are afraid of the quickly worn-out coins of internationalism, although next to internationalism stands the scarecrow of nationalism, adorned with all sorts of primitive implements. But this scarecrow is not the soul of the people. This is not the true sonority of all its most precious harmonies. The true treasures must again be fearlessly disclosed. Only a true manifestation of the soul of the nation unbound by any ignorant prejudices, will indicate the heights of creativeness. In this creativeness, the people will strive to peaceful improvement, in other words, they will turn towards the renaissance of their culture. This beautiful choir of national cultures, of all the beautifully sonorous manifestations of nationalism will effect that creativeness which answers all quests of the hearts of humanity.

When the human heart has pity and compassion, no one cares whether it be an expression of internationalism or nationalism. If a heart can find compassion more closely in garments of its own country—let it guard itself in the best raiments,



but let it not forget that there exists compassion and there exists love.

When we speak of the task of culture, let this not be as a drug store with the labels of chemical compounds. Let it be regarded as the mutual understanding, the compassion, which can mutually help humanity to escape from the narrow gorge of the perilous crisis. The crisis, materially as well as spiritually, is now a raging epidemic.

In horror people scream, "*impossible, impermissible.*" But they have even stopped thinking what is really "*possible*" and what "*must be.*" Let but the thought of culture of the peoples of all the world, be that living stimulus which will help us, emerge from the limits of the threatening crisis. Thus we should begin again the process of self-perfection with all the patience of compassion and love to our neighbours.

Let the voice of the peoples resound !

### "THE GREATER BRITAIN"\*

By SASADHAR SINHA, B.SC., (ECON.), PH.D. ECON. (London)

THE recent political occurrences in Germany lend a contemporary interest to the future of Fascism in Great Britain. It is sometimes argued that the British temperament is opposed to the idea of dictatorship. But clearly in no other sphere is temperament a less faithful guide than in the field of politics. To a close observer of British politics, it no longer remains an academic question, whether Fascism, as distinguished from a sporadic political outburst, will ever reach these shores. In recent months, it has become very much a reality. The ever-deepening economic crisis in the British Isles despite the National Government only brings the issue nearer. Indeed, in a recent number of the *New Statesman and Nation* it was pointed out: "But in this country we can rule out Communism as serious factor. The wildest and most optimistic Communist never hoped for success in Great Britain except as a result of a war, which would arm the proletariat, or as a tail-piece to a communist revolution in Central Europe. As against the Communist, the Fascist has all the trumps in his hand." ("Can England Escape?" May 13, 1933).

Now, why is Fascism a greater reality in Great Britain? The simplest answer would be that its strategic position is vastly superior to that of its communist rival. For one thing, Fascism aims at effecting the transition to the new order of things with as little disturbance as possible to the social basis of the existing State; whereas, the doctrine of class-struggle forms the coping stone to the arch of Communist philosophy. Thus, if ever a crisis comes in British politics, there is little doubt that Communism will have ranged against it all the resources of the State leaving the door wide open for Fascism to march to power.

The Fascist movement in England, as indeed in every country, is essentially a reaction against the failures of modern democracy, particularly in economic matters. Thus, one failure after another to bring relief to the desperate economic situation in Europe and elsewhere strengthens the conviction that there is no escape from a change, violent if necessary, in the existing democratic order. "We have tragic proof that economic life has outgrown our political institutions. Britain has failed to recover from the War period; and this result . . . is largely due to a system of Government designed by, and for, the nineteenth century."<sup>†</sup> On the other hand,

\* The title of a book by Sir Oswald Mosley, whose pronouncements on the ideals and aspirations of the British Fascist may be taken as the most authoritative.

† All the quotations in this article are from Sir Oswald Mosley's book unless otherwise mentioned.

Fascism is just as much a reaction against Communism. For, as has been pointed out, if Fascism fails to attain power in the State, "there is a very real danger . . . that the country (*i.e.* Great Britain) will turn—and turn violently—to the catastrophic remedies of Communism." Fascism is as anti-democratic as it is nationalistic.

The British Fascist believes that democracy has failed in England, because it has outlived its purpose. In other words, in a vastly scientific age, as ours, the form of government of the day has become an anachronism. "Our problem," says the Fascist, "is to reconcile the revolutionary changes of science with our system of government . . ." His aim is to replace the present, timorous, vacillating government by an "effective" government—a government which, although democratic in form, will rule by executive orders; first, because it will involve an economy of time, impossible under the old order, and secondly, because such a government can alone command the requisite authority for bringing about far-reaching changes, economic and otherwise. In short, a "rationalized" democracy is the *sine qua non* of an age in which rationalization of every department of life is the one condition of survival. This raises the practical question, How will the Fascist Party come into power? Obviously, through the parliamentary machine; for, as the recent events in Germany have clearly shown, the use of force, under certain conditions is as unnecessary as it is dangerous. This, however, does not preclude the use of personal violence, witness the long catalogue of atrocities in Germany in recent months, and it must be distinguished from the use of mass-force. But once having come to power, will it rest content to rule as under the present regime or will it constitute itself into a dictatorship? The answer is: "Let the people preserve, through an elected parliament, the power to dismiss and to change the Government of the day; while such power is retained, the charge of Dictatorship has no reality." In practice, however, politics do not work with such beautiful simplicity. A party, which has come to power and means to rule by decrees, cannot be removed simply for the asking.

Nor need it fear the popular will, as the history of any dictatorship will show. In other words, it is clear that Fascism in England will in no way be different from the Fascist dictatorships elsewhere.

Obviously, the transformation of the political machine is not an end in itself. The end is the economic regeneration of the nation. For, in the modern world, political power in the long run must be interpreted in terms of economic strength. England has thus lost her premier position in the comity of nations, because the economic centre of gravity has shifted elsewhere. "For our own part, we prefer the effort of self-help and of national regeneration, which at a later date will lead to Britain's reappearance . . . as a world leader." But, how will she regain her former position? Will she do it by international co-operation or by a policy of aggressive imperialism or again by a policy of isolation from the economic life of the rest of the world? The answer is by no means consistent, but is as follows.

The Fascist says that the present economic plight of England must be primarily attributed to her excessive dependence on the international market and consequently to the neglect of her home-market. The remedy follows from the conclusion itself. England must get back into her own shell; must 'insulate' herself against the vicissitudes of the economic fortune of the world outside by a policy of 'scientific protection' whose index would be high wages for workers at home on the one hand, and low cost of production on the other. Three problems arise at once. How will England meet her food-requirements? What about the raw-materials for her industries? Must she sacrifice her export trade altogether for the doubtful security afforded by her home-market? All these are separate problems but interrelated. Let us consider them in the reverse order. It is clear that in the Fascist economy, export figures will be a less important item than at present. The implication is that the policy of high wages will make it possible for England to absorb a large bulk of her manufactured goods that now go abroad for want of consuming power (*i. e.* in terms of effective demand) at home. Nevertheless, there will still remain

a considerable surplus which must be marketed abroad. This, in the Fascist view, should not be an insuperable task. With the economic planning of the country and the rationalization of her industries, England will be placed in a relatively advantageous position, which in any case can be strengthened by "commercial-diplomatic agreements, reinforced by corporate organization in this country..." The export-surplus thus disposed of will, it is hoped, pay for her raw materials and part of her food. The balance of her food supply will be met by a vigorous agricultural policy at home. "It is safe to say that at least £100 million worth of agricultural products now imported from abroad can be produced at home; and possibly so large a figure as £200 million may not be beyond the mark." Thus the reconstruction of England will be well on its way. But the question of financing the industries still remains. British high finance has so far been singularly indifferent to the requirements of home industries. This chaos must be brought to an end. Under the Fascist regime finance will be as much a subject of control as any other department of life.

As pointed out elsewhere, the British Fascist renders but half-hearted support to the idea of economic 'insulation.' Indeed, the insistence on a bolder imperial economic policy not only brings into sharp relief the utter inadequacy of the Fascist economic programme but also the fact that the advent of Fascism in England will mark the beginning of a new era of aggressive imperialism. "In weaving the fabric of Imperial unity we must be prepared for an infinite variety and flexibility of method of approach." Thus, on the one hand, the theory of economic 'insulation' will be extended to the whole of the empire, while, on the other, the exploitation of the natural resources of the non-self-governing colonies will be pursued with more than its customary vigour.\* In short, the

\* The attitude of the Fascist towards India may be briefly set out in the words of Sir Oswald Mosley himself, the whilom Labour M. P. and the present leader of the British Fascist Party:

"Law and order must be maintained, and India must remain within the Empire. Apart from every consideration, it would be an international crime for Great Britain to permit a sub-continent, for which it has been responsible for over a century, to lapse

double strand of conciliation with the Dominions and of 'mailed fist' with the other parts of the empire will intermingle to bring about the realization of the imperial ideal. Thus, although the international market outside the empire will be eschewed by the Fascist, the development of the imperial market will loom larger and larger in the Fascist economic programme. In other words, the maintenance of high wages at home and low cost of production of British industries will be made possible by the creation of an imperial Zollverein.

From this short, although necessarily inadequate discussion of British Fascism, at least one thing is clear, namely, that it possesses all the essentials of a highly attractive political construction. It will attract the conservative elements by its reactionary character; the patriotic elements by its ultra-nationalistic outlook; and finally, the workers, the most numerous elements in the society, by its meretricious economic inducements. Politically, therefore, the Party's credentials are highly respectable and must make for success. But, as with all modern political parties, the test of its success must ultimately lie in the soundness of its economic programme. Will the Fascist

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into the chaos which would result from any withdrawal of our authority."

"We shall certainly seek peace, conciliation and the development of self-government by the Indian people subject to these conditions, but disorder, anarchy and organized violence would be ruthlessly suppressed."

"Further, we will certainly not abdicate the beneficent power of British Government in favour of one small class of Indians whose treatment of the Indian masses, socially and economically, in private life and in factory, compares most unfavourably with British treatment."

"Let us appeal to the Indian masses over the heads of the talkative politicians by the practical appeal of an economic policy designed to improve their conditions. Let the strong hand be not negative but positive."

The words used with regard to the Crown Colonies are similar:

"We will certainly pursue the steady course of British colonial practice which seeks by every means to raise the native populations to a higher standard of life, but we will not pursue the illusion that great and productive areas of the world should be kept as a close preserve for races which are unable or unwilling to develop them."

"The earth can and will be developed by the races fitted for that task, and chief among such races we are not afraid to number our own."

economic structure endure? Can England inure herself to the economic vicissitudes of the world at large? Does the policy of economic 'insulation' bear any relation to the realities of the situation? The answer is most emphatically, No. In the first place, England's fortune has been built primarily upon an international foundation; it is too late in the day to ask her to cut herself adrift from the world's economic life. Secondly, protective tariff, including its latest brand, the so-called 'scientific' protection, will fail to achieve the purpose for which it is meant. Its adoption may benefit sectional interests but never the British nation as a whole. It is obvious that any fiscal movement, which restricts international trade, defeats its own purpose: For it is an elementary principle of international trade that the contraction of imports must in the long run be followed by a decrease of exports. In short, a diminution of the total volume of international trade must equally affect all countries participating in it, most of all England, the premier exporting country of the world. Protective tariff, with a view to making England independent of the world-trade, will only lead to an uneconomic re-allocation of her productive resources with effects as disastrous on the international as on the home front. For obviously, England imports from abroad not out of charitable motives but because she finds it to her maximum advantage to do so. Thus, although the sacred word 'protection' conjures up a vision of plenty which will do away with unemployment, raise the standard of life so high that poverty will be a thing

of the past, its function is strictly limited. Nor is the Italian analogy very helpful. Italy's comparative economic success under Fascism is mainly due to the fact that she is at the beginning of her industrial career, while England has, economically speaking, reached the point of saturation. In other words, while in Italy every new industry must create new employment for Italian workers, in England every extra-employment created behind the tariff wall will in the last resort mean transfer of labour from one industry to another. Protection will scarcely touch the real problem—namely the total volume of employment. The problems of British industries are deeper, and protection, or its new variant, economic 'insulation,' is certainly not the best method of solving them. Indeed, the Fascist himself is aware of the inadequacy of his economic plan, but whether the cult of neo-imperialism will succeed in buttressing up the Fascist economic programme at home is too vast a subject to be disposed of in a few sentences.

The limitations of the Fascist creed, as applied to England, are obvious and definite. But the rôle of passions in politics is such that these are as nothing compared to its attractions. Thus, if the reading of the present political temper of England is right, it is not improbable that Fascism will be a stage in her political and economic evolution. For, as the *New Statesman and Nation* pointed out not long ago, Fascism has stolen the thunder from its communist rival—a phase in the class-struggle which Marx never foresaw.





## A TARIFF DEPUTATION FROM CEYLON

BY B. B. DAS-GUPTA, M. A., Ph. D.

**T**HE Government of Ceylon recently sent a deputation to India, headed by the Minister of Commerce, to review and if possible to revise the scheme of preferences now operating between the two countries. Under the new Ottawa tariff, each has given concessions to the other. A number of Indian goods are now allowed at preferential rates in Ceylon, while the same privilege is enjoyed by certain Ceylon products in India. There is a feeling however that the exchanges have not been quite equal or equitable. India is supposed to have made the better bargain. No one can or wants to measure the profit and loss of a tariff agreement with mathematical precision. It will also be too much to expect that in a comprehensive all-party treaty of preference the scales will be absolutely even between any two individual members. If that was Ceylon's case, she would not have taken all the trouble of sending a deputation to India. Her grievances have some real foundation in fact. She has good reason to be dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. It is not a square deal as far as she is concerned. She believes it would react unfavourably to India also in the long run. In business as in life, the long view is always the true view. The preferences as they are now, do not offer the best scope for the development of mutual trade. There is much in and outside the statistics of foreign trade to support this contention.

Ceylon's preference schedule for the Empire contains many items. Since India sends a little of almost every article, virtually the whole list affects her favourably at one point or another. We shall, however, examine the more important of the articles in which India is interested. Preference, it will be seen, brings something good in each of these cases. Each has a few undisputed good elements. Collectively they make a handsome present. The two chief virtues that one

expects in a preference are, first, that it concerns a trade of some consequence, that is, it does not apply to an insignificant article of export, and secondly, that it opens out a promise of bigger sales at the expense of or side by side with foreign competitors. Amplified, this second object usually means,—and the methods employed go to promote it,—capturing some one's business rather than creating a new one. It is, therefore, important to see how much of the territory was hitherto in foreign hands which India is now invited to conquer if she can. Ceylon's gifts to India seem to stand these two tests well.

In aluminium wares, the new duty is 15 p. c. for Empire and 25 p. c. for non-Empire. Ceylon buys from India (figures unless otherwise mentioned relate to the year 1932) roughly Rs. 30,000 which is 51 p. c. of the total. Part of the order for Rs. 12,500 hitherto purchased from outside the Empire, will possibly now be placed with India. True, she has to cope with a powerful Empire rival in England. But distance favours her decidedly in this. It is an advantage which Ceylon lacks against her principal Empire competitor, the Straits Settlements.

All Empire foot-wear (except rubber-soled canvas shoes for which separate figures are not available) is now admitted at 15 p. c. against 25 p. c. for non-Empire. Ceylon imports a total of Rs. 617,000 of which India supplies 12 p. c. only. There is a tempting prospect of capturing a part at least of the foreigner's business which is nearly three times as much as that of India's. Preference ought to strengthen her position considerably in the Ceylon market.

In leather and leather goods the duties are the same as in boots and shoes. India sends Rs. 137,000 and foreign countries Rs. 27,000 out of a total of Rs. 206,000. If here the present trade is more substantial than the future promise, it is the other way in per-

fumery. Here also the same basic difference in rates (15 and 25) is in force. But the promise distinctly outshines present gains. India sends Rs. 20,000 or 6 p.c. and foreigners Rs. 123,000 or 35 p.c. of the total amount bought. The same 10 p.c. margin in duties should again help to sweep in much of the trade in toilet soap into India's hands. Her present share is only Rs. 7,000, a little over 1 p.c. out of a total of Rs. 492,000. As much as Rs. 133,000 comes from out of the Empire. Indian soap is fast improving in quality and price and this new advantage ought to do much to establish it as a favourite in the Ceylon market. In household and medicinal soaps, however, the market is dominated by the United Kingdom and India's trade is as poor as the foreigner's. Preference is not likely to bring any advantage to India in this branch of the trade.

In cotton yarn India's Rs. 87,000 exports will now pay 5 p.c. against 15 p.c. for non-Empire yarn. She scores again in mixed materials such as blankets, carpets, etc., of which she exports Rs. 799,000 or 74 p.c. of the total purchased by Ceylon. The duties are 15 p.c. and 25 p.c. They will certainly bring part of the foreign trade of Rs. 33,000 to her.

In iron and steel only two varieties may be selected to illustrate the gains. In both, duties are 10 p.c. and 20 p.c. In bolts, nuts, rivets, and washers India sends only 5.5 p.c. of the supply; an amount three times the size remains still in foreign hands. In tanks and drums, India's share is 10 p.c. of the supply. A part of Rs. 38,000 of foreign business (representing 37 p.c. of the whole) may now be deviated to India.

There is at least one commodity which Ceylon admits free if it comes from India and the Empire. This is pig lead, for which the tax for foreign countries is 10 p.c. No article in which Ceylon is interested is treated in such generous fashion in the Indian tariff. In India the level of duties is generally so high that Ceylon finds it rather difficult to scale them. In pig lead total imports are Rs. 405,000, the whole of it coming from the Empire, imports from India are Rs. 367,000.

In dried fish, the rates are Re. 1 per cwt.

for Empire supplies and Rs. 2 for foreign fish. India's trade amounts to the substantial figure of Rs. 6,200,000 or 65 p.c. of the whole of Ceylon's requirements. There is still however Rs. 28,000 to be won from foreign hands.

The duties on barley, gram, oats, pulses and peas, wheat and other grains (apart from rice and paddy) are half a rupee and one rupee per cwt. according to Empire or non-Empire origin. A large trade is done in these commodities by India particularly in gram, in which her supplies are 99 p.c. of the total of Rs. 582,000, and in pulses, of which India sends Rs. 1,723,000 out of Rs. 2,424,000, that is, 71 p.c. She will now have an opportunity of capturing the trade of Rs. 437,000 mainly in China's hands.

In silk and rayon, the position and prospects are both good. The duties favour the Empire in the proportion of 20 p.c. to 30 p.c. India sends Rs. 610,000 or 14 p.c. out of a huge total of Rs. 4,418,000, the bulk of which still remains in the hands of foreigners. It is true the foreign hold of the silk market is very strong, but the new preference should help to shake it however feebly.

Both in *beeries* and cigars the preference makes a clear difference of 12 annas per lb. in duties. India sends Rs. 63,000 of the two classes of goods. While in *beeries* India has a complete monopoly of the supply, cigars to the tune of Rs. 14,000 are still imported from foreign sources. The new order should encourage the smoking of Indian tobacco.

In woolen and worsted manufactures, the duties are 15 p.c. and 25 p.c. India's share of the imports is rather small. She sends Rs. 30,000 (6 p.c.). But there is Rs. 102,000 of foreign supply open to attack. Her main Empire competitor here is England, but there is no reason why she should not get a slice of the ceded territory.

In timber, the figures are, total imports Rs. 94,000, imports from India Rs. 9,000, that is, 9 p.c. imports from foreign countries Rs. 32,000. Here also clearly the preference is not without value.

Turning now to the preferences that Ceylon enjoys in India, we find the picture

distinctly poorer in tone. To begin with, coco-nut, copra and coir fibre, all have to pay a high entrance fee of 20 p. c. and coco-nut oil 25 p. c. before they can enter what is supposed to be a sheltered market for them. And who are they sheltered against by the extra 10 p.c. tax imposed on foreign countries? None except perhaps imaginary enemies, for there is little or no foreign competition in at least three of these articles. Only in coco-nut oil India imports a small quantity from non-Empire sources, *viz.*, Rs. 30,000 which is only a very small fraction of the total supply. (Figures henceforth relate to the fiscal year 1931-32.) Ceylon's main competitors are Empire countries like the Straits, Maldives and Seychelles Islands, some of whom are more than a match for her. Besides, the Indian practice of putting arbitrary tariff valuations in these and several other commodities discriminates badly against her. For instance, for 1933 the Indian Customs have in advance fixed a value of Rs. 65 for every thousand husked coco-nuts from Ceylon. The actual average price last April stood at Rs. 28.61 only. Coco-nuts from Maldives are valued at Rs. 21 per thousand and from other sources including evidently the Straits, Rs. 32. In areca-nuts also the tariff valuations are unequal. Ceylon nuts are considered Rs. 13 per cwt. while those from the Straits and other places are set down at Rs. 10. For split-up areca-nuts which form a good part of the Ceylon exports, the valuation is still higher, Rs. 27 per cwt. It is unfortunate that much of what India gives with her right hand in the shape of preference, should thus be taken away with her left, by these iniquitous tariff values. Even the Indian Merchants' Chamber in Ceylon has joined in the protest against the present practice.

In betel-nuts the duties are 37½ p.c. and 45 p.c., an extraordinarily high level for an article of universal use. It seems to prohibit first and prefer next. Why India should put such a high duty on coco-nut produce and on areca-nuts, is not easy to see. Neither the Government nor the Tariff Board are committed to a policy of protection on these articles. And for purely revenue purposes, the duties do not yield an unsparable amount

of money. The betel-nut trade is dominated by the Straits who sends Rs. 12 out of Rs. 14 million bought by India. Ceylon sends only Rs. 2 millions and the foreign supply is Rs. 169,000.

In unmanufactured tobacco the position is better. Ceylon's advantage is 8 annas off the duty per lb., as against foreigners. The total import is Rs. 2,985,000, the greater part coming from outside the Empire. Ceylon's exports to India have fluctuated much during the last three years, but have not fallen below Rs. 435,930 in 1930. If other things are equal, her tobacco trade with India ought to get a new impetus now.

In dry fish, Ceylon's present trade is insignificant. She sends Rs. 18,000 out of Rs. 1,076,000. What new scope the preferential taxes of 20 p.c. and 30 p.c. are going to open out, is difficult to say. Not much unsalted fish comes from outside, but a good quantity (Rs. 214,000) of the salted kind is of non-Empire origin. Part of it, if Ceylon can steal a march on the Straits, may come to her.

The only other major articles of export that remains to be dealt with is tea. Superficially, the preference on tea seems to be attractive. Ceylon exports Rs. 15½ million, foreign countries led by China send Rs. 6 million. India's total requirements are Rs. 22½ million. For five years to come however tea exports will be under restriction and they will not be allowed to grow, however good the invitation. Besides, tea being a major industry, both Ceylon and India are a little sensitive about foreign encroachment in the home market. If the duties aim at shutting each other out, they do so following an unwritten agreement between the two countries. The Indian scale of three annas and five annas closely correspond to the Ceylon scale of 25 cents and 37½ cents per lb. With greater mutual hospitableness, Ceylon tea could perhaps win a solid place in the Indian market, but as things stand the outlook is uncertain.

The other minor items on which preference is granted, such as coffee, cocoa, graphite and citronella oil, mean little to the Colony because of little or no trade or promise in them. In coffee, for instance, Ceylon is now a buyer

rather than a seller and the invitation to sell in India may be kind but useless

Thus on the whole the situation from Ceylon's point of view is unsatisfactory. It is not suggested that it has therefore necessarily pleased India. Indeed, she has also her grievances. It would be for the Governments of these two countries now to explore the means by which the preferences could be enlarged or improved. It will not be easy for Ceylon to give more, certainly not easy to give in commodities like rice, potatoes, coriander seed, coffee and cotton piece-goods, on which India is keen. It means taxing the poor man's food and clothing. Besides, Ceylon buys nearly all the rice (90 p.c.) that she can eat, from India. No preference will make her eat more. In cotton piece-goods a difference of 10 p.c. or even 20 p.c. in the duties would help India little, seeing that on her own soil she is unable to keep out Japan in spite of the amazingly high duty of 75 p.c. It would be again too easy for Ceylon to make a gesture on an article like onions, but it will be of little practical utility to India. Ceylon, by preference, already takes all her onions from India. What more marks of preference can or need she bestow?

Similarly, for all one can see, the scope

for effective preferences for Ceylon goods in India is limited. She sends only a few goods and most of them under the shadow of Empire competition. Here and there an article like hides and skins may hold out some promise, but the field is generally barren. If, as is reported, the Ceylon Delegation strove particularly for better terms for coco-nut produce and areca-nuts, they did perhaps the best in a desperate situation. But a preference on these commodities would not bring any revolutionary gains to Ceylon, nor should they be too difficult for India to grant. Ceylon's request certainly deserves sympathetic consideration. For after all, assistance given to Ceylon is partly assistance to the large Indian population associated with her various industries. It is to a great extent self-help. Another consideration is that Ceylon had no direct popular representation at Ottawa and no opportunity for making her own bargains. For her, Ottawa really begins at Simla and the first venture should not bring her a rebuff.

Whatever comes out of it, the Trade Mission opens a new period of closer economic consultation between India and Ceylon. It is a new idea and if developed will strengthen the economic ties between the two countries.

## A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

WE sat for some time on the grass under the stars, speaking very little and holding communion with our own thoughts. I wondered why our minds had been so profoundly moved by the prospect of meeting one who was only a recluse and took no part in the affairs of his fellow-creatures. But the next moment I knew that we had become so unlike our usual selves because we were hoping to meet one who might rend the veil from our eyes if it so pleased him. Whatever we might have been when we embarked on our great adventure we had ceased to be looking out for mere thrills or discoveries that would bring with them a pleasurable physical excitement. Man may travel over the whole universe and he may not be much wiser for all his wonderings. Another man may deny himself all the pleasures of *wanderlust* and yet all knowledge may come to him. We go about and see and hear other people ; we explore new regions

and voyage to other planets. Then we know that man has a higher nature which is real, while his ordinary nature is only a camouflage. This satisfaction of the eye and the ear, or even of the mind is not the ultimate achievement of human endeavour. The most insistent demand for sustenance is of the spirit but very few can distinguish it and still fewer seek for the wherewithal to allay the hunger of the spirit. The thought that was uppermost in our minds as we gazed at the stars was that here was one who might minister to the spirit if we found favour in his eyes. Even to the seeker it is frequently a discouragement that there is veil after veil and no sooner one is lifted than another appears. Still there have been master-seekers before whose questing feet and dauntless eyes the veils have rolled themselves up of their own accord leaving the innermost shrine exposed.

We bathed in the mountain spring in the



early morning and put on the robes given to us by the monks of Opi. Nabor and Ganimet were left behind as we did not wish to form a large party on our first visit to Ashan, assuming that we might be granted an audience. The three of us first went to the village and found a small knot of men about to go out into the fields. They were astonished beyond measure at the sight of strangers, but they looked at our robes and taking us to be holy men reverently bowed to us. We returned their greeting and then enquired for the hermitage of Ashan. At the mention of that name a look of the deepest reverence came into the eyes of the men and they prostrated themselves on the ground and rose slowly again, saying frequently 'Lord' and 'Master' and bowing low repeatedly. These simple ignorant village folk knew nothing about the wisdom and the power of the Master, but they had heard of him and revered him as a god. One of them offered to show us the way and we followed him along the base of the hills for about a mile. There was no path but our guide picked his way through the boulders, leaping over the narrow and shallow rills that criss-crossed in every direction. The rosy haze of Raba hung over the mountains and behind them. The sun was not yet up but its rise was heralded by the first rays that streaked athwart the sky. The central peak of the mountain range rose sheer in front of us and dominated the landscape. Approaching closer we saw something like an elevated platform resting against the mountain near its base. Our guide suddenly stopped, pointed to this elevated spot and signed to us to proceed. When we asked him to accompany us, some way farther he shook his head, saluted us, turned and rapidly went back the way he had come.

We went forward in silence and no words passed between us. Each one of us was occupied with his own thoughts and the nature of these was reflected in the grave expression of our faces. Mounting the tableland we found it to be of considerable size, smooth and with a slight incline towards us. We noticed with some astonishment that there were no rocks or boulders. The soil was a rich loam and had been carefully turned and laid out in beds. There were flowers everywhere and shaded walks and bowers with tall mountain trees lining the outskirts and the paths. The flowers were unknown to us but we fancied there were amaranth and asphodel, or some flowers resembling them, and the *parijat* and *mandar* found in the garden of the gods in ancient India. It was a delicate aroma that filled the air and we inhaled it with grateful pleasure.

There was no human habitation of any kind in sight, no cottage, no cabin, no building of a more substantial character. But in the wall of the rock beyond the garden opened out a grotto, broad and high, and admitting the sunlight through crevices in the rock and holes that had

been probably drilled by human hands. We slowly drew towards this grotto but hesitated near the entrance, uncertain whether we could proceed further without leave or unbidden. And presently as we stood undecided as to our next move the entrance of the cave darkened and a young man dressed in robes similiar to our own, except that the colour was a sober grey came forth with slow, measured steps and stood bowing to us with grave, perfect courtesy. We looked at him as we returned his salutation and saw before us a tall, thin young man with a short beard, an ascetic face, a fine head with the stamp of intellect on the forehead. The eyes were deep-set, large, calm and brilliant, and intensely thoughtful, while his attitude was suggestive of deep humility. He spoke in a soft, clear, pleasant voice, 'Welcome, honoured sirs. The Master will receive you. You are expected. Follow me.'

We were startled but scarcely surprised, because everything was possible to the Master; we had come to see. He knew of our coming; who could tell what more he knew about us? Maruchi answered, 'We are honoured more than we deserve, and far more than we dared to hope.'

Without another word the young man led us into the cave. It was not at all dark inside. The light was subdued but everything was clearly visible in the mellow light that penetrated the interior through many an orifice in the rocks. We passed through high, vaulted chambers of a large size, our sandalled feet resounding on the smooth, hard floor, polished till it shone in the soft light. There were signs of a severe simplicity everywhere but none of penury. All around were spread beautiful, glossy skins of antelopes and bears; there were wonderful pieces of multi-coloured rock, veined and streaked in many hues; along the walls were hung curiously designed tapestry made from the wool of mountain goats and sheep; one room was stacked with manuscripts on papyrus and leaves of mountain palms. After passing through several rooms we were ushered into a comparatively small chamber in which were spread a few reed mats. On the walls were hung some carpets apparently woven from a kind of grass, otherwise the room was quite bare.

'Pray, be seated', said our guide, 'I shall go and inform the Master'. And he disappeared.

We waited in silence. Not a word was spoken between us. We looked at each other, at the entrance through which the young monk or novice had passed and at the curtains on the walls. And then we sat quite still with eyes downcast.

Presently one of the curtains stirred and a man entered the room, and we were on our feet, bowing low and making our first obeisance to Ashan, the Master. And as we lifted our heads we saw him raise his right hand in benediction.

Never had we seen a statelier man anywhere, and on our own planet we had seen many countries and many peoples. He was a head taller than Orlon who was such a magnificent specimen of our race and the single robe he wore fell from his neck to his feet which were bare and white and shapely. But it was not his great height nor the breadth of his massive shoulders, the length of his arms or the exquisitely modelled hands that arrested our attention. We were looking at his head and face with amazement with which feeling reverence mingled. Nothing could be finer than the noble head with the long hair, slightly streaked with grey, smoothly parted in the middle. The long oval face with its carefully trimmed beard was of striking beauty. The forehead, smooth and unwrinkled, was broad and high, and the eyes were large, dark, penetrating, now flashing out and looking straight into the very heart of a man, again introspective with the light withdrawn into his own self. At the very first glance the whole man gave a sense of immense power, perfect tranquillity and nobility such as we had never conceived. In figure he looked like a warrior of the ancient times when knights rode in chain-mail and vikings hacked through wood and iron with their broad-headed axes, and the mighty-limbed Aryans bent bows and wielded maces which ordinary men could not bend or lift. In features he resembled the prophets and seers of old, but without the passion and frenzy of the Hebrew prophets. The personality of him overflowed the small room and enveloped us in a mantle. And then we heard his words, gentle, strong, deep, passionless, "The welcome of the mountains and of the hermit, my sons! Be seated."

Maruchi said humbly, 'We have the great honour of finding ourselves in your presence,' and we resumed our seats.

Then Maruchi ventured to ask, 'Sir, we have been told that we were expected. How is it possible when we sent no message or intimation of our coming?'

'Ah,' smiled the Master, and the smile illuminated his countenance with a wonderful light, 'Does anything happen without an announcement? Does not the dawn announce the coming of the sun? Nothing is unexpected though it is said that the unexpected does happen. That is because the signs cannot always be read. There are so many carriers of messages and you do not have to ask them to carry a message for you. The wind will announce that the winter is coming, the birds never fail to sing that the spring is expected. There are subtle agencies that convey all sorts of impressions and messages, and in my solitary retreat here I get some of them. I had a feeling that my humble hermitage was about to be greatly honoured by the presence of highly gifted beings and now I see you before me. Pray tell me what you please about yourselves.'

Maruchi told him in the fewest possible words all about ourselves. Each one of us felt that we were in the presence of one to whom the truth alone could be told and that without any varnish of any kind. We were bound to answer all inquiries, but we had come to listen and not to do the talking ourselves. Further, there was no fear of our shocking the credulity of such a man to whom all things were possible and who could see at once whether we were telling the truth. When Maruchi had finished Ashan turned towards me, 'Your friend and chief has told something about yourselves. And so you come from Lamulo. That's a long way off.'

I explained that learned men of science had contrived to build a ship which moved at great speed through air and space and which had brought us here.

## XXIX

There was a pause. Ashan considered for a moment, and then said, 'You have to take great care of your ship. Where have you left it?'

Maruchi said we had left it at some distance from the hermitage.

'No, that is not right. It must be placed under shelter for a storm might come on and damage your ship. Have you left any one in charge?'

'Yes, two of us, who steer the ship and look after it.'

'It will have to be brought here and you will live with me on a hermit's fare.'

He smiled again and struck a small gong at his side. Immediately the young man we had first seen came in and stood with hands folded and bent head before the Master.

Ashan spoke to him. Arrange to put the airship which has brought our friends here in the old cave. These and their two other friends will be our guests. They are men of distinction who have come to us from another world. Look to their comfort.'

He looked at us, 'Would it not be better if one of you went with Urim?'

I rose at once and went out with Urim. Just below the tableland on which Ashan lived Urim showed me an immense cave of a great height and with a broad and smooth floor. Urim told me that there were five other young men at the hermitage receiving instruction from the Master. We went and brought back the machine and the young scholar was much surprised when I made him sit by me and travel through the air. After stalling the machine I asked Urim whether we could go in to the Master since Maruchi and Orlon were still with him. He went to inquire and came back presently saying the Master wanted us all to go in. I hurriedly told Nabor and Ganimet to salute the Master with great respect and they did so, Nabor gracefully and Ganimet awkwardly.

We found the Master much interested in the accounts which Maruchi and Orlon, at his request, had been giving him of the history of the development of the human race on our planet. Now and then he would ask a question and would then listen attentively to what Maruchi or Orlon had to say. We noticed that Ashan spoke to each one of us by turn. He was not content to accept any one of us as the spokesman of the whole party. He spoke to Nobor and Ganimet and watched with some curiosity the physical appearance of the latter. Of himself he never spoke at all, nor did he ask any question about what we had seen after our arrival in Heperon. After we had been with him for over an hour he dismissed us after ringing for Urine and telling him to look after us.

Urim showed us to our quarters. These consisted of small rooms in caves, sparsely furnished but clean and quite comfortable. Some time later he came and invited us to join their morning meal. We found the other five disciples, who had been spending the morning in their studies and devotions. They were all young men, serious, earnest and modest. They were greatly surprised when they heard we had come from Lamulo and were the denizens of a world other than their own. They were still more astonished when Urim told them he had actually flown in the ship that sailed through the air and space and had brought us all the way from one planet to another. We found the food excellent, simple and inviting. There were hill rice and flat bread, vegetables plainly cooked, curds of milk and fresh cheese and yellow honey with the scent of ryeflower. Urim said the Master usually took his meals alone and spent the day in meditation. In the afternoon he walked in the garden when the disciples gathered round him and he instructed them. Sometimes, but more rarely, he gave special lessons to select scholars in the morning and also at night. There had been a few girl scholars but there was none at present. They had heard of Narga, the most brilliant of the scholars who had come to the Master and who had developed extraordinary psychic and spiritual powers. Sometimes the Master went up the hills for a solitary walk and sometimes he went away for a number of days, no one knew where and no one ventured to inquire. The disciples present had no idea of the extent of the Master's knowledge, his wisdom or his powers, but they knew that there was no other like him and there was nothing hidden from his wisdom. The Master was very abstemious in his habits and ate sparingly but he did not mortify the flesh, observe prolonged fasts or practise any definite course of asceticism. He spent half an hour every morning in taking physical exercise and he was possessed of great physical strength. His disciples had not so far seen him displaying any psychic powers but they had been here for a

comparatively short time and were not very far advanced in their studies. Urim was the senior scholar among them.

After breakfast we took out the young men and showed them the machine and Nabor played low and soft music, which we were told would not reach the ears of the Master, for their entertainment. These young scholars were very simple and full of curiosity and we promised to take them out for a flight some day. As we went back to our rooms Urim said we should wait in the garden in the afternoon if we desired further conversation with the Master.

'What else have we come to seek here if not discourse with him?' said Maruchi.

'And you can seek for nothing more precious,' answered Urim, 'it may be because you have come out of the sky, from a far off world different from our own, or because of your superior intelligence, but the Master feels attracted towards you and I think he will speak to you freely. We hope to benefit greatly by the wisdom that it may please the Master to reveal to you.'

We spent the day quietly in our rooms discussing the great Master we had seen, his dazzling and overwhelming personality, and wondering how much of his knowledge and wisdom he would impart to us and whether he would lift the veil and permit us to have a peep at the holy of holies. As the day waned into the afternoon we were thinking of going out into the open when the Master himself stood at the entrance of our rooms with his singularly winning smile on his lips.

We were on our feet in an instant, bowing low and rendering him the homage that his presence commanded.

'Greeting, my children,' said the Master in his deep, sonorous voice, 'it is the open that is calling to us at the present hour.'

'At your service, Sir,' answered Maruchi, and we followed the Master respectfully into the garden.

Urim and his five fellow-disciples were there. The Master paced slowly up and down along the shaded path and we kept pace with him, noting his erect, lofty figure and his dignified and easy aplomb. Maruchi and I walked at his side while the others followed close upon our heels, straining their ears to catch every word that fell from the lips of the Master.

'It is wonderful what you have achieved,' said Ashan with a gracious inclination of his head towards Maruchi, 'you and your friends here have triumphed over distance and space and have brought to us the right hand of fellowship and friendship from another world. It is a deed without precedent and you have our unstinted admiration.'

Maruchi and myself bent our heads and Maruchi said, 'We have no words to express our gratitude for your gracious words. We feel

ourselves amply rewarded by having been admitted into your presence.

'I have heard something from you about your great world and the wonders wrought by your race. You find here a people akin to you in some respects, though you have established your superiority in some others. Perhaps in my seclusion I do not know much of what is going on in our own world outside, but I have not heard of any intrepid voyager who has adventured in the realms of space upon an expedition of discovery. You and we have been endowed with intelligence higher than that of our humbler fellow-creatures, but it would be presumptuous on our part to assert that in the many worlds scattered broadcast in space there may not exist beings infinitely superior to ourselves. Doubtless, such a thought must have occurred to you as it does to any thoughtful and observant man. The higher one rises in the scale of being, the stronger becomes the urge for more knowledge, and obviously knowledge is of two kinds, of the tangible and the intangible. The whole universe or so much of it as is visible to us is tangible but at the heart of it all there is something which eludes us and is intangible. Which is the higher quest, my wise young visitors? You may dig your way deep down into the bowels of your own planet or another, you may dive to the bottom of the sea, or you may soar high up in the heavens and travel incredible distances as you yourselves have done. Perhaps you will find that in the midst of a great variety there is much of a sameness and a certain void of the spirit remains unfilled. Then there is the other search that seems to be nearer our own selves but involves much weariness of the spirit. Which should be our choice?'

I ventured to say, 'Is it not the higher quest that has brought us to your door, my Master?'

'True, my son, and I am a seeker like yourselves. Tell me now something about your teachers who ministered to the spirit, the mode of their lives and the manner of their teaching.'

Thus commanded I told him of the teachers of humanity, while Urim and the others craned forward their necks to listen. I told him of the Buddha and the Christ, how the one had cast away a kingdom and left wife and child for his own salvation and the salvation of humanity, and how the other had preached love and healed the sick and suffering, and after a brief ministry had been put to a cruel death. I stated briefly how the followers of the teachers had never been able to assimilate in their lives the lofty teachings and had hungered for wealth and empires, how there had been a warring of creeds and blood had been shed in the name of religion, and how, finally, all this had been put to an end and the world was at peace.

The Master listened to me carefully to the end and then he sat down on a garden seat. We stood around in respectful silence. After a

little while the Master spoke. 'Between your world and this other to which you have come there is this feature in common that we all seem to be standing on a steep incline like the ascent to the mountain before us. It is the forward step that is always difficult. You see the summit before you and feel that you have to win to the top, but the feet drag and every inch gained is a process of pain and effort. If you halt or if you stand to rest you slide down and it always seems so much easier to move downward than upward. Every fibre of your being is rocked with pain if you attempt to climb higher while the way down is both easy and pleasant, and the feet move without effort. Outside you see the whole creation moving along its appointed course with ease as on oiled wheels. There is no deviation in the daily recurrent rising and setting of the sun. There is no going forward and coming back anywhere, there is no halt and no moment of hesitation. It does seem to our uninstructed intelligence there is a single Law, unchallengeable and absolute, which steers the universe through space, that there is no volition in nature. Of creatures endowed with life we have a consciousness of struggle and the knowledge that our moral and spiritual welfare is in our own hands. There seem to be two worlds, one of which we form part but which is outside of us and which is controlled by a power from some unknown source. And the other is this world within ourselves, our hopes and joys, our sorrows and disappointments. The law does not drive us as it compels inanimate nature. We are free to mount laboriously up or to glide easily downhill as we will. It is not a mere struggle for existence for that is a very sordid affair. The conflict is in our own selves and we issue from it either as victors or vanquished.'

The Master stood up again and resumed his slow walk among the flowers of which the fragrance hung in the still evening air. So might have moved leisurely and thoughtfully, another teacher whom I had just named, in the bamboo grove in ancient Sravasti in still more ancient India, the land of wisdom and thought. As the Master walked, this time with head slightly bent, the silence was broken again. The Master lightly placed his right hand on my shoulder and looked at me with kindly eyes. 'We are beholden to you,' he said, 'for what you have told us of your great teachers. They were the great victors in the unseen struggle of which I spoke. And they sound to me like names I have heard before, when, where and in what birth who knows? The Buddha, sprung from a race of kings, typified in himself the whole struggle at its bitterest and hardest and he was the greatest of all your teachers. To a man born poor it is no sacrifice to remain poor, nor does the renunciation of the world involve a severe wrench for the man who has no ties. Every fetter that can shackle the heart of man



had been forged for the Blessed One—wealth and heirship to a kingdom, a beautiful, devoted and loving wife, and the near prospect of fatherhood. If any one says he should not have deserted his young wife or shirked the responsibility of approaching fatherhood, he would fail to understand that nothing can weigh in the balance against the call of the race for its emancipation. If it was wrong to abandon wife and child it was wrong to abandon the kingdom. It is foolish to attempt to judge such men by common standards of conduct. It was not abandonment but the passion of saving. The wife and child were admitted to the order, which was greater than any kingdom, that the Buddha founded, and they found salvation.

Nature is infallible in its course from cause to effect. It never errs, it makes no allowance for a lapse. It is not sentient, it has no feeling. Nature is the fulfilment of the Law which admits of no relaxation, no violation. It is only in the living creation that you find the influence of the heart. In the order of life you find the primitive instincts of love and fear, compassion and hate. There is the mating instinct which brings the two sexes together for the propagation of the species. Then there is the mother instinct of love for offspring, the sense of possessiveness, the passionate care for the young, the instinct of protection that blazes out into a fury of attack whenever danger threatens the helpless young ones. This instinct is common to the primitive man and the beast. As man ascends higher in the scale of intelligence, as his outlook on life widens and he gets nearer to the heart of the great problem of being his nature expands and the common domestic bonds which are generally sufficient for the majority of the race irk him. It is such a man that may become a teacher. From time to time when the spirit is starved and man's higher nature is overwhelmed by his coarser instincts and desires the need of the race becomes urgent and then the voice of the teacher is heard recalling man to his high destiny and setting his feet on the right path from which they have strayed. The teacher is the offspring of the agony and travail of the race. The crown of thorns that they put upon the head of the Christ in cruel mockery is the true emblem of the teacher for it is not on his head but in his heart that the thorns are to be found, the thorns reaped as the harvest of an erring humanity. The compassion of the Christ was unbounded and he healed the spirit by his words and the body by his touch. And for reward they gave him the death of the robber and the malefactor. But no bitterness assailed his spirit and, as you said, he prayed for forgiveness for those that had compassed his death. He could not have done otherwise, for then he would not have been the Redeemer and the Saviour. The compassion of the Buddha was even as the light of the sun that shines on the glorious mountain top and in

the noisome pit alike. The flood of that Teacher's pity passed over everything that has life and dumb animals found in him a defender and a protector.

'Is pity akin to love? Nay, it is higher, for love is not wholly content with giving, it also wants to get. The love of the man for the woman, of the mother for the child seeks a return. There is a higher love for the deity in which self does not apparently enter. It is the craving of the soul but does not the soul hunger for the love of God? Compassion alone wants nothing by way of barter or recompense. It is a reaching down and a reaching out of the heart, a radiation that is emitted like waves of heat or light with no reflex action. Did the Buddha or the Christ ever seek for any compassion for himself? Was any one so arrogant as to offer them any? The Christ was betrayed and put to death but no one ventured to pity him for his poverty. When the Buddha held out his beggar's bowl did not the housewife put a crust of bread into it as a matter of duty rather than compassion for the beggar who had thrown away a kingdom and to whom kings came with bare and bowed heads?'

The Master rose. 'I shall leave you now to commune with your own thoughts. The marvel of your coming is to me a constant wonder and I trust we shall see more of one another. I leave with you the night's rest and pray do not trouble to accompany me.'

As Ashan slowly passed into the cave-dwelling in which lamps had been lighted the young disciples crowded round us in eager and earnest felicitation. 'It was an auspicious hour,' Urin said, 'when you came to us from beyond the wide stretches of space. You have loosened the Master's tongue, and to you we owe the privilege of having listened to the Master's discourse on your great teachers.'

We also followed the Master to our frugal fare and afterwards to bed.

### XXX

We were strolling the next morning in the garden inhaling the crisp mountain air and the scent of the flowers blooming on every side of us. The sun had just risen and the mountains and the land below it were bathed in the morning sunlight. We had taken our morning dip in a mountain stream where the water flowed cold and clear. The young scholars were early risers and gave us a cup of mountain tea and hot scones. Presently the Master came out wearing his long robe and sandals, and smiled at us as we bent before him in reverence. 'The greeting of the morning sun, my children! Blessed is he who sees the sun rise every morning! Hail, Giver of life and light!' And he fell into step with us.

After taking a few turns he said, 'Let us go-

and see this magic argosy that has brought you from a distant world.'

We went to the adjoining large cave and showed the machine to the Master. He climbed into it and was greatly interested in all that he saw. Then Maruchi asked, 'Would it please you, my Master, to listen to some music?'

'With pleasure,' replied Ashan.

Nabor went forward and played some sacred music, hymns of great beauty, of which the solemn notes rang and resounded through the great vaulted cavern. The Master closed his eyes as he listened and a hush fell upon us all. When the music ceased and the echoes died away the Master opened his eyes and spoke with emotion, 'It is seraphic. It has moved me deeply and I thank you for the happiness you have given me.'

Maruchi said, 'May we ask another favour? Will you honour us by taking a short cruise in the air in our machine?'

'I shall be delighted'.

The machine was brought out and in a moment it was in the air gliding smoothly and noiselessly like a brig sailing on an even keel on a placid lake. We rose above the mountains and crossed them in a northern direction. The Master was looking around and below him watching in silence the shifting panorama of mountain and tableland, valley and stream. Away in the distance was the rosy pillar of vapour that rose from Raba and spread out like a shimmering and translucent canopy in the sky. Ashan muttered, 'Raba,' and his eyes turned up heavenward in silent prayer.

When he looked at us again Orlon, who always intently watched Ashan but rarely spoke,

said, 'We are on our way to Raba, Sir, and would feel grateful if you would enlighten us somewhat about it.'

'The feet of all pilgrims turn towards Raba, my son, but no one can approach it very close. It is a symbol of the ceaseless and inexhaustible energy manifest in the universe and we render it homage because we look upon it as a column of incense rising to the Creator. People worship it as an emblem of the deity just as the sun and stars have been worshipped. The real secret of Raba has never been wrested from it, but some few have known it more intimately than most others and that knowledge has been communicated to some others who have stood the test of initiation. You will be able to see as much as the ordinary pilgrims.'

'Nothing more?' asked Maruchi, with a shade of disappointment in his voice.

Ashan smiled enigmatically. 'That will depend upon your own selves. You are greatly advanced in knowledge and you have accomplished a feat beyond the dreams of your race and mine. I have observed your earnest desire for higher knowledge and the quest of the spirit is moving you strongly. Perhaps you may be rewarded by a near view of Raba, who can tell?'

'Master, you can help us if you will.'

Ashan raised his hand in deprecation. 'Who can anticipate what will happen? My help will be of no avail if you yourselves are not worthy. Remember that to the seeker nothing is denied and if you have the right spirit you will succeed as some others have done. Strive unceasingly with your own selves and your desire may be accomplished.'

## WATER-HYACINTH—"THE TERROR OF BENGAL WATER-WAYS"

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### INTRODUCTION

**T**HE Water-Hyacinth (*Eichhornia Crassipes*, Solms.) is a water-plant of Brazil which has now become naturalized in Bengal. Though the plant came to be seriously considered as an excessively troublesome weed in Bengal only about the year 1914, it cannot be definitely said when it was first introduced in this Presidency. There is no record to show how the plant reached this country and from what centre it spread. That human agency was primarily responsible for the introduction

of this pest into the country there can be no doubt. Mr. George Morgan, a resident of Narayangunge, was credited with introducing this plant to Eastern Bengal. He is said to have collected a few plants from a tank at Ballygunge and placed them in his own tank at Narayangunge for the sake of their beautiful flowers. This plant, being a native of tropical and sub-tropical South America, has found the Indian climate quite suitable for its growth and development. It has spread to the United States, particularly Florida, to Australia, Java, Siam, Burma and thence to India proper.

## MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERS

This plant can very easily be recognized by its extremely pretty mauve or pale lilac flowers and by its thick fleshy, ovoid or elliptically shaped leaves. The plant is already known by various names, such as, the "*Lilac Devil*," the "*Blue peril*," but the more common vernacular names by which this plant is known to the villagers in Bengal are *Kachuri*, *Kachuri-pana*, *Morgan-pana* (also sometimes humorously called *Morgan's folly*) and *German pana*,—the latter name being assigned to it by the simple unsophisticated villagers with the belief that the Germans had introduced this pestilential weed during the Great War; the pest having spread over the countryside during the year 1914 had already caused considerable hardship to the village cultivators. The plant is most extensively propagated by off-sets. These arise at the axils of leaves as buds which at first develop into miniature sessile rosettes, which having attained a certain size, are carried away from the main stem by the development of a stalk-like structure to a distance of upto 5 to 7 inches; the rosette then grows rapidly in size and the stalk being brittle, is ultimately broken off and the rosette embarks on a separate career, often being carried to a considerable distance by currents in the water or sailing with the help of the wind. The bladder-like leaf-stalks act like buoys keeping the plants floating; the plant can, therefore, very well live in deep as well as in shallow water. The plants grow very luxuriantly and develop healthy appearance in fresh water and, under favourable conditions, they are often found to attain a height of more than three feet and the leaves grow into large discs and the bladders of the leaf-stalks develop and grow to a large size where the plant floats freely; but when embedded in mud the plants become short and the leaves small, but the latter develop bladder-like swollen structures.

## MODE OF DISTRIBUTION

In view of the wide distribution of the plant it would be interesting to know exactly how this distribution was brought about. Hitherto our knowledge was confined

to the belief that the only method by which the water-hyacinth could propagate was the vegetative one, i.e., by offsets and runners from the parent plants. Consequently any idea that the plants were disseminated by seeds carried by air current or by birds, such as crows, paddy birds, etc., was open to grave doubts, as nowhere ripe fruits with mature seeds were found to occur in nature. Some fruits which were obtained by means of artificial pollination at the Botanical Laboratory of Calcutta University were not, however, found to germinate very satisfactorily so as to yield healthy plants. Although seedlings of water-hyacinth may not be found to grow in plenty in nature, these have now been observed and collected. The sexual propagation of water-hyacinth under natural conditions has been reported in Burma, also in Cuttuck (Orissa). There is not the slightest doubt that wherever the plant may have made its first appearance in India, it must have been brought here by human agency for the sake of the pretty flowers. The fact that Ceylon has been invaded by this pest goes to show clearly that it must have been carried there by human agency, as otherwise it was not possible for the plant to travel over the sea and reach the shores of Ceylon where it became so widely distributed that a legislative enactment became necessary for its control and eradication to prevent an increasing reduction in the yield of paddy year after year. The report that water-hyacinth was observed in South India, Bengal, and also in the Punjab before it was observed in the United Provinces or even Bihar and Orissa goes to show that it must have been carried by man to these different places mainly for the sake of the flowers. Although it is unlikely that Bengal has been infected from Assam, it is clear that, if the water-hyacinth were sometime or other totally eradicated in Bengal without its being eradicated from the Assam Valley and Sylhet, Bengal would certainly be reinfected from those places.

## SOURCE OF INFECTION

The standing sources of infection at present are mostly uncultivated *Bil* areas.

with practically a sluggish current or no current at all. The plant spreads all over the adjoining lands during the high monsoon floods, and this is the chief means of the rapid and wide distribution of the plants. Other means of their spread are the current of in-flowing water and strong winds over the affected area. Vast masses of water-hyacinth are washed off by high monsoon floods and carried to the mouths of *khals* and smaller rivers; those plants which reach the salt-water area die soon; but this affects only a comparatively minor portion of the whole. The vast *bils* bordering the districts of Faridpur, Barisal and Khulna have been practically choked up, but the areas reached by the tide carrying with it salt-water, even if very dilute, is very unfavourable to the growth and development of the water-hyacinth. Therefore, the plant is scarce in the Hooghly river, Tolly's Nullah, the salt-lakes in the vicinity of Calcutta and parts of Bakerganj, Noakhali and Chittagong districts, which to a large extent receive tide water from the sea.

#### CONDITIONS IN RURAL AND IN CULTIVATED FIELDS

By its abundance of leaves, dense vegetation and highly absorbing power of its innumerable small fibre-like rootlets, the plant most seriously impedes the flow of water and completely blocks up small ponds and ditches like similar floating aquatic plants, such as duck-weed (*Lemna*), the tank-pana (*Pistia stratiotes*), and the Indian water-chestnut (*Trapa*); but these floating plants being smaller do not become an ineradicable nuisance. The rapid growth of dense mass of the plant in cultivated areas particularly in paddy fields is quite alarming. Besides reducing the normal yield in paddy this weed has already more or less displaced many aquatic grasses which were so characteristic of Bengal paddy fields. This has seriously interfered with the botanical studies of grasses growing in paddy fields and, what is even more important from an economical point of view, it has deprived the cattle of some of the best varieties of aquatic fodder during the rains. With a view to keeping the average yield of paddy at least to its normal rate most strenuous efforts should at once be made to

keep the cultivated areas clear of the pest. People should try to realize the serious economic damage this weed has caused in many countries and the amount of hardship to which peasant cultivators of Bengal have been put by reason of the uncontrolled growth of this menacing weed. It has also threatened the jute cultivation of Bengal,—a fact which should not fail to draw the immediate attention of the jute merchants. The effect on health due to scarcity of good and clean drinking water is always being keenly felt. The clearing of the weeds from the tanks from which people obtain their drinking water is absolutely necessary and it has become a dire necessity to clear the small ditches, *dobas*, etc., in the neighbourhood of dwelling houses, already overgrown with the weeds, in order to save people from ravages of any pestilential diseases which may have an outbreak in such unhealthy areas. The water-hyacinth causes water stagnation in ditches and in shallow waters which provide suitable breeding places for mosquitoes and other disease-carrying insects. It would be interesting to conduct an investigation to ascertain how far this dense vegetation of water-hyacinth in tanks and shallow waters with rotting leaves has effected pisciculture in Bengal.

During the monsoon tide in most parts of Bikrampur (in Dacca) the cultivators are found to put up enclosures round their portions of the paddy growing areas by means of floating plants such as common Sola (*Æschynomene palunosa*), Dhunchi (*Æschynomene cannabina*), straw ropes, etc., to keep water-hyacinth out of rice fields but these barriers cannot be very effective inasmuch as straw ropes and jute ropes rot away in no time and the floating plants used are not sufficient for the purpose. Floating bamboo fencing is out of the question due to its cost and scarcity.

#### WATER COMMUNICATIONS OF EASTERN BENGAL PARALYSED

Water communications are the life of Bengal, particularly of East Bengal, and serious and almost insurmountable difficulties have arisen both due to delays in travelling through the *Khals* and *bils* by boats and



rafts and also due to increase of rates of wages demanded by boatmen. The use of rafts and earthen tubs for short distance journeys in place of boats by the poorer people has become impossible and obsolete. In places where groceries and other daily supplies are supplied to people by boats, people find formidable difficulties in obtaining them in time, as all water-ways are practically choked up, making it difficult for any boats or rafts to pass easily through the infected areas.

#### ECONOMIC UTILIZATION

The chief economic purpose for which the plant is nowadays commonly used in Bengal is the utilization of the fresh leaves as cattle fodder. This practice has been introduced owing to the scarcity of grass in thickly populated places, where sufficient grazing grounds are not available and in villages and *bil* areas where the more common aquatic weeds hitherto utilized as staple fodder have practically disappeared due to their annihilation by water-hyacinth. It has almost become a custom with the Bengal cultivators to collect only the green top-portion from the floating dense mass for use as fodder and carry them home on boats, as such leaving the most dangerous portions of stems (sometimes erroneously called roots), with the runners, to multiply. Due to the substitution of this fodder which contains about 95 per cent of water, the quality of milk, has naturally, very much deteriorated and the general health of the cattle fed on water-hyacinth has greatly run down. Actual trials to obtain potash from the plants on a large scale for commercial purposes have proved abortive owing to the costliness of the process. The suggestion to manufacture paper from the dry pulp has been found impracticable on account of the inferior quality of the pulp obtained from the plant; an attempt is, however, in progress to mix up the pulp in the manufacture of paste-board sheets. Various attempts have been made in certain parts of this Presidency to make ordinary caps and hats out of the dry pulp and some amount of trial was also given to make writing ink out of the flowers, but the colour of the ink did not appear to be fast,

and hence the project had to be abandoned. Dried hyacinth is mixed with cowdung and made into cakes by the poor people in Bengal and is used as cheap fuel; but in this process also they very often use only the dry leaves and stalks leaving behinds the stems which give rise to new rosettes during the next rains.

As already mentioned above the green plant contains about 95 per cent of water, it is therefore highly doubtful if any useful commercial product can be obtained from the remaining 5 per cent of other material in the plant for purposes of industrial utilization. It was once thought that this water weed should not be considered as a pest to be destroyed but should be converted into suitable manure for jute and rice fields, in gardening and fruit growing. Possibly with this view in mind the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India in writing out the 'Introduction' to a pamphlet by Messrs. Finlow & McLean, entitled, "*Water-Hyacinth (Eichhornia Crassipes)—its value as fertilizer*" says, "The object of the present Bulletin is to indicate that a certain return can be obtained from the plant in the process of exterminating it. It is to be hoped that the possibility of utilization of this pernicious weed will not lead to a *laissez-faire* policy with regard to its spread. Its extermination and not its commercial exploitation is to be aimed at; but efforts to get rid of it will probably be more energetic if some return is obtained for the labour involved." The manurial value of the rotten plants buried under earth and made into a compost is somewhat greater than the ash derived from burning the plant. But so far as the writer is aware no serious and organized effort has yet been made to utilize the weed as manure in any suitable form in the cultivated fields of Bengal for increasing crop-production.

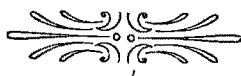
#### ERADICATION

The method of eradication of water-hyacinth may be classified into (a) biological and (b) mechanical. By biological method of eradication it is to be understood that it should be possible for biologists to discover either a fungus or a suitable bacterium, an

animal or any member of the plant kingdom which should either destroy the plant or at least control its growth; but unfortunately no member of the animal and plant kingdom has yet been discovered by scientists all over the world which would promise to act as a check on the growth of the water-hyacinth. No chemical or thermal processes have been found suitable for the destruction of this weed for some reason or other. Experiments with various chemical substances have been made from time to time, but generally speaking only two of them, namely, common salt and sulphuric acid have been found to be effective in killing the plant. The water-hyacinth being an alkali plant, as indicated by the indigo colour of its rootlets, any mineral acid will act deleteriously on this water pest. Very dilute sulphuric acid is not injurious to the health of cattle and man and is, in fact a preventive of cholera; but the application of these chemical remedies over an extended area would offer immense difficulties. Spraying will kill only the floating vegetative parts above the surface of the water while the submerged stems with runners will remain unaffected; but a powerful acid spraying apparatus should be found suitable to spray the chemical substances into the dense mass of the plants. This process should be useful in facilitating removal of water-hyacinth to the borders of pools, tanks and water courses but will not lead to a total eradication of the pest by itself, the whole process must ultimately have to be supplemented by man power. The only effective means of dealing with the evil, therefore, appears to be the mechanical means—by hand power and mechanical dredging and lifting operations. The success of the suggestion to drag up the pest and to deposit them on dry land will entirely depend upon local conditions, as dry and elevated lands are not always available in the *Bil* areas and also in certain parts of East Bengal where

the fields are always occupied by one crop or other. The process of dragging up the pest on dry lands must be started as early as the end of November every year and continued till the beginning of the rains and during the high monsoon flood. Efforts may be made according to local conditions to tow the plants by some mechanical method towards the mouth of big rivers in order to allow the current to carry it towards the salt water area. Eradication can be effective, only if it is carried on over the whole of the area and if the work is also carried on over a considerable number of years, the greatest care being taken that every single plant whether in tanks, *dobas*, ditches and in *khals* and *bils* is destroyed, as any residue of a single plant may give rise to serious infection to the whole area. When burning the plants over any plot of land which is generally under cultivation, care should always be taken to ensure that the soil does not become calcined due to excessive heat produced by the burning of the plants, and it should also be seen that the dry stuff is very lightly spread all over the field, and must not be burnt in a huge pile. The practice of burning the stuff with the help of any mineral oil must be abandoned as far as possible. A diligent and careful search should always be made for any seedlings of water-hyacinth in areas which have already been cleared of the pest. Failure to destroy these seedlings in time will completely undo the labour of all previous work.

It is, of course, necessary that as soon as Bengal starts to tackle the problem in right earnest Assam will have to clear out the pest and Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces should also take simultaneous action because it is astonishing how rapidly a single plant can be the cause of large expanses of water being covered by the plant, such spread of the plant, as already stated above, being normally due to copious production of offsets from the mother plant.



## UNEMPLOYMENT IN BENGAL

By A. C. GUHA

THE brunt of unemployment in Bengal has fallen upon the *Bhadraloks* who constitute the middle classes of the gentry. It has, of late, reached proportions so colossal, that it has become a standing menace to the peace and prosperity of the premier province of India. It is said that misfortunes never come singly. The Meston Settlement has left Bengal in such straits that she cannot now pay her way, although, of all provinces, she contributes the largest share to the Imperial revenues. On the top of this, now comes huge unemployment, which threatens to deal Bengal a knock-out blow. So long as unemployment stalks the land, constitutional reforms will be of little avail to save Bengal from the ruin which stares her in the face. Suicide, from distress and unemployment, has increased to an alarming extent. Large numbers of the unemployed are courting death, because life offers them no better alternative. Indeed, some eminent thinkers are of opinion that even war, with all its terrible paraphernalia and engines of torture, provides a less painful exit from this world than a slow death from starvation and long continued hunger.

In the above circumstance, Government should no longer sit with folded hands, but should immediately address itself to a solution of this most insistent problem, which has robbed Bengal of her sleep. Other questions can wait but this cannot, as it is one of life and death to millions. If the population be starved out, who will remain to enjoy the blessings of Swaraj, when it comes? Sir Ernest Benn and many other prominent politicians assert that the lack of employment for the able-bodied who are willing to work, is a serious reproach to the Government of the country where this difficulty occurs and should be removed as soon as possible, at all costs. If we had the power, we would refuse to vote any money for any administrative purpose, till this evil was removed.

There is no other province in India where

the distress from unemployment is more acute than in Bengal. It is unfortunate that reliable statistics are not available of the exact extent of unemployment in any province of India. The somewhat belated report of the Census in 1931 is ominously silent on this point. All the information which it vouchsafes to the public is a laconic intimation that the figures collected under this head have not been published. In our humble opinion an accurate Census of the unemployed in the province should be ordered as the first step towards the relief of the unemployed. It is extremely difficult to cope with unemployment in the absence of a knowledge of the number affected by it.

From the figures collected by some non-official bodies, particularly by the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, it would appear that the number of the workless in Bengal lies somewhere between 7 and 8 millions, inclusive of women, infants, children and other dependants, who cannot by reason of sex, age, physical infirmity, or other disability, earn their own livelihood. The number of able-bodied vagrants would not perhaps exceed two millions. Government is, therefore, faced with the obligation to provide work for these two or three millions. Remembering that a vacant mind is the devil's workshop, one should not wonder at the unusual accession to the number of terrorists in Bengal. If the East were as demonstrative as the West, many windows and glass doors would have been before now broken to pieces and public peace seriously endangered. There is a solid substratum of truth in an article which recently appeared in an American journal under the caption, "Hunger behind the bomb."

It is well known that the unemployed *Bhadrocracy* of Bengal is the main recruiting ground for the terrorists who are causing serious trouble and expense to the Government. Apart from the drafts on the secret service

fund, of which no public account is kept, and independently of the heavy cost of maintaining an excessive police force to check terrorist activities, huge sums of money are being spent on rounding up the revolutionaries or stemming the tide of rising discontent, which draws its sap from unemployment. The increasing mortality from suicide throws a lurid light on the magnitude of the unemployment evil. In these circumstances, it behoves the Government to gird up its loins to combat unemployment.

The crux of the problem lies in the rooted antipathy which the *Bhadralok* has towards manual labour. The services and learned professions are so overcrowded that they cannot afford a genteel livelihood even to an infinitesimal fraction of the unemployed. Nor can the undeveloped industries of the country provide an opening for the two millions that are now going workless. Industrial occupations might have absorbed a part of this number if Bengal's industries were expanding. If the jute trade could be revived, it could find employment for a few thousands; but this cannot be counted upon with any degree of certainty just at present. Most of the other industries are in a precarious condition, thanks to the falling rupee, the vagaries of the exchange and the flight of gold.

Even if conditions were more favourable for industrial expansion, we would not advocate the excessive industrialization of the country, having regard to the price which the Western countries are paying for it. The evils of such a course are nowhere more manifest than in highly industrialized Great Britain and the United States of America, where no less than a dozen million unemployed are holding hostile demonstrations and threatening to wreck the mechanized capitalism which has thrown them out of employ in such large numbers. The total number of the unemployed in the Western countries now exceeds thirty-two million men, women and children. The effect of excessive industrialization in the United States has been so disastrous, that in some localities the industrial population is crowded at the rate of 10,000 per square mile! Nearer home, in

Calcutta, overcrowding and lack of fresh air have produced a crop of 30,000 known cases of developed tuberculosis, let alone those which have not yet passed the incipient stage. Add to this the heavy toll exacted by typhoid, smallpox, cholera and other fatal diseases too numerous to be named.

In this predicament, the best advice which we can offer young Bengal is to lay aside their prejudice against manual labour and turn to agriculture as a living. Unless the Bengali youth conquers his aversion for agriculture pursuits, not less honourable than those of a quill-driver, there would be no place for him under the sun.

Our advice is quite consonant with the policy that is being pursued in other quarters of the globe, as reported by the I. L. O. at Geneva, in its latest review of the unemployment situation of the world. The allotment of land to the unemployed has become a permanent feature in programmes usually drawn up for their relief. In the words of Mr. Butler, the Director of the I. L. O., it would enable the unemployed, "not only to produce a part of their own food but furnish an antidote to moral and physical deterioration." Moreover, the construction of numerous new roads, with a view to facilitate the transport of farm produce, which is associated with the development of our scheme (sketched below) is calculated to absorb a large number of men. In all advanced countries large schemes of public works are being initiated, in order to provide work for those who now have none. The plan of the leading British economists for recovery from the world depression, recommends the laying out of roads and the construction of other public works, as one of the best means for curing unemployment. It urges that most of the capital which a civilized Government can command should be earmarked for expenditure under this head.

Fifty years ago, in Ireland, in circumstances similar to those of India at the present moment, Sir Horace Plunkett realized that the salvation of his country lay in the development of her agriculture. No sooner had this idea dawned upon his mind, than he set about to organize a band of workers, called the Irish Agricultural Society, who



applied themselves earnestly to rural reconstruction and turned the fortunes of the country in a comparatively short time. I would earnestly commend to my countrymen a passage from one of the leaflets issued by this Society which runs thus :—"To make Ireland prosperous, many things will have to be done but the first thing to be done is to improve the farmer's condition, as this improvement, they are persuaded, can be brought about by the farmers themselves, uniting to improve the methods of their industry, as all the prosperous farmers of the world have done." But the peasantry in Bengal is at present sunk in ignorance and efforts must be made to introduce a new leaven into their ranks. There is at present an excellent opportunity for introducing this reform.

There are, in Bengal, extensive areas of cultivable but uncultivated land, to the order of about 6 million acres, exclusive of forests, current fallows and land not suitable for cultivation—an area equal to a fourth of that which is cropped. If this vast area is reclaimed and brought under tillage, the profits which it would yield would be free from the law of diminished profits which governs the output of land already under cultivation for a long time. The judicious use of fertilizers would improve its productivity 50 per cent. It is usual to assume, even in Western countries where the standard of living is much higher, that a family of five persons can live on a holding of 15 acres ; in other words, one person on three acres. This estimate can be largely exceeded by the use of fertilizers and the introduction of improved staples. The introduction of improved varieties of staples over this vast area is likely to stimulate agricultural profits to an astonishing extent. In 1929-30, such introduction, carried out under the auspices of the Agricultural Research Institute, led to an enhancement of the value of crops by several crores of rupees. What with higher returns, due to the immunity of reclaimed lands from the law of diminished profits and what with the use of chemical manure and the introduction of improved staples and seed, these reclaimed wastes will perhaps be twice as productive as cultivated lands, and could

absorb four millions of the unemployed. There may then remain only a few thousands more to be provided for, if so much. For this balance, there are numerous other avenues of employment.

It is true that the *Bhadraloks* of Bengal are, as a rule, wanting in the agricultural knowledge and training which go to make successful farmers. But we need not despair, as the admittedly versatile Bengali *Bhadralok* is not past praying for, if he will know how to profit by the example of Denmark. Not very long ago, the Danish peasant was dull, sullen and resourceless, but the single-handed efforts of Grundtvig transformed them, within less than a decade, into highly efficient and co-operative agriculturists. The literate *Bhadraloks* of Bengal constitute a much more promising material to work on and with a little training, are expected to attain a higher efficiency than that of their Danish compeer. Born and bred in the midst of intensely agricultural environments, the Bengali *Bhadralok* will be quick in acquiring a keen agricultural aptitude, after a short course of practical training in a demonstration farm.

To our definite knowledge, there are in the Backargunj district alone nearly 57 thousand acres of rich alluvial land in the Government *khass mehals* available for immediate settlement.\* With facilities for the transfer of occupancy holdings, which the Bengal Tenancy Act provides, *ryotwari* lease, particularly under Government, is perhaps as satisfactory as a peasant proprietorship or any other form of land tenure. These 57 thousand acres constitute an area big enough to support at least 20,000 persons. It will thus be seen that Government has the power to grant a handsome living to hosts of the unemployed and the only question is whether it has the will to do so.

There are, also, in Cooch Behar and Tippera Hill States vast vacant areas which can be converted into hundreds and thousands of small farms. We would suggest that nego-

\* The scheme for the colonization of these lands has already been sanctioned by Government. The *ryotwari* settlement of 40 thousand acres of *chur* lands in Bhola sub-division of Backargunj district has been administratively approved by Government at an estimated cost of Rs. 1,65,000 to be expended in four years.

tiations be opened at once with the Political Department for inducing the States to settle these lands with the unemployed on easy terms.

Mr. Wilkinson, the famous author of *Population Problems of the World*, is inclined to the view that India has so much cultivable but unutilized land, that her surplus population of a few millions may be easily absorbed, if capital is available for the progressive development of agriculture. He goes on to point out that, if India, Russia and China are not developed and agriculture is not expanded to the extent that is possible, because the inhabitants have not the will, the brain or organizing power to do so, then other countries cannot be held responsible for the premature death of their surplus population through lack of food. The inhabitants of Bengal are not wanting either in the will or the brain power spoken of. But it remains for the Government of Bengal, as trustees for the welfare of that province, to find the capital necessary for developing it. The taxpayers of Bengal will, of course, have to repay it in the long run.

The young men of Bengal may not have much capital at their back, save that which the Government can give them, but in their labour and intelligence they have an equally effective asset which can be easily converted into capital after the lapse of a certain time, witness the achievements of the Comilla House of Labour, manned entirely by Bengali youths.

As I have already pointed out, in the Bengali *Bhadralok's* reluctance to work with their own hands, lies the worst hindrance to their taking up agricultural work. But so far we can understand their psychology, this reluctance proceeds from their objection to work as hewers of wood and drawers of water on another's land and would vanish as soon as they are given a hereditary and transferable interest in the farm lands, so that they may deal with them as their own property.

In this matter, Belgium has a lesson to teach and a leaf may be taken out of its history. Belgium is pre-eminently the land of peasant proprietors and of *la petite culture*. Relying on the excellent results of this form of land tenure, M. de Lavelle has come to

the conclusion that peasant proprietorship is, as a rule, most conducive to agriculture and to the welfare of society. He is sure that much larger gross returns may everywhere be obtained from the land by small peasant proprietors than by large scale farmers. A recent illustration of this principle was afforded at Vermont in Canada (see Angell's *Can Governments Cure Unemployment?*). We feel persuaded that no measure is more conducive to the maintenance of order in society than those which facilitate the acquisition of property in land by those who cultivate it.

The essence of our scheme is that the Government of Bengal should acquire plots of compact and convenient size, (if possible large blocks) and parcel them out, free from encumbrances, among the unemployed. These holdings, if conveniently situated near large marts, and if their produce is intelligently marketed, preferably under a co-operative agency, may be turned to very good account and may support millions of the unemployed. Unlike land already under cultivation, they will, for many years, be free from the law of diminishing returns. To meet the cost of acquiring the lands, as also of breaking the soil for cultivation and developing the farms started on it, a loan may be raised, of, say, one crore of rupees in the first instance, repayable by the peasants, with nominal interest, within 25 years. The Government of India may place the sum at the disposal of the Government of Bengal, out of its existing credit, now lying idle. From the budget speech of the Hon'ble Sir George Schuster it appears that there is now a possibility of finding money for capital and productive expenditure. The present state of the money market affords a very good opportunity for raising loans, provided that the security furnished is sufficient. An alternative—perhaps a preferable one—to the issue of a loan is the expansion of currency for the purpose. The MacMillan Committee and the League of Nations favour this mode of raising money. The Central Government has long appropriated the proceeds of the jute duty in Bengal and should now, in the fitness of things, disgorge a part of the money for the benefit of the Bengal agriculturists.

A beginning of the experiment, we suggest, may be made at once at a convenient place and if it proves successful, it may be extended all over the province, under a comprehensive Five-Year plan.

The results attained by Government schemes of colonization of the waste lands of the Sunderbuns are encouraging. Up to the last year, Government made a net profit of about 6 lakhs and a quarter over the schemes. Therefore, far from incurring any loss in the long run Government stands a good chance of making a profit out of the scheme chalked out by us.

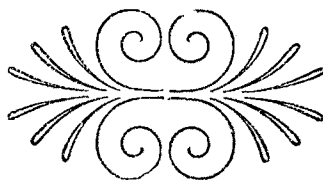
The cost which our scheme will entail and which we may work out in detail, if sufficient encouragement is given, is nominal, when compared with the huge sums now being spent in Great Britain and America on charitable doles or other forms of unemployment relief. According to Mr. Lloyd George, the British Government is maintaining three million unemployed at a cost of £1,30,000,000 per annum and "nothing to show for it." Thus is the British Exchequer spending money like water on gratuitous doles, which tend to encourage idleness in those benefited by them. The United States of America spends something like £80,500,000 per annum on employment benefits, distinct from gratuitous relief. Under our scheme, the Government will not have to spend, initially, anything beyond the cost of acquisition and development of the land acquired. Even this sum will, in the shape of rents, bring in a return, spread over a

number of years. The Government thinks it worth while to sink more than 50 crores of rupees per annum for the defence of a country where the unemployed count more than 20 millions. It is obvious that, if unemployment and terrorism continue unchecked, the defence of India will be a game hardly worth the candle. Our scheme is designed to kill both terrorism and unemployment with one stone.

It is essential that the Government should take the initiative in this matter. The doctrine of *laissez faire* is dead all the world over and it is absurd for Bengal with an illiterate peasantry and impoverished gentry to cling to it. Moreover, it is primarily the duty of Government to relieve unemployment and to wipe out a reproach on its good name.

It should also be borne in mind that Bengal is predominantly an agricultural province and that in the advancement of her agricultural interests lies her salvation. In the opinion of the League of Nations, "the development which India contemplates may be presumed to be in the direction in which Canada has already made such progress, that of an improvement in the technique of economical agricultural production, combined with the simultaneous enlargement of industrial and commercial activity."

If, notwithstanding all that we have said above Government still decides to take no action on our scheme or on any other, that may be before it, the unemployed in Bengal would seem to be doomed and must perforce accept their *nasib*.



## WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

(b. AUGUST 24, 1759 ; d. JULY 29, 1833)

By NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A.

ONE century has passed by almost to a day since William Wilberforce breathed his last. Even at this distance of time however it is difficult to think and write of him without emotion. His was truly a dedicated life. Almost at the threshold of his public career he took up the cudgels against the practice of slave trade in which a considerable section of his countrymen was engaged, and continued his agitation for well nigh half a century as a result of which not only the traffic in human flesh was banned but the institution of slavery itself was proscribed within the bounds of the British Empire. His active sympathy in this direction was first enlisted in 1787 and from this time onward until he closed his eyes for ever in 1833, he consecrated his high social position and his excellent parliamentary talents to this humane movement.

The zeal and earnestness for reform which characterized Wilberforce and some other great personalities of Great Britain in the last quarter of the 18th century were then only new-born virtues stimulated by the Methodist and Evangelical movements. In the earlier part of the century religious enthusiasm had almost evaporated. The Church of England had practically gone to sleep and the clergy had become selfish and unspiritual as a rule. They knew little of earnestness and fervour. The religion had lost its moving and inspiring appeal, it had become a cold and lifeless thing. From this inertia Englishmen were gradually roused by the preachings of Whitefield and the Wesleys. The Evangelical revival begun by them not only enlisted afresh the interest of a growing section of the English people in matters of religion but stimulated philanthropic and humanitarian activity in different fields and on a wide scale. It was as result of this new-born spiritual idealism that the attention

of the people was directed to the atrocious character of the penal laws, the inhuman condition of the English prisons, the corruption and jobbery that characterized the public administration and lastly the slave trade which was carried on by British merchants on an extensive scale. A reforming spirit was now abroad and a benevolent energy was now released among the English people.

Although brought for a time under the influence of the preachings of Whitefield while he was still very young, it was not till his mind had been sufficiently matured and he had been for some time in the Parliament that he came irrevocably to the camp of the revivalists. Born in the same year (1759) as William Pitt and Robert Burns of a wealthy mercantile family at Hull, he went to Cambridge in 1774 and made there the acquaintance of Pitt which later on ripened into one of the best of political friendships. His university education over, he turned his attention to public life, and in the general election which took place in September 1780, he was returned to the House of Commons by his native borough of Hull. Thus began a parliamentary career which did not close till in 1825 he was compelled by the growing infirmity of age to terminate it. Early in his parliamentary life he became noted for that mellifluous and persuasive eloquence which not long after became so much an asset to the anti-slave trade movement. During the first five years of his political career, he lived and moved as any other young man of his position was expected to do. He entered with zest into the pleasures of London life. His fortune, his social powers and the parliamentary reputation which he soon acquired opened to him on easy access into fashionable society. True no doubt that although he mixed with zest and vigour in this gay world, he never yielded to idleness and dissipation. But still it should be noted that during these early



years of his public life, he was far away from the path of rectitude and devotion which he under new inspiration chalked out for himself and from which he never strayed later on. It was in 1885 that this change came upon him. Thrown for months together into the company of Isaac Milner during a Continental tour, he was initiated into the true spirit of the Methodist teachings. His mind was now gradually turned to that *practical Christianity* which made him one of the most devoted servants of suffering humanity. It was this new religious awakening which prompted him to undertake in 1787 the leadership of the anti-slave trade cause in the House of Commons.

The British slave trade was at this time more than two centuries old. Initiated by Hawkins and other explorers of the sixteenth century, it was developed further after the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 which secured to Great Britain a monopoly of this abominable trade in the Spanish colonies. The gravity of the question can be appreciated when it is remembered that every year more than seventy thousand negroes were seized and carried off from Africa. In some particular years the number was far larger still. In 1768, for instance, not less than ninety-seven thousand negroes were shipped away from their native country. Such an enormity of crime could not go long without a protest. As public conscience was awakened from the torpor of the first half of the 18th century, opposition to this inhuman trade grew in volume and strength. John Wesley had published in 1774 his *Thoughts on Slavery* condemning the system with all his emphasis. In 1784 Ramsay, a clergyman with a considerable experience of the West Indian Islands, published a book on the treatment that was as a rule meted out to the enslaved negroes. The book created a sensation and helped in the formation of public opinion against the continuance of slave trade. The publication two years later of his prize essay on negro slavery by Thomas Clarkson worked further in the same direction. When on the top of these a society was formed in the following year for the abolition of the slave trade, it showed that the English public was increasingly becoming hostile to this infernal practice.

The ground was thus considerably prepared when Wilberforce undertook the task of persuading the British Parliament to fall in with the demands of public conscience and abolish this traffic. His acceptance of the leadership of the movement in the House of Commons was taken as a happy augury for the cause. Such was his conversion to the new ideal of life that it was confidently expected that he would subordinate every other item of his parliamentary business to this abolition question. His silvery eloquence which had won for him the title of 'the nightingale of the House of Commons,' his high character, and his great intimacy with Pitt, the Prime Minister, would, it was thought, disarm the opposition of the Parliament and bring the Government and the majority of the two Houses to the abolitionist lobby. Success was taken almost for granted. Postponed in 1788 after a long discussion in which Burke and Fox joined as the champions of immediate abolition, the question came up again in 1789 before the House of Commons. Wilberforce who could not take any part in the discussion in the previous session due to illness which might have proved fatal now stepped forward to open the debate. In an eloquent and forcible speech which lasted for three hours and a half he launched his crusade against the slave trade. The speech made a deep impression both within and outside the Parliament. But the great purpose remained unfulfilled. The vested interests were already alarmed and the opposition to abolition was gathering force every day. It was sedulously dinned into the ears of the people that the loss of the slave trade would spell ruin to British commerce and British colonies, and what was more the French would gain to the extent that the British would lose. The trade which the British merchants would be compelled to give up would be monopolized by the French merchants and that would mean a new accession of strength to a traditional enemy who always knew how to utilize it against Great Britain.

The outbreak of the French Revolution with its accompanying excesses acted further as a set-back to the enthusiasm which had become so noticeable among the English

people in favour of the abolition movement in 1787 and 1788. Such was the fear awakened in their mind by the iconoclastic activities of the French revolutionaries, that maintenance of the *status quo* became henceforward their one objective. The idea of the usefulness of any kind of reform was now scouted and every attempt to modify the existing arrangement of things was discouraged and even condemned as Jacobinical. However moderate and within bounds the zeal for reform might be, it was sure to be traced to French inspiration and identified with French ambition. Under the circumstances the reforming and philanthropic enthusiasm of the people touched the freezing point. Even Pitt who had encouraged Wilberforce to take up the cause of the abolitionists and was himself imbued to a great extent with reforming ambition gradually turned his back on the abolitionists. His great speech in 1792 in favour of the immediate abolition of slave trade, a speech which electrified the House and "which Fox, Windham and Grey concurred in pronouncing to be one of the most extraordinary displays of eloquence," was practically his Swan song, so far as the reforming movement was concerned. After this he was engrossed so much in fighting the revolutionary and the Napoleonic scourge, that he had no time to waste on any futile attempt at internal reform.

The abolitionists who thought that they were almost at their journey's end in 1788-89 gradually receded further and further from their appointed goal. The atmosphere of the Parliament became positively hostile and the public outside who had sent petition after petition in earlier days for immediate abolition now gave scarcely a response to the appeals of the anti-slave trade leaders. Wilberforce, however, was not dismayed by this coolness on the part of his parliamentary friends and this *volte-face* on the part of the general public. He continued to plough his lonely furrow. He took counsel with some other sturdy spirits who were working on behalf of the same cause outside the Parliament. Zachary Macaulay, the father of the historian and statesman, Thomas Clarkson and James Stephen were some of his in-

defatigable associates in this crusade against slave trade. For about a dozen years Wilberforce and his colleagues were practically in the wilderness. It required an uncommon determination and extraordinary patience and earnestness to keep the flag of abolition flying during these trying years when public opinion was hostile and the Government stolidly indifferent to the cause, but with the accession of Fox to office in 1806, better days returned. The fruit of patient waiting was now to be borne. A law was passed almost at once which made it illegal for British traders to import slaves into a foreign colony. It could now be confidently expected that this measure would soon be followed by a general abolition law. But the optimism thus created in the abolitionist circle was damped for a time by the death of Fox. Fortunately for Wilberforce, Lord Grenville was earnest in the matter and took counsel with him almost constantly on the subject. The result was the measure of 1807 which for ever banned slave trade by British merchants. How far was this final triumph due to the efforts and devotion of Wilberforce can be gauged from the references that were made to him in course of the debate on this Bill. Sir Samuel Romilly referred to "the honoured individual who would that day lay his head upon his pillow and remember that the slave trade was no more." This remark roused the House of Commons to a loud applause, an applause which according to the Bishop of London was scarcely ever before given to any man sitting in his place in either House of Parliament.

Up till this time Wilberforce and his colleagues had wisely limited their efforts to the abolition of slave trade and had not spoken much as to slavery itself. They knew that if they demanded the abolition of slavery also, the number of their opponents would be increased and their task would be made more difficult still. Now that the slave trade had been proscribed, they took up in earnestness the question of abolishing slavery. The pleasure of piloting the Bill which did away finally with this institution was of course not his. He had to retire from Parliament in 1825. But it pleased

merciful Providence to allow him so much breath as to know before his senses failed him that slave trade had been given its death blow. Only three days before his death on the 29th of July, 1833, he heard

that the second reading of the bill for the abolition of slavery had passed the House of Commons. The mission of his dedicated life was fulfilled.

## POSITION OF INDIAN STUDENTS IN NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMANY

By TARAK NATH DAS, Ph. D.

I have read the account of the very regrettable experience of Mr. Nambiar in Berlin, during the early days of the National Socialist Revolution in Germany. During the progress of revolution in a country, it always happens that tens of thousands of foreigners may live in peace, while a few may become victims of excesses. It is also a fact that no individual, no private organization, not even a powerful foreign government can assure absolute security to any individual during the march of revolution in a country. Therefore the unfortunate experience of Mr. Nambiar should be regarded as an exception and not the general experience of the Indian community in Germany.

During the last seven years I have devoted considerable time and energy in promoting cultural co-operation (not political agitation) between Germany and India. I may say that during the same period I have done considerable work in promoting cultural co-operation between Germany and America, Italy and India, etc. I was not in Germany during the early days of the National Socialist revolution. I only returned from Italy to Munich in April last. However, even during my absence from Germany, I have kept in constant touch with Indian students in German university centres—Königsberg, Kiel, Berlin, Bonn, Dresden, Leipzig, Hanover, Jena, Cologne, Heidelberg, Freiberg, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Tübingen, Munich, Nuremberg, etc. So far my knowledge goes, I may say that Indian students in Germany are neither molested nor discriminated against.

During the last week I have received letters from Indian students in Kiel, Königsberg, Cologne, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Heidelberg and Nuremberg. These students are carrying on post-graduate studies on various subjects—medicine, engineering, chemistry, commerce and philology; and every one of them expresses complete satisfaction with the kind treatment accorded to him by the German public, students and professors. Dr. Jogesh Chandra Gupta, M.D., who is now carrying on special researches on heart diseases, in the university clinic of Heidelberg and Dr. Bibek Mohan Sen Gupta, M.D., who is carrying on higher studies and researches in the field of gynæcology in the university hospital of Kiel, both write to me that they have been given extraordinary facilities for their work; and in their whole experience as students they have never received greater co-operation from the professors they have in various German universities and hospitals. Therefore from my personal experience and from the experience of many *bona fide* Indian students in German universities, it may be safely asserted that worthy Indian scholars are always welcome in German universities.

In the past I have emphasized the point that Indian students in foreign countries should devote their best energy for acquiring such knowledge as will be most useful in raising *Indian national efficiency*, and refrain from participating in any political movement. I wish further to emphasize now that Indian students should not take part in internal or international politics of

the country where they are carrying on their higher studies. To be sure, they should study "international relations," but they must not meddle in politics which may be objectionable to the authorities. Indian students and visitors in foreign countries should remember that while enjoying the hospitality of a country, they have a self-imposed obligation of not to participate in any activity which might be remotely construed as an "unfriendly act" towards the country they are visiting.

I wish to assert that whatever may be the tendency of the "foreign policy" of National Socialist Germany, it is certain that the German people in general, especially German

educators, are not unfriendly to Indian students. It is a fact that Indian students have been welcome in Germany and those Indians students who do their best in acquiring all that is best in German educational institutions will always receive every consideration.

Lastly I wish to say that with my family I have been in Germany since April 16th, when the National Socialist revolution is in progress. We have never been interfered with and we have received nothing but kind treatment from the German people.

Baden-Baden  
Germany  
June 23, 1933.

## THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

By KARUNA MITTER

**P**ERHAPS it is too early yet to view the recent upheaval in Germany in remote perspective—a task that falls naturally to the historian's rôle. Yet the authenticity of some facts—the more important ones—are probably better judged by the contemporary chronicler by sifting the vast mass of evidence which gives a new turn to the trend of arguments and reveal an apparently true official version to be the palpable falsehood of official propaganda.

It is strange how often we are called upon to verify the old theory that history repeats itself. And it is all the more strange that great events have a tendency to repeat themselves in other countries in different settings but with the same historical background and, sometimes, yielding identical results. It would not be stretching our analogy too far if the recent Hitlerite *coup d'état* in Germany were said to recall to mind the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon on December 2, 1851. In France, at the beginning of 1848, the Revolution had overthrown the monarchy, proclaimed a republic and granted universal suffrage to

the masses. But the new holders of power—the people—were little prepared for the task, little convinced as to their power, and little desirous of making use of it. They had more faith in the authority of the past than of the present, and, therefore, chose as the head of the new State a man who bore a name that had become famous as the founder of an empire. Post-war Germany enacted the same drama, but with how much more suffering and empty show it is difficult to say. After the Revolution there was in Germany the same conflict between the radical and reactionary forces, and in 1918-19 the same elements triumphed that carried the day in 1848.

A more detailed examination will serve to make clear the rise of the forces of reaction that finally triumphed through the counter revolution of 1933. The men who seized power from the soldiers and workers in the streets of Berlin in November were little equipped to hold fast that power themselves. Hence the appeal for help to the old military chiefs resulting in the transition of power, at first only a part of it—from the masses to



the men of the old regime. The history of the fourteen years following the declaration of the Weimar Republic on June 3, 1919, points to the same weakness on the part of the Reich parties that took the leading part in the Government as that which characterized Friedrich Ebert and his colleagues during the Revolution days.

It is nothing short of a paradox that on the same day the Weimar Republic was inaugurated formally by the Convention, sanction was given for constituting the Reichswehr with men from the Imperial army. Under the leadership of von Schleicher the newly created Reichswehr became a replica of the old Army with the control resting in the hands of the military chiefs nominally under Reinhardt. So when Ebert asked von Seeckt after the Hitler-Kahr episode: "And the Reichswehr, General? Does it stand with the Government or with Bavaria?" He met with the blunt reply: "The Reichswehr stands with me, Mr. President."

It was inevitable, as it were, that the influence of the military machine, and with it of all the anti-liberal forces, should grow to even greater proportions under the Hindenburg regime. Paradoxically again, a Republic which owed its birth primarily to a desire for peace, put the Field Marshal of the Empire at the helm of the State after President Ebert's death. This—glaring contradiction no doubt; but post-War Germany is so full of them that it suffices to bewilder even the keenest of observers.

Then again, the persistent fear of Communism blinded the Weimar parties to the continuance of the forces of reaction; and the combined attack of all parties in the Reich on the only party, the Communists, that represented the proletarians, emphasized the tendency towards the Right. This tendency, the potentialities of which were questioned only yesterday, so to say, but are proven today by the fact of the Nazi dictatorship was ignored. Even the Socialists fought the Communists tooth and nail throughout, and failed to establish that contact which was so essential for the continued existence of both the parties. This is not to say that a common political platform for the two parties, one of which was merely reformist in its

aims while the other professed its faith in an all-engulfing revolution directed toward the uprooting of the whole social edifice, was possible; neither was it desirable from the two separate party standpoints. Yet, given the will, it was possible to establish co-ordination of efforts in spheres of common interests and aims without jeopardizing, for a considerable period, each other's independence. What now appears incredible in the light of the common plight of the two socialist movement groups only happened in November last when, in Berlin, the transport strike was led by the Communists and Nazis against the opposition of the regular trade unions manned by the Socialists. The explanation would seem to lie in the fact that though the Social Democratic party largely derived its support from the well-organized and powerful workingmen's trade unions, its membership has been more largely made up of old and middle aged members to which and to bourgeois leadership (as in the case of a section of the British Labour movement) is to be ascribed its mild and ineffective policy. Thus the Nazis' capacity to seize power would appear to be the cumulative effect of a class struggle spread over the whole post-Revolution period. Hitler first attracted notice because of the capacity of his organized forces for harassing the workers, which was remarkable. The industrial capitalists of Germany, mainly the Thyssen and Rhineland industrialists, who saw an unexpected advantage in the new movement, readily provided him with the sinews of war. Supporters were not confined to Germany only: large funds were forthcoming from a great American industrialist—who had reasons of his own—to further Nazi propaganda, which had anti-Semitism for one of its cardinal aims. Hitler made the best use of the money subscribed to gather the discontented unemployed young men round his banner by providing them with soup, shirt, and bed. These Brown Shirts, as they were called, were used to beat up labour leaders and workingmen and sack trade union buildings or any place flying the red flag. This class war earnestly pursued by the Nazis masquerading in the garb of a movement for "national regeneration" received

a big impetus from another source—the most important one—namely, the bourgeois element in society—that class which came to grief from the ruin of the old mark.

Now it is a remarkable fact that in spite of the incomplete character of the post-war Revolution which hardly brought satisfaction to anybody, if it did not actually create anew a widespread feeling of political insatiation, the early years of the Republic were comparatively free from turmoil while the Governments were yet coping with the work of reorganization after the damages wrought by the war. Well then, what brought the later Governments to such a pass when at home and abroad they were able to show a record that to all appearance was satisfactory? First, Stresemann's policy of co-operation and accommodation bore fruit in the Treaty of Locarno and Germany's admission into the League, and promised well to regain for her the pre-war status. Secondly, the currency collapse in the early years and the Lausanne Agreement helped to rid Germany of almost the whole war debt, external as well as internal; and the high reputation of the German people enabled them to contract new loans abroad and reconstruct their homes and their industry on a scale that may well commend itself to many Allied countries. And the social services far from being curtailed were actually extended considerably.

But then, there was, in fact, an essential unreality about this economic recovery and prosperity based as it was on external loans and not on the country's expanding wealth. Germany could afford to maintain her immense working population on a fair standard of living, relying partly on external aid and partly on taxes raised for the purpose until world trade took the way of a descending curve and the source of loans had run dry. Now that the fictitious prosperity was no more, unemployment figures ran to colossal proportions, and trade, industry and agriculture sank more and more into inextricable difficulties. The part of Germany condemned to want revolted; the huge crowd of the out-of-work, the ruined and the desperate swelled the torrents of National Socialism, as National Socialism ascribed the disaster wholly to the

Peace Treaty and to those at home who, it asserted, had acquiesced in it, and promised "revenge" to the "enemies," the "pacifists": the Jew "profiteers," and those "godless internationalists: the gunmen of Moscow" (the Socialists and the Communists).

One calamity brought another. The penalty of the unsoundness of economic policy has been the rise of Adolf Hitler, the Austrian arch-demagogue. Never in the history of an advanced and well-educated people like the Germans, has a political movement initiated and directed by a man so destitute of political wisdom and lacking in sense of responsibility gained so powerful a following. Hitler is by nature incapable of consistent thinking. His early associations were socialist, but he left them disappointed (for his limited intellectual capacities fitted him for no great task in that party) and embraced the obsolescent creed of Fascism: a creed based on the worship of unalloyed force. "Violence is moral, when it is sudden as a storm, surgical, knightly," said his master Mussolini many years ago, and Hitler has given enough evidence to the world of the immutability of his faith, (for has not his Government, as recently as 8th July last, sent ninety prominent Jewish doctors to "concentration camps"?). But whereas Mussolini had the Italian tradition of Imperial Rome to fall back upon to provide the Italian youth of his day with an ideal with which to fire their imagination, Hitler had none; and so the discredited and dead racial theory had to be exhumed and revived with hate to serve as a motive force. Goebbels, the cleverest and most cynical of the band who as editor of the *Angriff* and then as Minister for National (and International) Enlightenment has provided the driving power of "Brown" terror by his terrible propaganda against the opposing elements and Jews, and who was largely responsible for the official Jewish boycott, is reported to have said to a foreign acquaintance: "Why do you take this race-theory stuff so seriously? Can't you see it is only intended for the people?"

How came such a movement, so fantastic in its follies as in its claims, to gain the upper hand in Reich politics?

From September 1930 (when Brüning's

mistakes led to the first Hitlerite successes in elections) to the time of entering office on January 30, 1933, Hitler's party was remarkable for its pretentious attitude. The bulk of the party created an unenviable situation in the country by their hooliganism. The fundamental weakness of successive Governments (that lay in their minority character) explain the weak-kneed policy they adopted in handling the forces of disorder. Even before the Reichstag elections in July last year, the internal peace of Germany was threatened by a "Fascist civil war," when a temporary ban on Brown Shirt demonstrations was ordered. But the cure of the crisis lay in other directions. The failure\* of all "presidential cabinets" to formulate an economic plan that could command a majority in Reichstag finally hoisted Hitler to power. This fact should not be interpreted to mean that there was no other alternative to putting the Hitlerites in power. But if the Socialists, the Communists, or men like Brüning or Schleicher who inclined towards a socialistic programme were to be kept out of the Government then clearly it must be admitted the choice was restricted as between Hitler and Papen. What is important to note is that Hindenburg in the last years of the Republic became increasingly susceptible to the reactionary influence of his own class—the Junkers, at whose instance he threw overboard Brüning in March 1932 and Schleicher in January 1933 on account of their Land Settlement Policy. Further, this capitulation to Junker influence stood in the way of his inviting the Social Democrats, creators of the Weimar Constitution, who held the largest number of seats in parliament; and so by persistently refusing them power (presumably on the ground of 'Marxist danger') Hindenburg acted in a manner hard to defend and forced a vast section of the electorate to go over to Fascism in July, 1932. For to the German voters (so disgusted with the vacillation and the drifting policy of the successive Govern-

ments) no middle course was left open and salvation seemed to lie in extremism. Naturally the Nazis more than doubled their votes and the Communists raised their strength, both at the cost of the smaller parties, while the Social Democrats had retained practically all their seats.

The July elections revealed Hitler's popularity with a vast section of Germans. But, after all, the whole country had not gone Nazi. The concrete fact remained, notwithstanding the preposterous Nazi claims to the contrary, that only 37 per cent of the polled votes had been cast in favour of the Nazis. That constituted no title of right for the Nazis to be recognized as the sole representatives of the nation to the exclusion of others. Neither was there, at that time, the least chance of a turn of the wheel in their favour, for the movement weakest in its fundamental principles had little prospect of being taken seriously by the majority of the nation's voters. But the acts of the non-Nazi leaders served to make up for the inherent weakness of the movement. Yielding to a temptation for power and influenced by Nazi demands, Papen dealt a heavy blow to Social Democracy by his contemptuous dismissal last July of the Prussian Government. And again when the country was becoming sick of Nazi methods, of which the Heuthen murder was only a passing but illustrative episode, resulting in the loss of two million votes in November, and National Socialism rent with defeat and internal dissensions was in full process of disintegration, Papen to save himself from the consequences of his "palace" intrigues pitchforked Hitler into office.

The fact that Hitler was in a hopeless minority inside his cabinet and bound down by a "pledge" did not prevent him from usurping the fullest power and steadily elbowing out his Nationalist colleagues whom he baffled out of their wits by the very rapidity of his actions. By the consummate skill of his demagogy he created such an atmosphere of enthusiasm and hatred that Nazism has been likened to a "religious revivalism" by many impartial observers. Certainly the Nazi movement has been in the nature of a "religious revival" if we can so call

\* This is not strictly true, as Brüning and Schleicher were not given opportunity to appeal to the country on the strength of their economic programme, though immediately after the latter had vacated office the same permission was accorded to Hitler.

the resurgence of the old "Prussian" spirit. There can be no doubt that old Prussianism is again in the air. But it has degenerated through Nazi dogma and practice into a worse form because the seeds of hatred for the Jews and those Germans—more than half the whole nation—who do not see eye to eye with them have been introduced in it by the Nazis. Their universal propaganda for "ruthlessness" against, and "relentless extermination" of the "enemies" now includes the greater part of the German nation! The Nazis have arrogated to themselves a position in which they, by right (!) are the sole custodians of the nation's honour because everybody else according to them are not fully German or patriotic enough to claim those qualities. If the "martial spirit" of the German nation is to help the Nazi agitators to carry on a protracted fratricidal war, then Germany's future, like that party's future, is very black indeed.

With the setting up of a cabinet made up of more conservative elements than any previous government, Germany entered upon a new phase of conflict between the two forces of reaction and revolution. "There can be no middle course here," was Hitler's declaration on February 2 to foreign Press correspondents, "Either the red flag of Bolshevism will be hoisted soon or Germany will find herself again."

So to help Germany "to find herself again" and "to make good the errors of 14 years" of liberty and "licence," Hitler set to work on an extensive programme of terrorism to coerce the whole nation into submission to his aspired dictatorship. It is no use trying over again to describe the extent of the "terror" that followed upon the assumption of full office on January 31. Suffice it to say that not a single report is an exaggerated version. Hitler himself, who for years have incited men to violence with his perorations about "heads that will roll," had to issue repeated calls to discipline and moderation and for cessation of "individual action" before and after the elections. Now that they have grasped with both hands the power they wanted, even the intemperate Nazi leaders feel weary about the ways of their followers. "A warning against unauthorized

activities by individual Nazi groups, arrogating to themselves the functions of Government," states a *Reuter* message dated Berlin July 11, "has been circularized by Herr Frick to all Nazi administrators and 'Storm leaders'."

The "National" Revolution began with a seizure of power on an all-embracing front. What the *Times* Berlin correspondent has described as "brilliant staff work" was due to the very sanguinary methods of the Nazis, that brooked no opposition, and the police were pressed into service in making that organized violence on thousands of unarmed citizens more effective. Further, all means of propaganda were monopolized by the State and directed towards a necessary and most desirous end—the winning of the elections of March 5. One may well wonder why Hitler—a man of most serious temperament—ever went in for such farce (for the "free" elections were nothing else) when he could easily have, as subsequent history proves, delegated to himself all the powers of a dictator. Probably it was a most needful step, for he wanted his dictatorship to be supreme and not dependent upon the will of his Nationalist allies, and to mask its true character (resting on sheer force) by a "legal" sanction behind it—a weakness which no tyrant in modern history has been able to overcome. Perhaps it was also a way to make the military at the disposal of Hindenburg and his friends ineffective, for once the electorate had given Hitler an overwhelming "mandate," no soldiery could feel courageous enough to take up arms against him.

The outstanding incident of the elections was the Reichstag fire: an act of incendiarism by an agent of the Nazis which served for a pretext finally to muzzle the whole Socialist and Communist Press and arrest all the Communist leaders and ban every propaganda—in short, in breaking the Communist machine just before the elections. The fire and the carefully prepared Nazi story about its Communist origin and the "Communist plot" served to stampede the politically ignorant and gullible sections of the voters to Nazi support.

Why could not Hitler embark upon a



peaceful era of parliamentary government with his clear majority lasting at least four years which is the period he originally asked for on Feb 2, and then await further support on the strength of his achievements? Why did he depart from his promise? Because, he knew, not in every state—which were autonomous before his Unification Act—could his methods succeed and elements of strong opposition would remain. Further, knowing as he must that mass opinion is an ever-changing quantity and therefore cannot be relied upon indefinitely, he has shackled and dispossessed the very power that provided him with an excuse for his usurpation of unlimited power. Hope never dies, and in men like Hitler it only increases with time: we now have it on his infallible authority that the Nazi State and Nazism will last for centuries!

Having won the elections gloriously and suppressed every vestige of individual liberty, Hitler proceeded to build for himself a legend—a romantic and colourful story of the establishment of the "Third Reich." The "Victory" parades, the torchlight processions by night, the elaborate pageantry of Potsdam, the May-day demonstrations were calculated to keep engaged the popular mind and not give it an opportunity to dwell on results. That is why, to prevent a dearth in this series of public entertainments (and partly from a necessity to provide employment to Nazis) the Jewish boycott was launched officially early in April.

Looking for signs of constructive statesmanship of Hitler and his associates five months after the establishment of the much-advertised "Third Reich" we are sadly disappointed. Though—it is no use denying—anything else was not to be expected, for in exploring National Socialism one looks in vain for traces of sound political philosophy. Its philosophy of the Corporate State is confusing and the principles mutually contradictory. The economics of National Socialism envisages an order where the whole force of social power is deliberately organized and planned so as to serve the common welfare, because "the general welfare is the highest law of all." It objects to the plutocratic society in which State policy is

controlled by capitalist or banking interests. Thus it demands the "abolition of incomes unearned by work" and its principle is stated as follows: "Finance shall exist for the benefit of the State; the financial magnates shall not form a State within the State. Hence our aim is to break the thralldom of interest." (Feder). But to achieve this end it is not proposed to abolish private property or nationalize the means of production, distribution and exchange or seek to run them exclusively by the servants of the State, so it must retain the service and initiative of those who are responsible for the creation of the existent industry, agriculture and the transportation and distribution systems. Originality indeed! Finally, to eliminate the conflict of the clashing interests (it recognizes them) it will substitute its all powerful dictatorship for the freedom of democracy which gives scope for struggle—such as one which has resulted in the loss of freedom of tens of millions of Germans. That is the doctrine of National Socialism—a mockery at the social and political thought of centuries in which the highest intellect of all ages have been absorbed. The whole thing would have been ridiculous had it not been for the reality of Nazi dictatorship—a piece of accomplished fact in Germany, which turns it into what it is, a tragedy of mediocre leadership.

What is the position in detail in Germany today? Is the Hitlerite regime safe from danger? What does the future hold in prospect for it? Any danger to the "Third Reich" may materialize from two sources: nationalist rebellion and proletarian revolution.

Having been deprived of the so-called peaceful means of class struggle—trade unions and parliament—the Socialist movement is bound to be driven underground and prepare there for the violent overthrow of the Government. German Social Democracy having received almost the same treatment as their rivals the Communists at the hands of their common enemies the Nazi is bound to veer round in the direction of the revolutionary theory of the Third International. If the solidarity of

the two party sections of the working class movement is established then and then only can there be any prospect for Socialism. But the present indications are that the two movements have failed to come nearer because of the very nervous leadership of Social Democracy which even felt afraid of declaring a general strike, on the lines of the one that defeated the Kapp *putsch* in 1920, in February when Hitler had not had time yet to consolidate his power.

The plight of all parties inside and outside the Cabinet is pitiable. First, Herr Seldte, chief of the Stahlhelm was disgraced by the forced dissolution of that organization though he tried in vain to plead with Hitler and promised his allegiance to him by accepting him as his leader. But this did not melt the heart of the leader and so far nothing has been heard about organizing the obligatory Labour Battalions as that might strengthen the hands of this new convert. Secondly, Hugenberg the mighty magnate was recalled from the World

Economic Conference (where his impudent proposal for the return of German colonies and concessions of territories was repudiated by the rest of the delegation) in greater disgrace and resigned. Thirdly, the virtual dissolution of the Centre party of Brüning makes an end of all parliamentary parties. Only Papen remains and will only remain, perhaps, during the pleasure of Hitler notwithstanding Papen's close associations with Hindenburg. The reason why Papen still enjoys a more privileged status than others may be due to his part in making Hitler Chancellor. So as days go by the chances of a Nationalist *coup d'état* and a monarchical restoration become thinner. Evidently then Hitler and his friends can look forward to merry time for many years to come, say a decade, if there be a general recovery of world trade, so that in spite of the alienation of the world Jewry German trade and industry may recover from its present plight.

## IMAGE GAY

By VERRIER ELWIN

There was a boy whose merry air  
Defied all poverty;  
His happy laughter, free of care,  
Ignored his misery.

Holding his brother, night and day,  
He nursed the little boy;  
His hunger he forgot in play,  
His nakedness in joy.

One day at dinner time he had  
Some bread and rice to eat,  
So hungry that his heart was glad  
At the unusual treat.

But as he went to share the meal,  
A dog jumped up in play,

And from his band did quickly steal  
The food, and ran away.

Aghast I watched the scene, in fear  
Of angry word or cry,  
But only laughter could I hear  
At the dog's trickery.

The hungry boy, his meal denied,  
With laughter filled his heart;  
How clever was the dog, he cried,  
To steal with so much art.

Children of sorrow, brave and strong,  
Strong as the hills above,  
So triumph over every wrong  
With courage crowned by love.

# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**LAW AND PRACTICE OF LIFE ASSURANCE AND PROVIDENT INSURANCE IN INDIA:** By Taradas Dutt, M.A., B.L., Advocate High Court, Calcutta. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., 15, College Square, price Rs. 8.

In this book an attempt has been made to present a concise and connected statement of the law of life assurance, as it obtains in India, in its various aspects. Though there are several standard English books on the subject, yet in view of the several points of difference in the laws of contract and transfer and in the personal laws, in England and in India, there is enough room for a book of this nature. The rapid growth of life assurance in this country has brought many legal problems requiring solution to the forefront, but with the exception of the bare Act of 1912 and the rules there has not been till the publication of this book any work of reference which might guide lawyers and insurance workers in the solution of many knotty problems of law that might crop up with the growth of life assurance business. The want for a book of this kind was, therefore, keenly felt and we congratulate the author on his coming forward to remove this want.

The book is divided into two parts: Part I deals with laws relating to life assurance and part II deals with those concerning provident insurance. It not only supplies, as a law book should, technical information and reported cases of considerable interest, but it also gives a lucid exposition of the subject of life assurance with its practice prevailing in this country. The author has discussed life assurance and provident insurance from all view-points. The entire Act No. VI of 1912 and the rules made by the Governor-General-in-Council for the guidance of life assurance have been reproduced and explained. The entire Act V of 1912 relating to provident insurance has also been similarly treated. Moreover, the rules made by the various provincial Governments have been collected and interpreted. The book will be of great

help to lawyers and insurance men and is a very useful publication. The book is very nicely printed and the get-up is excellent.

**THE MAGIC OF NUMBERS:** By Utimchand Gangaram. To be had at the Bombay Bakery, Hyderabad, Sind.

This is a leisure-hour pamphlet dealing with magic squares and magic charms. The major portion of the work deals with the formation of magic squares. The whole thing depends on a process of ingenious arrangement which requires great mental skill. The second part on "charms" deals with arithmetical calculations by mental process. The work is meant for leisure-hour recreation and we are sure that retired people with ample leisure will derive much pleasure out of the riddles and puzzles contained in the pamphlet.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

**BOMBAY & THE SIDIS:** By D. R. Banerji, M.A., L.L.B. Macmillan & Co.

This is an enlarged and revised edition of a thesis which Mr. Banerji had submitted to Bombay University for the degree of M.A. The author has divided his bulky volume of nearly 500 large-size pages into two sections in the first of which he has attempted a historical narrative describing the relations of the British Power at Bombay with the Sidis of Janjira and Surat; the second section is made up of 334 original English documents unearthed from the old Secretariat records of the Bombay Government, mostly bearing on the development of the British influence on the west coast during a period of 170 years commencing from A. C. 1669. This latter part of Mr. Banerji's compilation is indeed of great service to the history of British India, since the only available source of information on the subject was the antiquated volume of Anderson published so far back as 1856 and Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*. Wading through a mass of old manuscript files is a task requiring labour and patience, and this Mr. Banerji has creditably performed. The Bombay records are indeed too huge to be properly sifted by

a single worker and would even now require for their study the labours of many more scholars. Mr. Banerji has made a welcome addition to the historical sources dealing with a particular phase of British-Indian activities in and about Bombay.

The author's treatment materially suffers from his ignorance of the Marathi language in which a vast amount of useful material has been published; nor has he cared to study and utilize other materials which exist on the subject of his theme. No correct historical perspective can be obtained, unless a worker carefully synthesizes the movements and doings not only of the British and the Sidis, but also of the Maratha Powers like the Angrias, the Peshwas and their agents, the imperial Mughals, the Portuguese and others, who were all simultaneously contending for supremacy in that region. Unless the whole tangle of affairs connected with all these Powers and with the Marathas in particular is properly cleared, no correct historical treatment is possible. Mr. Banerji should have given at least a full list of the Sidi rulers of Janjira with their dates in order to facilitate a proper grasp of his intricate narrative bristling with many curious names. The failure of the Marathas to subjugate the Sidis is indeed due to the support the latter always received from the British with their established base at Bombay. The Sidis, therefore, form a constant factor of Maratha politics and cannot be adequately treated without a clear study of the Marathi historical papers. If Mr. Banerji even now undertakes to study that language, he will, one may be sure, in course of time attain the honour of being recognized as the expert in this particular branch of Indian history.

X. Y. Z.

THE SACRED KURAL: *H. A. Popley, B. A., Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta. Cloth, Rs. 2, Paper Re. 1-4-0. 120 pp. 1931.*

This is an important addition to the well-known and useful Heritage of India series issued from time to time by the Association Press and the stamp itself is a guarantee of useful and interesting information.

The Kural or Tamil Veda is a book, not for any select coterie but for the consumption of all mankind. It deserves widespread recognition. The translator claims acquaintance with the original for about thirty years by now, which with the New Testament, shared his attention and occupied his devotion. Mr. Popley has generously taken up the task (which must have been a pleasure to him) of culling choice couplets from it and making them accessible to those who use the language of England as the medium.

It is not a complete translation of the Veda, but gives the reader an idea of the sense of the couplets of different topics. Tiruvalluvar, the poet, wise and true, as Pope called him, was a generous soul; his expressions are terse, but they are founded on an idealistic conception of life which has suffered no dimness in its contact with the work-a-day world.

There are explanatory notes on the verses translated, pointing out similarities and differences with the other great books of the world and comparing other translations, followed by a bibliography and an index, both of which will be of much use to the reader. The translation is prefaced by a full introduction which discusses the historical background of the poet as well as the place occupied

by his work in the life and thought of the Tamil people.

Some remarks are necessary with regard to some of Mr. Popley's observations in the introduction. Accepting the date of the Kural as fixed within certain limits, which the author lays down, how can it be described as influenced by Manu? If the Tamil Veda had been composed between the second and the sixth centuries, could the *Manusamhita* have influenced it, by any manner or means, as the translator suggests? We appreciate also Mr. Popley's honesty of opinion, that however Christian Tiruvalluvar's views might have been, a positive Christian influence it is impossible to establish, and that for historical reasons. Thirdly, there is an attempt to hold Aryan ideas to blame for the subordinate position of women in society; but this is to ignore that the Aryans looked upon women with great respect, and the loving service ungrudgingly rendered by the wife to the husband is certainly no sign of her subordinate position; as well might the money earning item of the husband's business be treated as such. Fourthly, it is not correct to say that there is no accent in Indian metre, because it is too sweeping a statement. In Bengali the verse follows the lead of the accent. Fifthly, Aryan conventions have been deprecated in favour of the love of nature distinguishing Tamil verse; it may be mentioned, however, that classical language becomes conventionalized when it has become classical, and that so long as the vernaculars are neglected they will display freshness in imagery while Sanskrit much less so.

In spite of these, it may safely be declared that such a book will help its readers to realize India's past greatness and will serve indeed as one of the keys to the heritage of India.

DR. ANNIE BESANT:—*A Short Biography by C. Jinarajadasa, 1932.*

Dr. Besant has been living a full life, a life full of deeds. Her contribution to Indian education, Indian politics and the philosophical synthesis of religious opinion, through theosophy, has been considerable as well as full of significance. She will be completing her 86th year by October next, and though her late years are rich in honour, this brochure will serve to stimulate public memory into a graceful appreciation of her beneficent activity. A detailed biography will be received with delight, for it will reveal many strands which are now lost to view and link this world figure to great currents which course through the world.

We feel constrained to observe that in the comparison sketched between Gandhiji and Mrs. Besant, the former has not been fairly treated inasmuch as so far as his breaking of laws goes, it is only non-moral laws that have been considered to be subjects for campaign and even of such non-moral laws, selection has to be made by a general body of persons, and not relegated to the discriminatory power of any individual, however august and exalted; this aspect of the situation has been left out.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

FROM YERVADA MANDIR: *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Jivaji Desai, price two annas. P'cap, 8vo., p. 97.*

When Mahatmaji was in jail in 1930, he wrote out a series of letters to the inmates of his Ashram dealing with such subjects as Truth, Non-possession,



Chastity, Sacrifice, etc. In them he gave practically the fullest expression of the philosophy of which his life is only a practical illustration. The importance of these letters cannot, therefore, be overstated. The letters were first published in the unauthorized issues of the *Young India* during 1930. They then appeared in book-form in several vernaculars. We were eagerly awaiting an issue of the English translation and must now thank the publisher for having made them available to us. The translation has had the advantage of being revised by Mahatmaji himself.

We would like to suggest to the publisher to bring out a smaller-sized edition, preferably in Crown 16mo, so that it might be readily carried about in one's pocket like the Gita.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**PEARLS OF THE FAITH, OR ISLAM'S ROSARY :** By Sir Edwin Arnold, M. A., K. C. I. E., C. S. I. Published by T. S. Swaminathan, M.A., B.L., Advocate, Madras.; Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 2-8.

Sir Edwin Arnold is best remembered here in India as the author of that beautiful poem on the life of Gautama Buddha—the Light of Asia. Perhaps the most beautiful metrical translation of the Bhagavad-Gita is Sir Edwin's *The Song Celestial*. He completed his Indian trilogy of religious poems by the book under review.

The pious Muhammadan in the sacred month of Ramjan celebrates the glory of the Allah by reciting His 99 beautiful names. The book consists of poems woven round the 99 names of the Allah, each poem drawing upon some Islamic tradition well known to the Indian Muhammadan.

The book was originally published in 1883, and has been long out of print. Mr. Swaminathan has done a service by republishing it. In republishing it he has tried to produce a facsimile reprint of the original edition. It should be in the hands of every cultured Indian—Hindu or Muhammadan; in the hands of the Hindu for the better appreciation of all that is best in the Islamic traditions; in the hands of the Muhammadan for the direct touch in which it brings him with some of the most beautiful incidents narrated in the Qur'an, or in the Hadith, and as a corrective to his usual narrow bigotry. Why the authorities of our universities cannot prescribe it as a text-book for our Intermediate classes at least for its poetry, if not for its cultural reaction on the growing mind of students?

J. M. DATTA

**THOUGHTS FROM RABINDRANATH TAGORE.** Macmillan & Co., London, pp. 207.

This is an admirable collection of thoughts gleaned from the English writings of Rabindranath. The extracts relate to a wide variety of subjects and present fine specimens of the poet-philosopher's inspired visions of the deeper problems of life and death. Couched in Rabindranath's magical English and illumined with the most apposite imageries drawn from the familiar world around us, the thoughts are freed from all philosophical subtlety and impress one as self-evident truths.

The most striking feature of Rabindranath's poetic presentation of philosophical thoughts, as set forth in the volume, is his wonderful exposition of the most profound ideas with extremely simple and commonplace comparisons, drawn from various

spheres of human interest,—music, literature, art, nature. We cannot resist the temptation of citing some examples :

"We are like a stray line of a poem, which ever feels that it rhymes with another line and must find it, or miss its own fulfilment. This quest of the unattained is the great impulse in man which brings forth all the best creations." P. 18.

"It has become possible for men to say that existence is evil only because, in our blindness, we have missed something in which our existence has its truth. If a bird tries to soar in the sky with only one of its wings, it is offended with the wind for buffeting it to the dust." P. 28.

"Pain finds its own music in the notes that joy brings to it from heaven, as the pebbles find theirs from the flow of the laughing stream." P. 65.

"When the ship's hold is full of water, then only does the buffeting of the outside waters become a menace....Obstacles and opposition from without there always will be, but they become dangers only when there are also obstacles and opposition within." P. 71.

"A block of stone is unplastic, insensitive, inert, it offers resistance to the creative idea of the artist. But for a sculptor its very obstacles are an advantage and he carves his image out of it. Our physical existence is an obstacle to our spirit...And therefore it is the best material for our soul to manifest herself through it." P. 95.

"A teacher can never truly teach unless he is still learning himself. A lamp can never light another lamp unless it continues to burn its own flame." P. 135.

The thoughts deal with some of the vital interests of man—pain and pleasure, art, religion, death, immortality. Although the extracts are apparently disjointed, a central unity is imparted to them by a common note that rings through them all,—the note of hope and joy. How heartening is the poet's treatment of the pain and sufferings of life :

"We require ups and downs, however unpleasant they may be, in our life's geography in order to make our thoughts and energies fluently active. Our life's journey is a journey in an unknown country where hills and hollows come in our way unawares, keeping our minds ever active in dealing with them. They do not come according to our deserts, but our deserts are judged according to our treatment of them." P. 70.

"It is pain which is our true wealth as imperfect beings, and has made us great and worthy to take our seat with the perfect....In pain is symbolized the infinite possibility of perfection, the eternal unfolding of joy." P. 145.

"True I also hear the great cry of pain ringing through the universe,—a cry that fills the firmament, the foundation whereon the universe is built, which in Vedic India was called *Krandasi*. This cry, however, is not the tired wail of the defeated, but rather the call of the new-born, thus loudly announcing its advent at the door of the universe, seeking hospitality of the eternal future." P. 147.

The book is divided into five parts, but is hard to discern the principle on which this division has been made. The topics repeat themselves in the different parts although appearing in different garbs. The work would have been improved if a more systematic arrangement of the topics and a collocation of akin subjects were attempted. But even as it is,



it is a valuable publication and should find a place in every library.

P. K. GUHA.

HISTORY OF INDIA C. 150 A.D. TO 350 A.D.  
By K. P. Jayaswal, M. A. (Oxon), *Barister-at-law*.  
Originally published by the Bihar and Orissa  
Research Society and republished by Motilal  
Banarsi Das, Lahore. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 10.

The third century A.D. in the history of India is like a valley of deep gloom separating two illumined peaks: The Maurya and the Gupta imperialisms. Great explorers like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Haraprasad Sastri, Kielhorn and Fleet, have plied their arts, tried their fate and yet failed in bridging over that "Serbonian bog of Indian chronology." No wonder then that the painstaking chronicler, Mr. Vincent A. Smith, gave it up as a bad job, a real blank in the history of India. So it is a matter of real congratulation for the world of Indian scholarship that a Hindu historian, Mr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal, succeeded in flinging the first bridge of understanding. His recent monograph under review would ever shine as a *tour de force* of historical reconstruction. No wonder then that Sir George Grierson, although past ninety, read Mr. Jayaswal's treatise with avidity and congratulated him on his great achievement. India under the *Naga* dynasty (150 A.D.—284 A.D.) as sketched by the author is an altogether new chapter which must be incorporated now into our scheme of history present or future. The *Vakatakas* were no doubt well known for years but they have assumed a new significance, thanks to the *organic* treatment of Mr. Jayaswal who is ever against helpless mutilation and dismemberment of our historical body politic into dissected 'dynasties.' The close relationship between the Nagas and the *Vakatakas* and the history of the latter from 284 A.D.—520 A.D. (later *Vakatakas*), have been worked out with rare industry and historical acumen. The history of Magadha (31 B.C.—340 A.D.) and of Southern India (240 A.D.—350 A.D.) were discussed not only to co-ordinate the newly discovered facts with the known data of our history but also to clarify lots

of obscure points and to throw new lights on old and stereotyped theories:

"The history of the South for the period is really a history of the Northerners in the South both new and old, and of their efforts to introduce and establish a common civilization, *viz.*, that Hinduism which proved so successful at the time in reforming and reviving society in the North. The South becomes so united with the North through these efforts that truly the old definition of *Bhāratavarsha* had to be revised and extended to include the whole of the South. The northern Hindus introduce the language, the script, the worship and the culture in general of the North into the South. They infuse new life into Farther India from there and make history. They make one India by a common culture the legacy of which has come down to us."

That the *Bhārasiva* and *Vākātaka* powers were not ephemeral experiments in dynastic politics but the result of the creative urge of Hindu republican instincts was proved by the author through numerous references to the art creations of the epoch specially through Appendix A. on the "Durcha Pillar and the Nachna and Bhubbhara Temples."

Thus the illusory gloom of the 3rd century A.D. disappears as it were by the magic touch of a historian who had the courage and faith to start work anew with the prayer, 'Lead me from darkness to Light.' And light flowed to illumine and transfigure the whole landscape wherein we see some of the boldest experiments at national solidarity beside which the glamour of Gupta imperialism pale into comparative insignificance. "The *Bhārasiva* Federation was an enlargement of the *Sangha* organization of the Hindu republics. It was a league of equals with a recognized leading power. If the Guptas had experimented that, they would have been better remembered by the Puranic historian." History and Hindu genius were alleged by European scholars to be incompatibles. Mr. Jayaswal has given direct lie to the imputation and redeemed the self-confidence of Hindu scholarship. The book should be in every college university and library of India and abroad.

K. D. NAG

## BENGALI FOLK DANCE IN DELHI

By BIRENDRANATH GANGULI, M. A.

**R**ECENTLY when the Delhi Folk Dance Society announced that they would begin with a display of the traditional folk dances of Bengal there were many sceptics who frankly expressed their serious misgivings. There were some who thought that Bengali folk dances, which are reminiscent of Bengali folk culture and folk ritual, might appear quite exotic and bizarre to non-Bengalis. There were others whose misgivings were due to more fundamental reasons. It was felt that folk dances find their best setting in a primitive agricultural

society, in which everything is celebrated and solemnized with the dance, and consequently they lose their appeal in an environment of higher culture. But cultured people of the town-bred type very often forget, as Colonel Hodson has pointed out, that primitive culture is the matrix of what is known as higher, and that the folk dances of a country have an interest of their own. These doubts and misgivings were set at rest by the actual performances and their re-action upon the cultured crowd which witnessed them. The Bengali folk dances did arouse a good deal



of enthusiasm among non-Bengalis. There was genuine appreciation of their inherent simplicity, vigour and dignity. And for all this the credit goes to Mr. G. S. Dutt, I. C. S., who directed the performances and whose enthusiasm in the cause of folk dances has infected the non-Bengalis of Delhi.

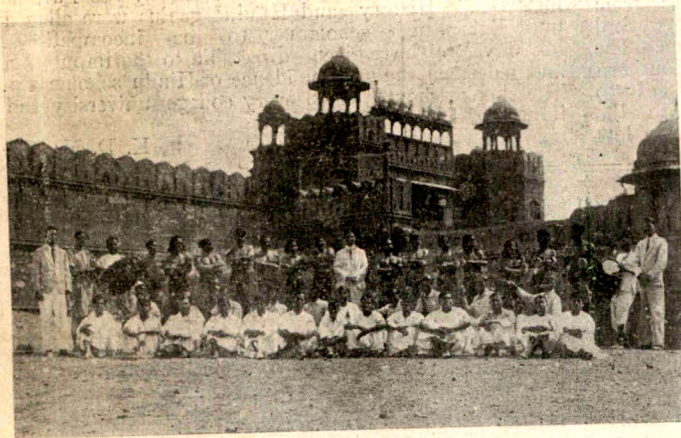
The dances which evoked the greatest enthusiasm were those of the martial type, like the celebrated *Rai Beshe* dance. The *Rai Beshe* dance is a striking example of traditional folk dance which has preserved its pristine purity and vigour. In the *Rai Beshe* dance we find rhythmical movements of the body emphasized by the beating of the drum and the performance on the drum is such as to stimulate delicate muscular activity of a rhythmical kind. The *Rai Beshe* dance is also characterized by a wide range of physical movement. But what attracted us



Jari Dance

of the dancers is of the first importance. Lastly, like every primitive dance the *Rai Beshe* dance is a group-dance. In primitive societies dancing is a general means of enjoyment and often rejoicing, and the survival value of group dancing is that consciously or unconsciously, it is a means of strengthening the social bond. In these days of "community singing," group-dancing ought to have its special appeal as a means of reaffirming social unity and solidarity.

Another characteristic type of martial dance which was also generally appreciated was the *Dhali* dance. This is a type of dance which is found amongst ancient people in all parts of the world. The *Dhali* dance is clearly reminiscent of the martial traditions of the Bengalis before the days of *Pax Britannica*. It embodies in a picturesque manner the agile and vigorous movement of warriors engaged in mortal combat. And the accompaniment as well as the



The Bengali Dancers at Delhi with Mr. G. S. Dutt

most was the dance of the performers' muscles, which seemed to keep time with the throbbing rhythm of the drum, and this combined with the dignity and vigour of the different attitudes and poses of the body had a striking spectacular effect, in spite of the fact that in primitive dancing generally the satisfaction

poses of the dancers expresses beautifully the thrills and surprises of a duel. There is no doubt that characteristic poses and movements of traditional war dances still survive in the western countries. But unfortunately in India we have not paid sufficient attention to the



vigorous movement and bold gestures of Indian folk dances, like the *Rai Beshe* and the *Dhali*, which, if properly revived, are bound to create a new tradition of group-

was the *Jari* dance by a *troupe* of Muhammadan villagers from Mymensingh. This dance was very much appreciated even by those who wanted the flawless steps,



School Students at Delhi receiving instruction in Rai Beshe Dance

dancing amongst men. Mr. Dutt will earn the gratitude of lovers of art if his demonstration and propaganda lead to the introduction of a virile type of dancing amongst men in our country.

The programme also included another interesting variety of dance, *viz.*, the *Kathi* dance. In this dance the dancers hold a short stick in each hand, striking them against those of the neighbouring dancer alternately to right and left. The movement of the body backward and forward and the swaying of hands rhythmically to keep time with the stick produce a very picturesque effect particularly when there is a big group of dancers. This dance is of ancient origin. In classical times it was performed on the classical stage as *Danda Rasa*. We also find it frequently depicted in decorative temple architecture.

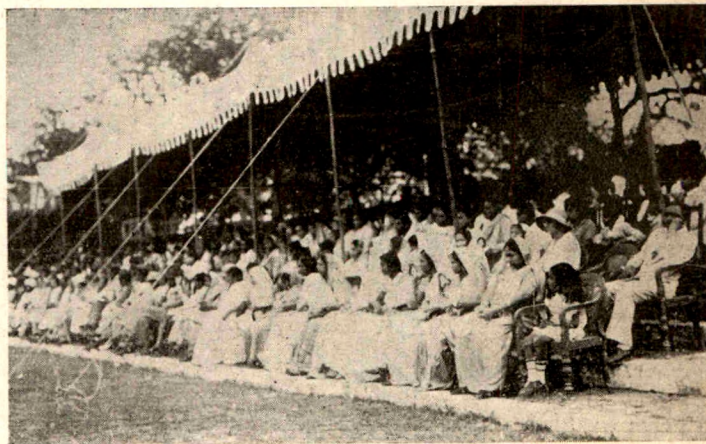
But the *Kathi* dance as demonstrated by the Bengali folk dancers was marked by a striking virility and rhythm of its own which gave it the nature rather of a war dance unlike the usual variety of *Danda Rasa* seen in other parts of India.

Another interesting item of the programme

rhythm, harmony and variety of pose and movement which one finds in sophisticated forms of dancing. In this dance the dancers begin with a nimble capering movement which is sustained throughout; sometimes they sway to and fro, bending and rising, sometimes they advance and retire. The separate rows of dancers move in beautiful curves; they sometimes intermingle and form picturesque groups, but there is no confusion, each

row keeping itself distinct from the other. The specially attractive feature of this dance was the variety of pose and movement and the singularly harmonious total effect of movements which would otherwise appear wild and chaotic.

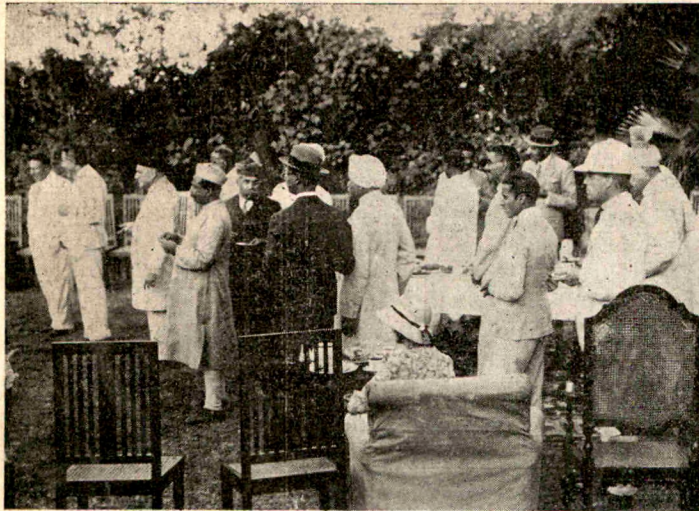
Being the first of their nature in Northern



The Delhi public watching the dances

India, these public demonstrations of folk dances and songs have not only received unbounded praise and admiration but have served to bring the question of educational reform to the plane of a practical problem. The Delhi public immediately realized that the inclusion of these activities in the

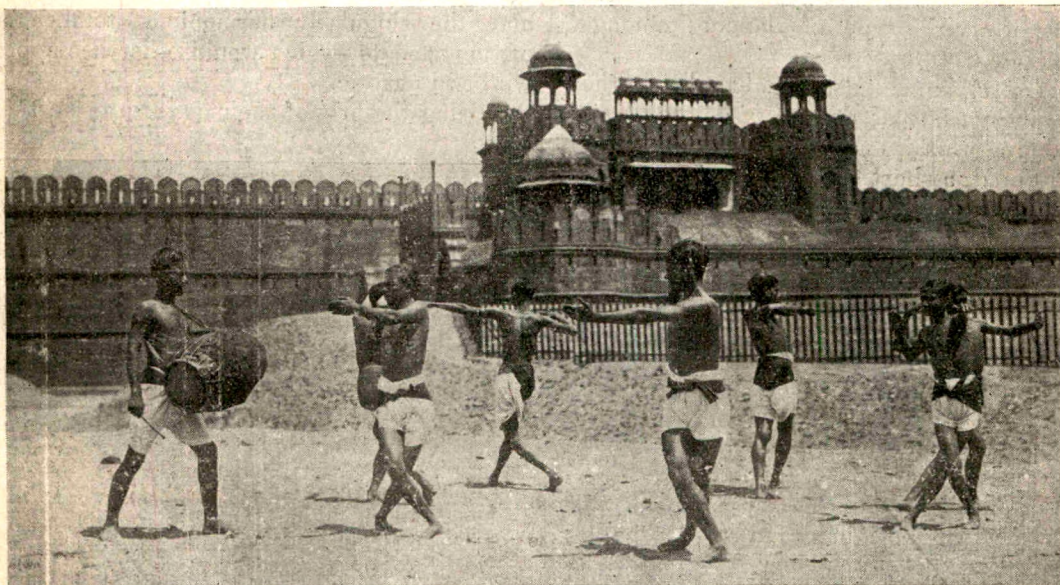




The President and Members of the Indian Legislative Assembly watching the Bengali dances

the leading men from different parts of India who happened to be there at the time to attend the sessions of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, became for the first time conscious of the survival of these beautiful traditional dances and songs and realized the importance of reviving them in their respective provinces.

The teachers and students from the Sultanpur high school in Bengal who also took a prominent part in these demonstrations showed how these various Bengali folk dances could be accurately learnt and perpetuated so as to form a valuable adjunct



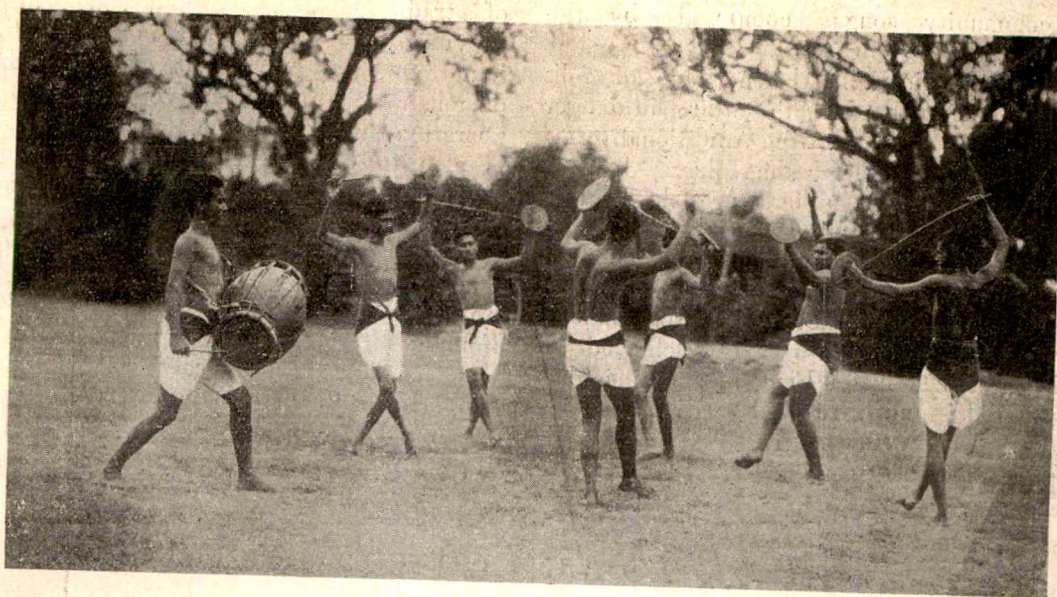
Rai Beshe Dance before the Delhi Fort

educational curriculum was not only feasible but also necessary. And students of several high schools at Delhi had training in some of these dances and songs from the Bengali troupes under Mr. Dutt's personal supervision.

Another result of these demonstrations at Delhi was that the Delhi public as also

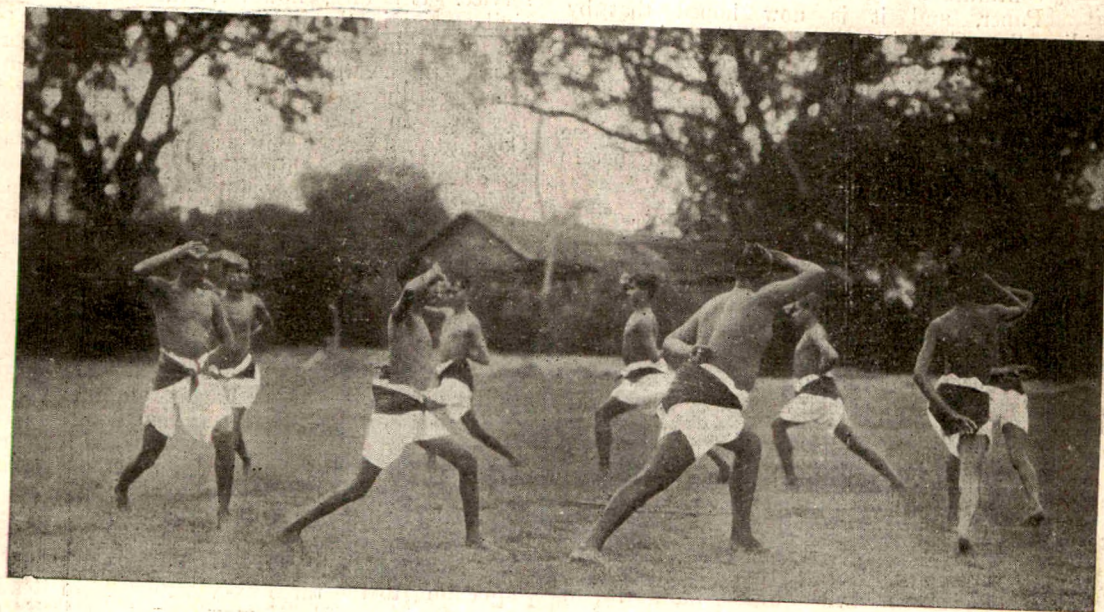
to new educational activities from the point of view of art as well as of physical culture, and the graphic object lesson constituted by their demonstrations was not lost on the large audience of both sexes and of all ages who thronged the various performances held at the hockey ground, at the municipal school, at the Anglo-Arabic College and at





Dhali Dance

the Lady Hardinge Medical College for Women as well as before the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly gathered at the educational horizon had been unveiled by the performances of these Bengali folk dancers." An additional feature of the performances was



Dhali Dance

residence of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. On the last mentioned occasion Sir Cowasji Jehangir expressed the general feeling of the Delhi people when he declared that "a new the demonstration by the students and teachers of the Sultanpur high school of several community dances devised by Mr. Dutt to the accompaniment



of community songs composed by the latter.

India is rich in the heritage of folk dances and songs but these are in danger of dying out. Some of the traditional forms are already extinct—some have become corrupted and the others are slowly disappearing. If organized attempts are begun in the different provinces some of the extant forms may yet be saved and revived to the everlasting advantage of the nation. Mr. Dutt's efforts have achieved a striking success in Bengal and he has discovered and revived various forms

of traditional dances and songs in that province. This movement is of national importance, it is hoped that after the Delhi demonstrations it will receive influential co-operation throughout the country. Mr. Dutt is also to be congratulated on the initial success of his efforts to extend the movement beyond the confines of Bengal and on the establishment of the Delhi Folk Dance Society and the All-India Folk Dance and Folk Song Society of both of which he is the Founder-President. It is to be hoped that these Societies will receive all the public support that they so richly deserve.

## LONDON LETTER

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

### INDIA—THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

**T**HE Joint Parliamentary Committee still continues to take evidence on the White Paper, and it is now hoped that by dividing the Committee into sub-Committees the whole of the evidence may be overtaken by the 4th August. It is hoped that the Chairman's draft Report will be in the hands of the Parliamentary Members of the Joint Committee by the end of October for discussion before presentation to Parliament.

### CONSTITUTION IN THE MELTING POT

The Indian delegates have been rather surprised and not a little shocked to find that notwithstanding the discussions of three Round Table Conferences, and the statements made by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government, the whole question of India's future constitution seems to be in the melting pot. The White Paper has been attacked as "going too far" and the Indian delegates have been put in the position of having to defend it although, from the point of view of India, they feel that it does not go nearly far enough.

### NEWSPAPER MISREPRESENTATION

From the point of view of the public in this country the evidence taken before the Joint Committee has been grossly misrepresented. In some cases a few questions and answers are picked out which are entirely opposed to the whole trend of the evidence, and that is served up to the British public as the line of evidence given before the Joint Committee.

### THE I. C. S.

No one has ever tried to dispute the fact that the I. C. S. is a most able and efficient service. It is also, however, the most costly civil service in the world and has to be paid for by—taking them all over—one of the poorest peoples in the world. The I. C. S. constantly represent themselves as the protectors of the masses. In their evidence before the Joint Committee, therefore, it is rather interesting to note that the chief thing that seems to concern them about India's new proposed constitution is that their pay and pensions must be safeguarded and funds for them set apart whether India thrives or not.

### CHARGES OF NEPOTISM

The European Government servants also do not hesitate to make charges of nepotism against Indians and Sir Patrick Fagan on their behalf said that in his opinion Indian gentlemen had a different standard of conduct from Europeans in office, instancing nepotism, "and things of the kind."

### THREE VICEROYS' EVIDENCE

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru followed this up, appealing to the three ex-Viceroy, Lord Reading, Lord Irwin, and Lord Hardinge, to state if they would inform the Committee of their experience during their terms of office in India. Lord Reading in reply said:

"I do not hesitate—indeed, I am glad to take an opportunity to say that, not only as regards Sir Tej Sapru, but as regards the other Indi



who served with me in the Council, valued members of my Council during my five years of office, none could have been better servants of the Crown than they were, and none could have been more loyal to me; none so far as I know gave occasion for any such charge as is made. I am not speaking of India generally, only of my own experience of those who were with me, and that none more faithfully and loyally kept their own secrets of the Council than the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council in my time."

Lord Irwin associated himself "absolutely and entirely" with Lord Reading. And this was followed up by Lord Hardinge who said that no members of the Council were more loyal in their services and more devoted to the Government of India than his Indian colleagues on the executive Council.

#### A COMMUNAL CANARD

Sir Evan Cotton, in his evidence, said:

"I remember on one occasion there were constant articles in the Indian newspapers asserting that a Muhammadan Member of the Council always made appointments of his own co-religionists."

Sir Abdur Rahim cross-questioned Sir Evan Cotton on this point as he was the only Muhammadan Member of the Executive Council at the time referred to. Sir Evan admitted this and admitted that there was no justification for the assertion in the Indian newspapers. But he said that he had merely given it as an example of the violence of the communal feeling.

Altogether I do not think the European witnesses came very well out of the examination at the hands of the Indian delegates. The printed Minutes of Evidence should certainly be very carefully studied in India.

#### PROPAGANDA NECESSARY

It is a calamity, of course, that there is no Indian organization in this country with funds to enable it to give to the British public a truer and less biased idea of the evidence than is being given. But for many years Indians have held the view that propaganda in this country was useless. Those of us who have been trying to put the Indian point of view before the British public have been tremendously handicapped by this lack of co-operation from India.

#### BURMA

The case of Burma has been entirely shelved and ignored. People in this country are even less interested in Burma than they are in India and articles dealing with Burma's separation from or federation with India are not considered to have good enough "news value" to be worth printing.

#### THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE —CALLING A SPADE A SPADE

If a mixed metaphor will serve, it may be said of the World Economic Conference last

week that President Roosevelt nearly upset the apple cart by calling a spade a spade! This was when he dismissed the advice and recommendations of Mr. Montagu Norman, Doctors Sprague and Schacht and the other gentlemen who preside over our money and destinies, as "the fetishes" of "so-called international bankers."

This contemptuous allusion to the bankers was received with a yell that rent the firmament—and all but rent the Conference. At once the "gold" countries, headed by France, began to spread the impression that it was dead and that no further purpose could be served by pretending to keep it in being. But fortunately great Conferences, like other great undertakings, cannot be destroyed in an instant. Certain formalities have to be gone through. The "gold" countries are not the whole of the Conference. And if it is a simple matter for France, only a few hours removed from any Conference held in Europe, to press for adjournment till a later day, other countries, and notably Japan, may have come twelve thousand miles to take their part.

#### "GOLD" COUNTRIES OUT-VOTED

Accordingly it was decided that the two main Commissions—the Financial and the Economic—should survey the situation and each draw up an agenda of what might still with profit be discussed. At the same time voting took place in the Bureau (which is really the Executive Committee of the Conference and made up of the representatives of sixteen nations) to discover who were for or against continuing the full programme. A scrutiny of the votes is revealing. All the European "gold" countries of course (France, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Holland and Spain) voted against continuing the full programme. But not a single non-European country did so. Japan, China, the Argentine and the United States, all joined Great Britain in voting for continuing the full programme of the Conference.

So, at the moment of writing, it seems that the Conference is to go on. President Roosevelt's quietus to the bankers was not the general quietus though no doubt they would have liked to have it so. It was merely meant to show them their place—and, please Heaven, it has shown us their right perspective.

#### PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE

Since that sudden sharp lesson to the false prophets, the President has issued another statement. This time he addresses himself to the good sense and good will of the nations taking part in the Conference and the tone is masterly. There is a swift summing up of the present intentions and directions of American policy; an appeal for some of that "sympathetic understanding" which America extended to the



great nations of Europe when their currencies depreciated, and to Great Britain and Scandinavia when they went off the gold standard. Implicit throughout is the idea that America is but trying out a course which all desire—the equilibrium of prices and costs—and that if others will try that course also, then will come the time for stabilization.

#### BACK TO THE MACMILLAN REPORT

We have indeed been allowed to forget that America, in launching on her ambitious programme, is but carrying out the recommendations of our own Macmillan Report! America is trying, to raise prices and to raise them by Government action. Listen to the Report on this subject:—"We are emphatically of the opinion that, even if a further fall of wholesale prices be avoided, their stabilization at approximately the present level would be a serious disaster for all countries of the world alike, and that the avoidance of such an event should be a prime object of international statesmanship. . . . In the domestic field it may be necessary to invoke Governmental enterprise to break the vicious circle."

Isn't that what America is attempting to do?

#### GREAT BRITAIN'S INDECISION.

It will be objected, of course, that the Macmillan Report contemplated international action, not action on the part of one great nation only with the inevitable ensuing instability in the exchanges. But the World Economic Conference was to be the golden opportunity of concerting such action and what great nation has leaped at the opportunity? Certainly not our own. We had the Macmillan Report. We knew the Conference was upon us. But for months and months we have been in a paralysis of indecision, unable to give a lead or even to outline a policy. And what has been the result? "One of the chief reasons of the atmosphere of uncertainty which has paralysed the Conference from the beginning," writes one observer, "has been the doubt which hung over the real attitude of the British delegation to all the chief questions before it."

If Britain had followed the recommendations of the Macmillan Report, and had given a lead to the Conference *in advance* and in co-operation with the United States, is there any reasonable doubt that the other nations also would have taken heart of grace and joined in a great effort of public enterprise to restore prosperity?

#### DISCREDITED BANKERS STILL RULE

But Britain is governed by a "so-called international banker," by Mr. Montagu Norman, who prophesies falsely and Whitehall loves to have it so. It might have been thought that the bankers lost all credit in this country in 1931 when in a futile attempt to keep on gold they threw away £50,000,000—"more than a year's

expenditure on old-age pensions, three times as much as we spend on housing grants, nearly as much as is needed for the relief of unemployment." But no. Mr. Montagu Norman still has the ear of the Government. "Whatever the strength of the Treasury's opposition to public works," writes the City Editor of the *Evening Standard*, "that of the Governor of the Bank of England is stronger."

#### RUSSIA'S SUCCESS.

It is a relief to turn to the one man who came to the Conference knowing what he wanted and who went away satisfied—M. Litvinoff. When the history of these post-war years comes to be written, these solitary Bolshevik envoys will stand out strangely from the page. They attend World Conferences as representatives of a kind of government that exists nowhere else in the world. Resented or at best regarded with curiosity by the other delegates, they can never mix with the crowd. To do so would be to bow in the House of Rimmon, to seem to subscribe to all the standards and assumptions which make up the middle class outlook and which to Russia are the very soul of falseness. There is not an enviable or an easy part. To cut yourself off from the herd for the sake of an idea has always been the rarest kind of courage. But M. Litvinoff has that kind of courage and it has brought its own distinction. "M. Litvinoff was a strange and rather impressive figure at the various functions in connection with the Conference," writes "Atticus" of the *Sunday Times*. "He seemed to talk to no one, but marched through the glittering assemblies in his plain dress clothes . . . distinguished because of his lack of ordinary distinctions."

M. Litvinoff has brought off a great stroke of diplomacy for Russia, and perhaps for the peace of the world. He has initiated a series of understandings with her neighbours. This takes the form of a convention for the definition of aggression and has been adopted by Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Persia, Poland, Rumania, Turkey. To the convention there has been added a protocol which allows it to be extended to any country which cares to accede—and Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia will also sign it. As if this were not enough, and most important of all, M. Litvinoff is at this moment in Paris engaged in advancing what is actually described as a Franco-Russian *entente*.

#### FEARS AND ALLIANCES

This, of course, changes the face of Europe. Russia has for years had an undoubted if undefined association with Germany. Now this is at an end, and she is facing towards France as in pre-war days. There are some indeed who are so used to French hegemony in Europe that they would like to give the credit for the new chain of conventions not to Russia,



but to France. Because France believes Germany to be rearming, because the Little *Entente* disliked and feared the Four-Power Pact, France, they say, has seized on Russia's idea for an understanding amongst her neighbours and transmuted it into a defensive alliance against Germany.

But M. Litvinoff knows what he wants for Russia. Half his chain of alliances look towards Asia, and Europe is only the other half. France may fear Germany, but Russia fears Japan. Japan and China are notable absentees from the Convention. China, no doubt, will sooner or later accede. But what is Russia going to do about Japan?

#### GREATNESS—IN WESTERN EYES

In many ways Japan is the most tragic nation in the modern world. She has done more for the liberation of Asia than any other Asiatic people because she is the only great military Power amongst them,—and that, alas, has in the past been the only insignia of greatness which the other Powers could recognize. "We brought you our flowers and our paintings," a Japanese recently said, "and you took no notice. It was only when we adopted your guns that you paid us any attention."

Japan, moreover, like England when she became industrial, is forced by her narrow islands to become a colonizing Empire. And where is she to colonize? All the settled territories of the earth proclaim their fierce determination to stay "white." This means that Japan can only force herself on the mainland of Asia—as indeed she is doing.

#### JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY

Japanese foreign policy at the present time is about as sinister as regards Asia as it can be. Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar, and Japan has not quite decided whether those territories of Russia bordering on China need be considered as "white" or not. Every day some fresh incident is reported from the neighbourhood of Vladivostok or from Russo-Japanese waters. Japanese sailors are murdered when they land on Russian soil to get drinking water, or Russian fishermen are accused of "spying" in the Kuriles Islands.

Does Japan want war with Russia, one asks—and the answer is always not yet, but they do want Russian territory, and they want to get it as cheaply as possible. For months Russia has been negotiating with Japan in an attempt to settle a price for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway; for months Japan has been beating her down. Now the Japanese Press are suggesting that Russia might throw in with the Railway "the territory of Vladivostok, the Maritime Province, and Northern Sakhalin."

#### JAPAN, CHINA AND RUSSIA

As for Japan's intentions towards China, their only virtue is that they are undisguised. Recently there has appeared in a Japanese newspaper, *Osaka Mainichi*, a remarkable article. It outlines a foreign policy for Japan and this policy is said to have the strong support of the Foreign and War Ministries.

It will be recalled that when, at long last, the League of Nations voted against Japan on the Manchurian question, Japan gave notice of her intention to withdraw from the League. Now, according to the new policy, Japan is ready to co-operate again with the other Powers, but first of all China must be "compelled to realize that a settlement in the Far East is absolutely impossible without co-operation between China and Japan." Compulsion and co-operation: they do not go together.

The next point in the policy, as summarized by *Reuter*, fairly takes one's breath away. It is nothing more or less than an intimation that Japan is preparing to set up in China other Japanese protectorates on the lines of that of Manchukuo. "Japan is ready to give material and moral support," it runs, "to any section of the Chinese, whether central or local authorities, who accept this point (co-operation) and even to conclude a defensive alliance with them similar to that in force with Manchukuo."

After which, it is not surprising to find that the last point in the so-called policy is a curt intimation that if any Power, China or anyone else, tries to hinder her, Japan "will adopt the necessary counter-measures."

So that is what Japan means by co-operation!

The inevitable result of all this is that China and Russia are drawing together. Diplomatic relations have been resumed and a commercial treaty is to be negotiated. The hope and the idea is that Russia may take the place of Japanese goods and so enable China to continue her only effective method of warfare against Japan—the anti-Japanese boycott.

#### GREAT BRITAIN'S SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS

It is quite obvious that war clouds are blowing up in the Far East. It seems more and more an overwhelming pity that Great Britain, who was believed by all the nations to hold in her hands the key to the Far Eastern question, did not take the lead at Geneva in backing up the Lytton Report. That Report did offer a way out in Manchuria when it proposed the retention of Chinese sovereignty there, but at the same time gave international guarantees for the protection of Japan's legitimate trading interests. Above all, it might have begun to heal the breach between China and Japan, to pave the way for voluntary co-operation instead of co-operation imposed by dividing and warring upon China.

But the press and the politicians in Britain



preferred to leave China to her own resources. With incredible short-sightedness they chorused: Why should Britain pull the chestnuts out of the fire? They could not even see so little ahead as to realize that the anti-Japanese boycott in China would lead, as it has led, to Japan dumping her unsold goods in British markets. Those same newspapers who, a year ago, in their lust for imperialism, were patting Japan on the back, are now crying out for protection against dumped, sweated, unfair (and every other adjective they can think of) Japanese competition!

What friends of Japan they have shown themselves.

Democracy is an unpopular cause these days, but at least if democracy were universally accepted—if the right to live and let live were universally recognized—these feuds would not arise between the nations. Free trade and free emigration irrespective of colour prejudice (which makes nonsense of the universe) would allow everyone elbow room. But democracy is un-

fashionable and our only escape is in diplomacy.

#### RUSSIA'S ALLIANCES

It is humiliating to have to turn to Russia for a lead, but M. Litvinoff's conventions do suggest that he, almost alone amongst statesmen, can rise above a purely national view of world affairs. His alliances stretch one hand to Europe and another to Asia. Can he go further and get Japan to accede to his convention? Speaking in Paris this week-end he has said "We are not the partisans of political groupings intended to oppose the aggressiveness of one group with the aggressiveness of another..." Well then surely he will not be content to let his chain of alliances remain a chain of more or less similarly situated nations. Similarly situated nations will always fall in together when the crisis comes. The real virtue of his new diplomacy should be not to circumvent Germany and Japan but to conciliate them.

### ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

**A**FTER the Poet's departure we, the two last remnants of the band, decided to have a look round the country and see as many of the famous archaeological sites as was possible in the time available. Their great number

visits. In the end we decided to go north and start with some of the Assyrian sites.



Nebi Yunus. Built on mounds near Nineveh

made it a difficult job to plan out the sites and the historical importance of most



Kirkuk oil fields. Natural gas and smoke

We had received from H. E. the Minister for Interior, by courtesy of M. Ibrahim Beg Hilmi, letters and permits granting us all facilities of travel, transport, and all other requirements during this tour.

\* \* \*



On the evening of the 30th we took train to Kirkuk. Our destination was Mosul which is usually reached by train up to



Arab Woman of Iraq



Muhammadan Woman of Iraq



Bedouins of the desert

Kirkuk and thence be motor car. Our friends at Baghdad came to see us off and also to make arrangements for the journey and the detraining at the terminus. The 1st class compartment was very comfortable and the dinner in the restaurant car was excellent.

At Kirkuk the chief magistrate and the governor of the town came to receive us at the station. These gentlemen had made elaborate arrangements for our stay at that city and were disappointed to learn that our plans did not permit of any



halt longer than a few hours at that station, although it is a picturesque town with its bazaars and citadel and the cantonments in the neighbourhood. Erbil and



Chaldean Bride

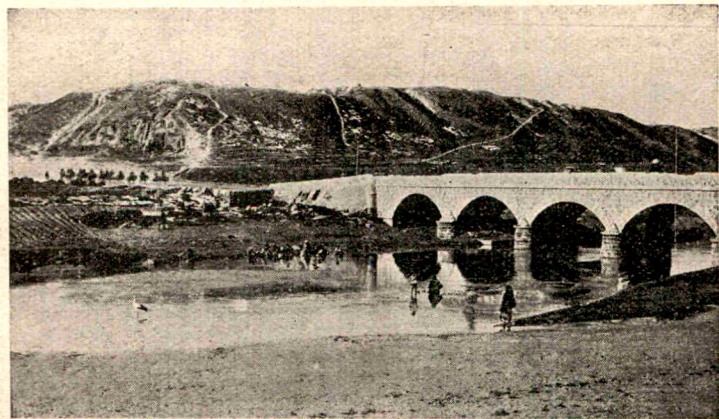
one or two minor sites are within easy motoring distance, and there is not the slightest doubt that had we the time, we could have spent a very enjoyable day or two under the hospitable roof of the governor. As things stood, we had just time enough to wash off the stains of the journey, do the best justice we could to the sumptuous breakfast spread before us, exchange compliments with the notabilities of the town, and take leave of our hosts before starting on the motor journey.

It was nearly 10 A.M. by the time we got into the car. The day was already hot, but we did not expect any extreme temperature, this part of the country being outside the real desert area. But we soon found that we were mistaken, and, the car being a tourer, hot blasts of wind charged with sand gave us the initiation into the rigours of a motor journey during the desert summer of Iraq.

After about an hour's fast driving we reached the precincts of the oil fields of Mosul-Kirkuk area. A large number of tin sheds, some clusters of storage tanks, some "bungalow" type houses for the staff, coolies' sheds for labour, constituted the little oil-field town. A net-work of pipe-lines radiating in all directions and the beautiful asphalted surface of the roads gave a characteristic touch to the prospect.

Further on we came to the oil-fields proper with their steel-frame towers and long pipe lines. We were shown the famous fires of "Baba Gud-gud," which gave the clue to the oil-prospectors about the riches stored in the depths below. A miniature valley, where the earth's crust was cracked into a thousand little gaps and vents, through which darted myriad tongues of flame is the description of this place. Further on we came to a spot where the earth continuously, belched forth enormous volumes of dense smoke.

We passed some lorries carrying two

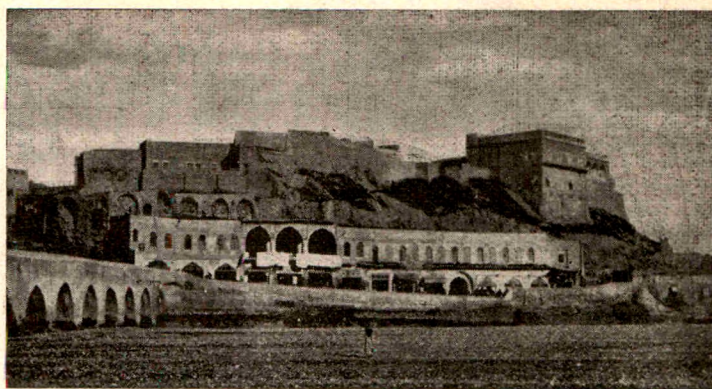


Nineveh. From across the river



dismantled 'planes of the R. A. F. with an escort of soldiers. These were being taken to the Northern frontier to be used against a recalcitrant Sheikh. At noon we halted at a little townlet to refresh ourselves with tea and with a cold douche of water poured over the head and neck.

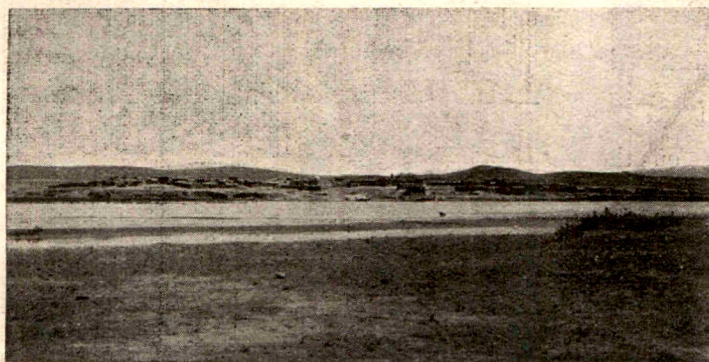
Soon after the resumption of the journey, we came to the high banks of the Tigris which has a very wide bed here, intersected with many minor channels and with sandspits covered with rushes and small bushes. The road ended here and it was evident that we would have to cross over to the other side.



Kirkuk

channels, sandspits, bushes and clumps, like a tank charging enemy lines! The main channel was reached after a rough going of about three-fourths of a mile and there we found a toll-house and the ferry with a couple of armed sentries guarding the offices.

The ferry consisted of a large pontoon that was attached by means of pulleys and tackle on to a couple of large wire cables stretched across the channel and securely anchored on either side, after crossing a gallowstree like arrangement erected on either bank. The car and passengers being aboard, the moorings were



On the way to Mosul. Small town on the Tigris

While we were wondering as to how the high banks and the steep declivity into the river bed were to be negotiated at all by the car and when we were to be asked to get down, the car took a hop skip and a jump on to shoulder of the bank and thence a dive down into the river bed, rolling, slithering, bumping and rocking like mad! Before we could recover our breath, these acrobatic performances were over and the car continued its fast pace over minor

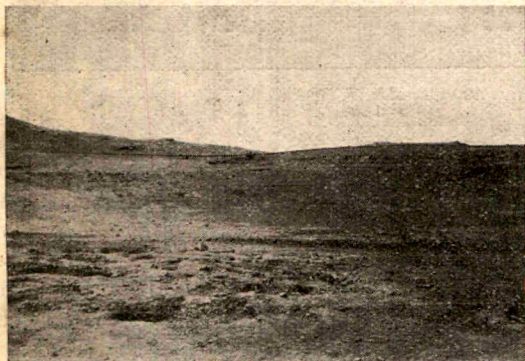


Mosul. From across the river



cast off, when the resultant force of the river current guided the pontoon across safely and speedily. The river was deep and fast running at this part, the water being reddish and icy-cold.

After crossing we again speeded on our way. Now the scenery changed to a semi-agricultural and pastoral one. Villages and small townships began to appear on the river-bank and its neighbourhood.



Kirkuk oil fields. Baba Gud-Gud

At about 1-30 p. m. we arrived on the river bank opposite Mosul to find that the river was in spate and the pontoon bridge, connecting the city with the broken end of the old bridge, open consequently. There was a cable ferry here also and after a lot of pushing we managed to scramble aboard through the waiting crowd and cross over thereby.

On the other side there was a little trouble about finding our bearings, because of the Kirkuk officials being late in putting through a call and informing the Mosul officials about our visit. This was all put right, however, after some telephoning, from the railway rest-house, through to the Governor of Mosul and the Governor of Kirkuk.

We performed our ablutions and had an

excellent lunch at the rest house which was well managed and fairly comfortable even in the summer, which is never very extreme in Mosul. The Mayor came in his car to welcome us and show us round, with the hotel-keeper's son as a translator. We had a very enjoyable sight-seeing trip through the afternoon and long into the evening. We saw the town, the municipal gardens on the other side of the river and the ruins of Nineveh and Khorsabad.

The Mayor was a comparatively young man, very well-informed, and with polished aristocratic bearing and manners. In him we found again that germ of endeavour and of nation-consciousness that is so rapidly regenerating the Near East. He was—if possible—still more vehement in his condemnation of superstitions and social and religious bigotry which are keeping down the ancient peoples of Asia. It was a pity that we had so little time on hand, otherwise we would have been able to enjoy the very re-



Nebi Sheet. Built on mounds near Nineveh

freshing and instructive conversation of this gentleman. He strikingly illustrated the fact that there is essentially no difference between one race and another, as gauged by the measurements of cultural advancement, excepting in what handicaps the inferior race imposes on itself.





## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. KALYANI DEVI, grand-daughter of the late Swarna Kumari Devi, has passed the B.A. examination this year. She appeared at the examination as a private candidate. She is the mother of six children.

and classroom purposes, marked ability in some special field, and her desire to return to her native land for service after suitable preparation shall have been made, are the chief factors considered by the committee in making



Mrs. Kalyani Devi with her children

### FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIAN WOMEN

The Barbour scholarships, yielding six hundred dollars each per annum and university fees, are awarded annually upon a basis of merit by a committee at Michigan University, U. S. A. The character of the candidate, her physical condition, her scholastic attainment, her fitness for university work, including her ability to use the English language for study

appointments. The awards are made annually about the first of March to take effect at the beginning of the following term in September.

All courses of instruction offered at the University of Michigan are open to women students, and the Barbour scholars are not limited to women pursuing any particular course of study. The scholarships are open to women of any Oriental Nationality, no definite number being allotted to any one country. No race





Miss Sujata Ray



Miss Amiya Ghose

restrictions nor religious requirements are imposed. Unless exception is made by special action of the committee, married women are not eligible for appointment.

For further information and application blanks please write before September 30 to Mrs. V. M. Ilahibaksh, Y. M. C. A., Naini Tal, U. P.

MISS SUJATA RAY has passed the B.A. examination from Calcutta University with honours in English standing first in first class in order of merit.

MISS AMIYA GHOSH has returned to Calcutta after acquiring at the Pasteur Institute, Paris, a practical knowledge of the manufacture of vaccines, sera, and the like.

MISS SURABHI SINHA, B.A., B.L., eldest daughter of Dr. R. N. Sinha, medical practitioner, Bassein, has been enrolled as a higher grade pleader of Bassein Court, Burma.



Miss Surabhi Sinha



## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Broadcasting for Rural India

Broadcasting has been adopted as a means of education of the masses in many countries. It should also be introduced into India. *The Educational Review* writes :

The Indian Village Welfare Association in England of which Sir Francis Younghusband is Chairman has now prepared a scheme for Broadcasting in Rural India which deserves the serious attention of the Government and the public in India. India has yet to realize the great advantages which can accrue by the use of the Radio for educational purposes. Western countries are profiting immensely by the installation of Radio sets and their number amounts to hundreds of thousands in a country like England. Soviet Russia has also been utilizing broadcasting for some time as an effective means of rural education. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian Rural Welfare Association should have felt impelled to propose a scheme of this kind. The idea is that receiving sets should be installed in five hundred villages, in the first instance, and each village should contribute Rs. 120 in the year towards the cost. As the originators of the scheme have argued, if every householder can pay one rupee in the year and 120 householders could be found in a village who agree to do so, the scheme will be a practicable proposition. The villagers could sit round the wireless sets and hear programmes which may include short educational talks besides music and story-telling which will always attract a large number of listeners. The scheme has actually been tried in Ceylon and has been found a success. There is no reason why it should not be successful in India. The educational advantages of the scheme are so immense that the cost should not be judged by any one having the welfare of the country at heart.

### Self-help in Germany

The following extracts from *The Calcutta Review* are interesting as well as useful :

Though after the war the right of self-expression was recognized at last, the material needs had become enormous and there were no well-to-do young people left who could afford to start new ventures, or to wander and pay for lodging and food and the necessary equipments of wandering which are greater in cold climates than they are here. After the war the courage of youth was tested in a different way : they were faced by starvation, by a life without enjoyments and leisure, without the possibility even to learn. But youth was not discouraged. Different economic self-aid organizations were started. There was first of all a central union of all the local youth movement groups. This central organization opened youth hostels, or rest-houses for young wandering groups, all over Germany. In small villages and old towns, castles on the hills or other historical buildings

have been rented by the local boards to help and to welcome the wandering youth. They are furnished in a simple style with the products of the craftsmen of that particular province. All those are admitted who can show a certain certificate of the central organization, who behave in the right spirit of the youth movement, do not smoke or drink alcohol and are contented with the bed of straw and the simple food offered. The young workers from one town meet with high school boys from another on the same footing and in the right spirit of understanding. Every hostel is in charge of a house-father, who looks after cleanliness and order.

No other country has gone so far as Germany in making provisions for lodging the young traveller with limited means and for school groups. In 1923 at an unfavourable time there were already 1,700 hostels where over one million guests were received annually : two-thirds of them were school children. In 1926, 2,300 hostels were on the list with two million guests. Thirty per cent. of these were elementary school pupils, thirty-two per cent. university and secondary school students and thirty-eight per cent young working people. It is usual for a young traveller to pay about four annas for the night and eight annas for food.

Though the schools are almost all members of this hostel or rest-house organization which enables the pupils to see different parts of the country, many city schools have special country houses where one class after the other can stay for a couple of weeks during summer. These excursions do not generally take place during the vacations but just during the school terms. Visiting a school, it may happen, that several classes are found missing ; they have gone out in the country, learning under the trees in the open after old Indian fashion, or roaming about. You see them the year round in the trains and on the highroads, at the seaside and in the forests of Germany : young, bright, happy children, bearing the knapsack, rough coat, knee breeches, worn shoes and no hats usually. They sing to the accompaniment of guitars the old German folk-songs.

Some youth-movement groups independent of schools have united and opened summer-houses for their members on an island in the North Sea. There one sees them scantily dressed on the seashore or looking after the household themselves, helped by some older friends. They do weaving, painting, all sorts of different handicrafts, trying to sell the products afterwards. In the same way other groups of older members of the youth movement have formed communities of artisans and craftsmen working on commercial lines. But I am afraid they have failed, owing to the terrible economic conditions.

In this way the youth movement contributed in a high degree to the physical welfare of the young, to their healthy and free education during a time of unforeseen distress. But the whole people was suffering under the post-war conditions and the youth movement, though now-a-days about 40 per

cent. of all young people upto twenty years of age belong to it, only gave relief to a certain number and a certain section of young people.

### The Use of Discipline

Dr. S. J. Theodore says in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* :

There is the discipline that comes from routine. The drudgery of our routine is often a saving factor of our life. He who keeps at his work honestly extends the reach of his whole vision. It is a small matter what we have been working at, but, it is a matter of infinite importance how much and in what spirit we do our work. We learn to enjoy work by working: we get interested in any work by doing it with all our might. Routine steadies life and, when used intelligently, adds contentment to life. Enlightened routine toughens our moral sinews, and enables us to go on to do the appointed task and to do it cheerfully in life. Thus when youth meets the hard blows of the world, it can labour on, spend and be spent.

There is a philosophy current among youth that life should be directed toward the acquiring of experience and this often leads to the breaking away from restraints that have proved so useful in the development of human life. This indifference nurses a certain selfishness and insincerity. Strength on the other hand is born of restraint and discipline. Not only for specialized achievements but also for rich, radiant and worth-while life, there is but one way—the way of discipline. Undisciplined lives are insane and useless.

We are to-day deeply conscious of the problem of the unemployed. But have we any adequate sense of the problem of the unemployable—men who have not disciplined themselves in life and so are unfit for any responsibility, men to whom you cannot really entrust a task that needs to be done? Inefficiency in so many of our offices and institutions often springs from undisciplined living.

Undisciplined lives are a national waste. The secret of the greatness of some nations to-day is the general tone of discipline in the lives of their citizens.

### Misuse and Abuse of Words

Words like "Bolshevism," "Gandhi" and "Socialism" are misused and abused by interested people. A great harm is caused thereby in the true appreciation of them. Mr. George Godwin writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Whatever may be the opinion of the reader of the vast social experiment [in Soviet Russia], one thing is reasonably certain, and that is that it is an application with modifications here and there of Marxist social philosophy. It might seem superfluous to say as much, but for the fact that the word "Bolshevism," by which this system is known, has come to have a connotation completely divorced from its proper meaning. It has become for many millions unfamiliar with the facts (as is the present writer), a term of abuse.

It is quite a common thing to hear this word, and its cant version, "Bolshe" used much as the term "Hun" was used between 1914-1918. The reason is the same in both cases. During the war it was

deemed necessary to employ the word Hun for the enemy so that Germany, for the masses, should stand for the crimes of Attila rather than for the virtues of Goethe. To-day, the term "Bolshe" is employed to signify abhorrence of the U. S. S. R. so that the real issue, the respective merits of the two systems, shall be obscured by prejudice and abuse.

To take one more example of the harm wrought by the abuse or misuse of words, one might take the name Gandbi. For those who know the man it is a word that evokes emotions and sentiments similar to those evoked in the West by such names as Lincoln Gordon or Knox.

But the name has another connotation altogether. For millions it stands for an absurd figure of fun or for indefensible sedition. In this case, too, the result is to throw the intellectual machinery out of gear and to release all that is most unworthy in the passions of the unthinking mob.

To attach to such words that, rightly used, connote high ideals of social justice or national aspiration, moral opprobrium, is intellectual treason.

The word "Socialism" is a striking illustration of how ignorance, fear and prejudice, can father upon a word a set of ideas remote from its authentic meaning. It is not many years since to be a Socialist was to confess to subversive tendencies. The word was uttered with the deepest of contempt, if not with downright horror.

It is probable that many people for whom this social philosophy would have appealed (since in essence it is merely the application of the Christian religion to the economic sphere) were deterred from examining its principles by the obloquy that attached to the outlawed word Socialism.

### The Economic Crisis

One of the causes of the present economic crisis is the policy of increasing tariffs. Mr. Jas. S. McConehy of Manchester Association of Importers and Exporters develops the point in *The Theosophist* as follows:

It is obvious that the policy of increasing tariffs adopted by every nation in the world has rendered the payment of debts by goods and services an almost impossible task. This practice has led to the diversion of the natural channels into artificial cross-currents which have no definite nor ascertainable ending; consequently trade is held up in bogs and marshes. From this morass it is difficult to extricate industry and trade and place them again on the natural stream of international commerce which is so necessary for the maintenance of healthy operations. The break in the free flow of goods and services from their source to their destination and back again to their source is most conspicuous in the United States of America, a country which, within a short space of time, has experienced unbounded prosperity, immediately followed by dismal depression. America has systematically debarred goods getting over her tariff walls in payment of the principal and interest due on the immense loans that country made immediately and for sometime after the War, an action that in itself is sufficient to send the orderly mechanism of international commerce out of order. The block caused by the refusal of creditor nations to accept goods and services in discharge of international debts is responsible for the

abnormal quantity of gold being located in one or two countries. These shipments of gold from one country to another are only a prolongation of the payment of the debts because the gold will not be effective till it is translated into goods and services. Gold, being at the same time a measure of value and a medium of exchange, fails as a "measure" because whoever possesses it is able to purchase more goods than he could when he first became the owner of it, when gold is hoarded or restricted in its natural circulation as money. The greater the demand for gold for exchange purposes without an adequate increase in supply, the greater will be the fall in general prices and the greater the variation in the size of the "measure"; hence so long as this process is going on, the greater will be the volume of goods that will have to be delivered by the debtor in the final discharge of the original debt.

The policy followed by one or two creditor nations of insisting on their exports of goods as well as interest on their loans being paid in gold, and the preserving of that gold unemployed in their central banks, aggravates and intensifies the serious consequences of currency and credit contraction.

It is asserted that since 1922 the United States has lent 12 billion dollars to Germany, and that she is a creditor to the twenty European nations and is able to demand an average of £5,000,000 per annum from each, or in all £100,000,000. At this rate in ten years she would have all the gold in the world. France is to some extent in the same position.

The very life-blood of our economic existence under our present order of civilization depends on an orderly, continuous, universal circulation of goods and services. If this circulation is misdirected, upset, unduly curtailed or expanded in any way for any length of time, there is no use shutting our eyes to the calamitous conditions to which world commerce is hastening.

### Uses of Pine Oil

*Scientific Indian* quotes from *Perfumery and Essential Oil Industry* an article on the "Uses of Pine Oil." We make these extracts from this paper:

Pine oil is used as a powerful deodorant and as a dirt remover for a variety of trade products: for the fish oil used for making soft soap: boot, floor, furniture and metal polishes, white spirit and turpentine substitutes, distempers, paints and varnishes; oils, greases, glues, disinfectants etc.

As a disinfectant the standard formula 62.5 of pine oil and 37.5 of rosin soap is not toxic, caustic, irritating or corrosive, it kills most germs at a dilution of 1 in 40. It is usually prepared by adding with brisk stirring, 7 parts of a 1 in 2 solution of caustic soda at 80°C. to a mixture of 66 parts of pine oil and 25 parts of rosin, also at 89°C. Pine oil emulsions are used as disinfectants and deodorants: in the wetting out and scouring of textiles, and as spray solutions for cinemas, hotels, hospital, theatres, schools, and all public places. The general method of their preparation is: at ordinary temperature prepare a solution by stirring together triethanolamine 10 and water 500, and add to it with thorough agitation a solution of 465 pine oil and 25. olive acid. A white creamy emulsion results which will stand dilution with five times its volume of water without separation. A soluble form of pine oil, for dilutions and additions

to meet all requirements is prepared by mixing 85 pine oil with 8 olive acid and adding 7 of triethanolamine.

As an insecticide pine oil emulsions are very effective, and do not hurt the most tender foliage. They are prepared similarly to the last example:—kerosene replacing 75 to 0 per cent. of the pine oil, or mineral oil is sometimes used similarly.

In cleansing preparations, pine oil is favoured largely for its refreshing odour, but it has other useful qualities. In liquid soaps it increases materially the detergent action and germicidal power. Similarly for soft soaps, scrubbing and dry soaps it carries away the dirt and grime. So used pine oil leaves a bright surface and also preserves the soaps from rancidity.

Toilet preparations, such as the large variety of bath salts, irradiated, oxygenated, and so forth, the pine needle extracts, the shampoos, etc., are more concerned with the specified pine oils of commerce such as silver fir, pine needle and temple pine oils.

### Importance of Mineral Salts

The following extracts from *The Oriental Watchman* and *Herald of Health* will be useful:

The diet of many people is seriously deficient in mineral salts and attention should be given to see that the necessary elements are supplied in the required amounts. They are indispensable for the maintenance of life, and play an important part in the building and repair of the tissues.

Calcium is used by the body to form bone. It also effects the clotting of blood, assists in maintaining muscle tone, helps in walling off and isolating foreign bacteria, and is the regulator of other minerals. The daily requirement of calcium is 0.68 to one gramme. Three glasses of milk will furnish this quantity.

Phosphorous is necessary to enable calcium to form bone and for all tissue growth. The daily requirement of this element is 1.4 grammes.

Iodine is a necessary part of the secretion of the thyroid gland which controls the burning of food in the body and the destruction of wastes, the building up and the tearing down process of body called metabolism. Goitre is produced if the diet is deficient in iodine. Foods rich in iodine include agar-agar, Irish moss, iodized salt, green peas, lettuce, turnips, green beans, beetroot, tomatoes, and radishes. If iodine is deficient in the soil in which these foods are grown they will be consequently impoverished in this respect.

Iron and copper are necessary to make red blood. Iron cannot be utilized unless copper is present, so our diet should contain both of these items. The daily requirement of iron is 0.015 grammes.

Potassium is necessary for tissue growth and repair, for the regulation of the heart, and for muscle contraction. It is found in most foods in liberal amounts, especially in nuts, fruits and legumes.

The daily requirement of common salt is five grammes or one level teaspoon. This is an important constituent of the blood serum as well as of cellular tissues.

### Revolution in Science

Mr. R. D. Kanga writes on the new theory of matter in *The Young Theosophist*:

The history of science during 1925-29, the years



during which the Quantum Theory began to receive knocks, would probably record these years as the most revolutionary in the period of modern Scientific thought.

Dr. Whitehead in his attempt to explain the conflicting phenomena had to introduce a new principle in physical science and this principle amounted practically to this that the material universe did not exist continuously or to use a technical scientific term the material universe was not a continuum. But the modern physical theories are based on the assumption that matter is a continuum in time. The new principle implies that the atoms appear and instantaneously disappear and appear again. If this process was repeated millions of times per second, we should have a universe of matter that would appear continuous. In accordance with this latest theory all electrons and atoms are now being treated as complex bundles of waves. Our material universe is nothing but mere waves appearing as if with the crest of the wave and disappearing instantaneously with the hollow and so on. At one moment it has its existence in the physical world and instantaneously it disappears in some unknown inner region and appears again. This phenomenon presents a peculiar picture in our mind which can rather be imagined than described.

All that the scientists know is *how* things behave; they do not know what is behaving. They know how objects react to their measuring instruments, but they say nothing about the nature of what is reacting. All that they tell us about anything is its structure, not its substance.

The vibrating atom, the light wave, the process in the eye, the current along the optic nerve, the changes in the brain, the perception of the colour red, all appear as parts of a continuous chain. The one part of the chain that we know directly is our own percept. The other parts are inferred. Our percept may therefore give us some clue as to the constitution of the whole. It is in our minds only that we may touch with the actual nature of matter. If the mind is not there, the matter does not exist for us. Feelings and percepts constitute a man's consciousness. It is the consciousness which produces in our Minds the perception of the motions of our brain.

"To put the conclusion crudely" Prof. Eddington says, "the stuff of the world is the mind stuff. All knowledge of our environment enters in the form of messages transmitted along the nerves to the seat of Consciousness. It is only our own end of fibres that we really know. The end of fibres for another man may be different and therefore the inference drawn from it may be different."

#### Achievements in Co-operation in Bengal

Mr. Hirankumar Sanyal gives a survey of the Co-operative activities in Bengal in *the Bengal Co-operative Journal*. He writes:

Of the 23,777 co-operative societies in Bengal nearly 21,000 are of the credit type. The membership of all the societies—credit and non-credit—is 8 lakhs and they have between them a total working capital of Rs. 16 crores. The preponderance of credit societies, in spite of provision in the Act of 1912 for societies of all types, is accounted for by two facts: firstly credit is the most pressing need of the cultivators, secondly, credit societies had a long start over other kinds of societies. It is, however,

being more and more realized that unless credit co-operation is supplemented by co-operation in other fields it may defeat its own purpose and non-credit societies of various types are being formed all over this province. These cover a wide range of activities such as sale of milk, paddy and products of cottage-industries, house-building, anti-malarial work, agriculture, irrigation, and even insurance. Though by comparison with the credit societies the non-credit societies are numerically insignificant they are doing very important work none the less. A few examples will make this clear.

Let us consider the milk supply societies. Their object is to enable people who try to make an income by keeping cows and selling their milk, to dispense with middlemen and sell the milk direct to consumers, so that both parties may benefit. Many such societies have been formed in places around Calcutta like Barasat, Basirhat, etc. and they have been federated into a Central Union in Calcutta. The milk that arrives daily both morning and evening from the village societies are pasteurised and bottled at the Central Unions factory, equipped with costly plants, and then distributed to the consumers. Nearly 134 maunds of milk are so disposed of every day. Out of the profits of their business, the milk societies in the villages have endowed schools, established dispensaries and dug tube-wells, making thus a very substantial contribution to the enhancement of village life. Naogaon in the Rajshahi district, well-known for its Ganja cultivation, provides another striking instance of co-operative money being employed for the uplift of village life. Over 4000 cultivators of Ganja in the Naogaon subdivision have banded themselves together in a co-operative society which has made such a success of co-operative marketing of Ganja that it recorded a profit of over Rs. 50,000 in the year ending 30th June, 1932. This society has built a temple and a mosque with its money and it also maintains a High English School, a Madrassah, 59 primary schools, 3 charitable dispensaries, 1 veterinary dispensary, and 3 stud bulls.

#### The Future of Coorg

R. H. C. advances a plea for amalgamation of Coorg with Mysore in *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

Taking it for granted that *prima facie* there exists a desire for a change in the *statutes* of the province, a *modus vivendi* may be found in one of three ways:—(1) Add the whole province to either the district of South Canara, or Malabar which adjoin it on its south and west. As regards Malabar, the main objection would be that it has little in common with Coorg, whether as regards affinity of language or customs. As to South Canara, the difficulty of language is got over, but the difference in customs holds good. In both cases, the fundamental opposition would proceed from the fact that absorption by either of them would make province lose its identity. This is neither desired nor desirable. (2) The suggestion of breaking up the province into two or three parts and distributing the severed parts among Malabar, South Canara and Mysore has little to commend it. It would mean the partition of a compact and historic province and would be opposed from every side. (3) Its addition in its existing form as a district of the Madras Presidency and make it take its chance as part of that Presidency would also make it lose its distinctive and historic features. Besides that, its distance from headquarters would still continue to be

a drawback, while its present independence as a province would be lost. (4) There remains only one other alternative and that is its voluntary union with Mysore, its next door neighbour, and that on the footing of a sub-province of Mysore, its present laws and regulations being assured to it. Under this arrangement the province would retain its present constitution and other features almost intact. Proximity, linguistic affinities (42 per cent of the population speak Kanarese, while Kodagu, a dialect of Kanarese, is spoken by some 22 per cent of the population), religion and social usages (the Kodagu ruling family professed the Lingayat religion, while the general population have much in common with the people of Mysore)—all point to Mysore as its real parent. Kodagu, for instance, has been long written in Kannada (or Kanarese) letters. Again, its early history shows its close connection with Mysore, both being ruled for long by the same set of indigenous dynasties. The cordiality that has always existed between Mysore and Coorg also points in the same direction. The administration of Coorg has, since its annexation, been carried on by the British Resident in Mysore under the designation of Chief Commissioner of Coorg. The change from the Chief Commissioner to H. H. The Maharaja would in no sense prove a violent one. The fact that such a suggestion has been well received by the Coorgs themselves shows that there is much to be said in its favour. What is really required is only a legislative and administrative union, though on certain agreed terms the administration of Coorg would, in practice, continue independent.

#### All About Koh-i-Nur

Mr. Abdul Aziz traces the history of Koh-i-Nur in *Journal of Indian History* as follows :

The earlier history of this stone, based on tradition and conjecture, loses itself in the mists of time. Legends, says Prof. Maskelyne, had gathered round it, and tradition had linked with legends with authentic history in the dawn of the fourteenth century. This great diamond, continues the learned professor, 'emerges in history in the first years of the fourteenth century. It was in 1300 A. D. in the hands of the Rajahs of Malwa, an ancient Raj that had at one time spread over Hindostan, and in all the vicissitudes of a thousand years had never bent to a Muhammadan conqueror, until the generals of the Delhi Emperor Ala-ud-din Muhammad Shah overran its rich territory, and carried away the accumulated treasure of Ujjain in the first decade of the fourteenth century.

The date of 1304 is that given by Ferishta for this conquest, and then it was that the great diamond takes its place in history'.

Next, we have it in *Akbarnama* and other histories that when Humayun was down with an illness which was believed to be fatal, and the court physicians had despaired of the prince's life, Mir Abul-Baqa, a reputed savant, said that it had come from the sages of old that where the secular wisdom of physicians failed to effect a cure, the only remedy was to sacrifice the best of things (or one's possessions) and then to supplicate the almighty for recovery. Babur declared his intention of sacrificing himself since Humayun, he said, possessed nothing nobler or worthier than his father. The courtiers protested that the meaning of what had been reported from

the ancients was that the best of one's worldly possessions should be offered, and suggested that the precious diamond which had come to hand in the battle against Ibrahim Lodi and had been bestowed on Humayun, should be given away as charity (*Akbarnama*, Text, I, 116). Babur did not agree; but the rest of the story does not concern us. We see that this stone was in the Imperial Treasury in 1530, and remained there.

The next link in the history of this stone is furnished by an anecdote related by Abul-Fazl Humayun, defeated by Sher Shah and wandering about passed near Marwar, Raja Maldev's territory. Sanka of Nagaur, one of the trusted agents of Raja Maldev, entered his camp pretending to be a merchant, and offered to buy the great diamond. Humayun suspected his design, and directed that the purchaser should be made clearly to understand that such precious gems cannot be obtained by purchase: either they fall to one by the arbitrament of the flashing sword, which is an expression of the Divine Will, or else they come through the grace of mighty monarchs (*A.N.* I, 180).

Later, when Humayun reached Persia—a refugee, suing for help—he offered this diamond along with 250 rubies of Badakhshan to Shah Tahmasp of Persia as a return for the magnificent reception he received in the latter's dominions. Abul-Fazl assures us that the value of these presents repaid the total expenditure of the reception and hospitality accorded him from beginning to end more than four times over (*A.N.* Text, I, 217). This was in the summer of 1544.

Further, we have it on the authority of Mr. Beveridge that Khur Shah, the ambassador of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, the King of Golconda, at the Persian Court, says in B. M. MS. Or. 53, that Humayun presented to Shah Tahmasp the diamond which Babur had got from Sultan Ibrahim's treasury, and it weighed 6½ *misqals*; that Shah Tahmasp did not think so much of it, and afterwards sent it to India as a present to Nizam Shah, the ruler of the Deccan [*i. e.* Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar] through Aqa Islam "Mihtar Jamal" (f. 58 b of MS.)

This report of the return of Babur's diamond to South India is corroborated by *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, which says in its account of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar that Shah Isma'il [wrong for Shah Tahmasp] sent a large diamond, which had been Humayun's, as a present by the hands of Aqa Sulaiman (?) commonly known as Mihtar Jamal. Despite the slips about the names, the restoration of the diamond to India in 1547, which is the year of "Mihtar Jamal's" embassy, seems fairly established.

It is possible that when Akbar conquered and annexed Ahmadnagar in 1600 this stone passed with other valuables into the Imperial Treasury. Yet it is not likely, since if a diamond of such historic antecedents had been acquired contemporary historians would be sure to record the event: and if such a gem was in the Imperial Treasury from this date on, throughout the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, it would come up for a mention among the elaborate notices of gem-stones which abound in *Tuzuk*, and in Mulla "Abdul-Hamid's" review of the contents of the jewel treasury at the end of the twentieth regnal year (B. N. II. 391).

This is all the authentic information we possess about this stone.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS



### The British Big Navy Group

Though by the Treaty of Washington Great Britain has lost for ever the supreme mastery of the seas, there are many people in England who are not resigned to this passing of British naval predominance. *The British Empire Review* is the mouthpiece of some of these men, and in it a writer bitterly attacks "internationalism" as the ruin of England:

The ruin of our time is internationalism. In looking after other people's business we have forgotten to mind our own. The day will probably never come when the workers of China, Japan, Czechoslovakia and Russia can be placed on a par, either of prosperity or of intellectual equality, with the British people, and to waste our time and opportunities on such international fads is to sacrifice the British people when their opportunity for advancement and stability is most critical.

This international mind is at present absorbing the people to our detriment in many essential directions, and we cannot refrain from saying a word on the matter of Empire defence, with which our League is very nearly concerned. The British are the most peaceful people in the world today. Why should they safeguard this sentiment by pooling it with other nations, many of whom not only lack the sentiment, but the majority the stability of character to follow the paths of peace; and hence we find the British Empire practically undefended—the sea routes to British countries scattered throughout the world are left at the mercy of others. We must remember that we have just as great—if not greater—enemies than we ever had before, and are we going to see our ships sunk and British lives lost and obtain redress by reference to a Board at Geneva like some helpless South American State? Are we to sign more peace pacts entailing obligations to defend other countries? There are, we believe, five such pacts already signed and the world should know—if we are honest—that we have no intention whatever of sending a single man to Europe to defend any country. Not only have we been scrapping ships and not rebuilding them, but we have been doing an unforgivable thing—permitting the decay through foreign subsidies of our great maritime shipping. After all, the backbone of the Navy, when it has ships to defend our rights, is the Merchant Marine to carry food which the people must have and to transport troops and munitions.

The same note is reiterated by Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond a few pages later:

But during recent years we have allowed ourselves to be led like sheep to the slaughter of our security. We have entered into engagements which have reduced our fighting power at sea, and silently, placidly, and without either protest or public action, we have sat with folded hands while foreign Powers—some of them those who owe their very existence

at this moment to the efforts this country put forward in the war, and which, but for the sea power it could not have put forward—have used every weapon from flag discrimination to subsidy to injure our merchant navy. At great cost to their own taxpayers, and to the great injury of everyone concerned with shipping, thousands of tons of unnecessary shipping have been produced and made their contribution to the distress of the world.

It cannot be too clearly appreciated throughout the Empire that the ultimate decision in any conflict in which the Empire might become—unwillingly enough, but unavoidably—engaged, depends upon sea power. Though local defence, within clear and specific limits, is essential it is no more a substitute, in a thalassic Empire, for sea forces than the stout and impregnable walls of a mediæval fortress were a substitute for forces capable of acting in the field: for though the fortress might be unassailable, it could be starved into submission. No isolated fortress can stand for ever, long though it may be able sometimes to resist. Fall it must in the end unless relieved; and a country is merely a fortress on a large scale.

### The Eclipse of British Sea-Power

Though the exaggeratedly pessimistic estimate of the present strength of Great Britain, is a propagandist move of the British big navy group, there can be no doubt that the heyday of British naval hegemony is passed. The weakness of British sea-power is discussed by Sir Archibald Hurd in a newly published book, whose conclusions are also summarized in *The British Empire Review*.

On the subject of shortage of cruisers, the author points out that only in fifteen cruisers of the 52 shown on the Navy List have the naval authorities been able to interpret the varied and important lessons which were learnt at so great a price of life and treasure during the war. No programme which can now obtain Cabinet approval can avert the progressive decline of British cruiser strength which will take place in the next few years. In foreign ship-yards there are 187 men-of-war of various types now building. Sir Archibald, in this valuable booklet also deals with that most serious obstacle to our Merchant Navy, subsidies to foreign shipping. It is a curious circumstance that the nations which are challenging our sea-power are the nations which we succoured in the Great War. Can it be for the good of the world, he asks, that the British Fleet, which has charted the seas of the world, suppressed piracy and made the seas free and safe for all, should be emasculated and that British merchant shipping, which has been the principal agency in developing international trade, should have to fight against heavy odds for continued existence? The situation is obviously perilous to every Imperial interest.

### Slavery in the Present-day World

This is the centenary year of the abolition of slavery by Great Britain. The occasion is commemorated by the *International Review of Missions* with an article on 'A Century of Emancipation' by the Rt. Hon. Lord Noel Buxton. In course of this article, the writer points out the existence of slavery in the present-day world:

It will probably come with something of a shock to the reader new to the subject that the total number of slaves in the world to-day is variously estimated as between five and six millions, a figure which is probably somewhere about half that of a century ago. This figure, of course, includes only slaves in the fullest sense of the term, that is, persons who are legally regarded as the property of another person and who are liable to be bought and sold. In addition to these there are, of course, many millions living in a state of thinly disguised slavery.

The principal slave-owning countries of the present day are China, Abyssinia and Arabia as well as Liberia and certain other areas where slavery is firmly established as part of the social order. No exact figures for these countries are available, but two million is said by authorities to be 'a very moderate estimate' for China. Slavery in China is mainly that of girls. Mr. Russell Brown, the British Consul in Amoy, states that 'girls are everywhere bought and sold for maid-servants or slaves.' In 1930 an appeal signed by leading Chinese and missionaries in China stated that 'in ordinary times little girls are brought to the cities, and even into other provinces, and sold by the hundreds, but in times of famine or calamity by the thousands.' And Mrs. Dymond, a missionary of forty years' experience in China, states in her book, *Yunnan*, that 'during the terrible famine in the province, four thousand little girls were carried pack-saddle twelve days' journey to the capital city and sold.'...

The problem presented by Abyssinia is no less formidable. There is probably no country in the world where the institution of slavery is so integral a part of the social order. In addition to the widespread ownership of slaves in Abyssinia there are the two resulting evils of slave-raiding and slave-trading. The slave raids are made in the Negro district, and there is sporadic kidnapping also, but the supplying of the market is by no means confined to these. The British Government reported that between 1913 and 1927, one hundred and thirty-nine raids took place from Abyssinia into the Sudan and Kenya Colony, and further cases have been reported within the last year. In these raids hundreds of British subjects, or people under British protection, were killed or carried off into slavery. A moving description of a slave-gang was given by Max Gruhl in his book on archaeology in Abyssinia, published last year. He writes:

"We saw approaching a procession that defies the ablest pen to portray. Were they human? One could hardly believe it...Men and women practically naked, chained to one another leading naked children by the hand or carrying them like bundles on their backs, dragged themselves through the filth, and were driven like cattle by their heartless captors. ...Often falling by the wayside like sick animals. For hours the slave train continued to pass us. Now as I write these lines, our camp is surrounded by that of the robbers with hundreds of their captives. The rain is pouring down. But they have neither shelter

nor fires, nor food. Every now and then the clanking of chains echoes through the darkness."

This is the evidence of an archaeologist, not concerned to expose slave conditions.

Many of the slaves captured in the Abyssinian raids are sold overseas in Arabia, where the institution of slavery is also prevalent. A British naval officer, Commander Woodward, has estimated that the number of slaves shipped across the Red Sea annually runs into thousands. There is a large slave market at Mecca, which is supplied to a considerable extent by natives of Africa and of the Far East, who are smuggled in in the retinues of pilgrims to the holy city.

### The French View of the World Economic Conference

The World Economic Conference has come to an end with results which none perhaps can perceive except the tenaciously hopeful or the technical expert. French opinion on the Conference was hostile from the very beginning as the following summary of it in *Recovery* will show:

French opinion in general expects nothing of the Conference; it has learnt scepticism as a result of the series of conferences, economic and other, held during the past few years. Why should it place higher hopes in this one? In any case, France is not particularly anxious for a revision of tariffs. She is in no particular hurry to see the stabilization of the Anglo-Saxon currencies, and, if this is to be realized, places far greater faith in the initiative of the individual governments and in direct negotiations than in the discussions of any conference. French opinion is, broadly speaking, divided into two main currents, one holding the view that the world crisis will, like all previous cyclic crises, solve itself, the other convinced that we are witnessing the death of capitalism and that France, Great Britain and the United States must shortly face up to far-reaching economic and social changes. In either hypothesis the Economic Conference appears useless, indeed, almost laughable.

There is one solitary question which interests and moves French opinion, and that the only question excluded from the Conference's agenda: the problem of war debts. Nothing less than a discussion on the payment due on June 15 would give rise to any degree of feeling in France. So far as other problems are concerned, the opinion of the man in the street and the technical expert alike may be summed up in the words: scepticism, indifference.

This does not mean that interesting and, of course, contradictory opinions on the various subjects which the Conference is to discuss have not been voiced: far from it.

### The Relativity of History

The writing of history has in every age been influenced by thought-patterns which have been evolved in other domains of knowledge. Taking his stand on this well-known fact, Professor C. W. Cole seeks to find, in an article in *Political Science Quarterly*, whether the speculations and conclusions of modern physical science can have any influence on



historical studies. He believes they can have and proceeds to apply one of them, the principle of relativity, to history :

*Relativity.* If the historical fact, *in itself*, has little significance, it is merely in the same case as the physical fact which has not been related to some frame of reference. If a frame of reference can be discovered and the historical fact related to it, perhaps the fact will be clothed in a new meaning. That is just what historians have always tended to do, for it is a commonplace that every age writes its own history according to its own beliefs and ideas. From the beginning of the Christian era well into the seventeenth century, from Orosius to Cotton Mather, historians took their material and related it to their theories of a divine order, of the workings of God upon man, of man's search for eternal salvation. So related, facts were significant, and if an earthquake became a judgment of God, still the history as a whole had a meaning. In the eighteenth century historians related their facts to theories as to the rational order of nature, natural laws, the rights of man or the like. In the nineteenth century they gave their facts meaning by tying them to nationalist, democratic, socialist or evolutionary theories.

Today either historians give their facts significance by using explicitly one of the older theories, as Spengler has used and strained the biologic analogy ; or other and perhaps newer theories are implicit in their work. They seek for objectivity, but they must select and order and interpret the facts. This they can do fairly and justly but they cannot do it without some theories in the light of which they may select and order and interpret. What is the social order and economic history of the present but history written under the influence of theories as to the paramount importance of the evolution of social and economic institutions and folkways ? If the modern social historian could present his arguments to the Venerable Bede, that worthy might well shrug his shoulders and reply, "To me these things that you call social and economic are all very well, but I wish to see how it was that God ordained the conversion of the British Isles."

Historical facts, then, gain their meaning when by order, selection and interpretation they are related to a frame of reference. This frame of reference is a theory of, or a way of looking at history, explicit or implicit, old or new. Without relation to some theory the fact is an isolated entity of dubious validity and little meaning. Without some theory the historian cannot, from the immense mass of historical facts, select and order his material, or interpret what he has chosen and arranged.

### The Church and the Nazis

Though the Nazis have triumphed over almost every opposing party, it is doubtful whether it is likely to succeed in a conflict with the church. The possibility of a new *Kulturkampf* in Germany is indicated by the following note in *Unity* :

The church situation in Germany grows increasingly interesting—and tense! Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Berlin correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, calls it "a religious war such as this people (the Germans) has not experienced since the seventh century." The

occasion of this "war," as Mowrer terms it, is the refusal of the Lutheran churches to bow the knee to the Nazi dictator. Alone among all the societies and institutions of the Reich the church has refused either to collapse or to surrender. Let it be remembered, to the greater glory of Christianity, that when the Communists ran to cover, when the Social Democratic Party simply folded up and succumbed, when the trades unions crumbled and disappeared, the Protestant churches stood their ground. Not as completely and valiantly as we might have wished, as we noted in last week's editorial! But on one issue, at least, the churchmen refused to budge an inch. This was in the matter of the election of a bishop to rule over the nationalized church with dictatorial powers. Hitler demanded the election of his lieutenant and chaplain, the Rev. Ludwig Mueller. The representatives of the churches flatly refused to obey orders, and insisted upon electing their own candidate, the Rev. Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, distinguished clergyman and scholar. This is the sole instance of opposition encountered by the Nazi chieftain since he took office. That it can permanently succeed, we cannot believe. The dictator's power is too great; the activity of his "German Christians" inside the church is too energetic, unscrupulous, and brutal. Furthermore, the issue is too important. Hitler and the Nazis are deliberately proposing to transform the mind of all Germany—to militarize a whole new generation in preparation for the inevitable war of liberation. For the accomplishment of this end, the control of the church is absolutely essential. Hitler is bound, therefore, to smash the church's opposition. He will elect his bishop, and in due course make the vast body of German Protestantism a mere appendage of the Nazi machine. But the church is fighting, and at this writing has not yet been subdued. It is religion, in other words, which has maintained such "shreds and patches" of dignity and self-respect as still survive in Germany.

### The Loss of Two-thirds of World Trade

League of Nations *News for Overseas* describes the trade depression of the world of today :

On the eve of the World Economic Conference, the Economic Intelligence Service of the League has published data showing that world trade had fallen at the end of the first quarter of 1933 to a third of what it was in 1929. The average prices of goods entering into trade had fallen by nearly half. Wheat on one of the biggest world markets at one moment touched prices lower than what it has fetched in the last four centuries. The actual quantum (amount of goods exchanged) had diminished by over a quarter, and the downward trend shows no signs of stopping.

The fall is due mainly to less trade in manufactured articles. During the early part of the depression, it was caused primarily by the reduced purchasing power of the non-industrial countries. Their products fell most in price. With the enormous increase in trade barriers in the form of higher tariffs, quotas and exchange controls the centre of gravity of the trade depression has moved from non-industrial to industrial, from debtor to creditor countries. The exchange of manufactured articles between the industrial countries has recently contracted more heavily than the more indispensable exchange of

manufactured articles and primary products between industrial and non-industrial countries.

The share of industrial countries in world-trade which rose during the early part of the depression, fell in 1932.

While currency depreciation has contributed to the growth of trade barriers and was probably one of the causes of the continued fall in prices in terms of gold since the autumn of 1931, it has secured to the exports of the countries having recourse to it a somewhat greater share in world markets than previously.

Clearing agreements and discriminative trade barriers, erected in order to regulate bilateral trade balances, have, since the autumn of 1931, led to a re-distribution of imports and exports of many countries. This has been very unfavourable for certain countries which are largely dependent upon so-called triangular trade.

Particular attention has been devoted to the structural changes indicated by the trade figures of certain countries. Many agricultural countries produce a greater share of their consumption of industrial manufactures, and some of them—such as India and Egypt—have replaced a part of their production of agricultural products for exports by the production of foodstuffs previously imported. Certain industrial countries have also become more self-sufficient in food products; the increase in self-sufficiency has, however, developed simultaneously with the impoverishment of both industrial and non-industrial countries.

One of the most important facts pointed out in the analysis of trade of individual countries contained in the *Review of World Trade for 1932*, issued by the League Intelligence Service, is the weakening of the competitive power of the manufacturing industry in the United States of America.

By the middle of 1930, the value of the exports of manufactured articles from the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Germany was almost the same and for each of the three was about twice as great as that of France. During the last quarter of 1932, on the other hand, that of the United States of America represented only 52 per cent of the German, 62 per cent of the British and was only slightly higher than the French exports of manufactured goods.

### The Japanese Boycott of Indian Cotton

While the people of Japan regards the boycott of Japanese goods by China as an act of hostility justifying invasion, they do not feel squeamish about applying the same weapon to another country when their own interests demand it. This paradox in Japan's position prompts *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* to observe:

On the day that Viscount Ishii left New York, he spoke eloquently on the subject of the League of Nations being unable to prevent a boycott, and therefore having nothing to say on the subject of a form of aggression which Japan has maintained (since the Manchurian trouble became well developed) is a kind of war. Anybody ready to take him at his word must have felt that here was an important amendment that should be incorporated into the Covenant of the League of Nations, as a means to prevent war. Not that the Chinese boycott has caused war, but it has caused a great deal of

self-preservation which is indistinguishable from it. Now, with the words hardly out of Viscount Ishii's mouth, we find the Japanese cotton spinners passing a unanimous vote to boycott India, and others join in eagerly with discussions as to how they can boycott everything else that comes from India and not raw cotton only. It does not seem quite consistent with the idea so warmly advocated by Viscount Ishii, and it would have been very awkward indeed if Japan, having got her anti-boycott clause inserted in international agreements designed to keep the peace, found that, unfortunately, her own interests demanded that she institute a boycott owing to some quite unforeseen contingency having arisen which made it necessary.

The Japanese Press is waxing warm over the subject of the Indian duties, and seems to be very willing to be misinformed. Mr. Matsumoto, of the Toyo Menkwa Kaisha, just back from Calcutta, is quoted as saying that the Indian papers are not allowed to criticize the Government's measures. It is unlikely that Mr. Matsumoto reads any Indian language, so he may be regarded merely as echoing the complaints of Indians about the persecution of the Press. But at the same time that Mr. Matsumoto is quoted, appears a summary of what the *Bombay Chronicle* (an Indian Nationalist paper) says on the subject, and that criticizes the Government, arguing that the duties will not protect the Indian industry but will only benefit Lancashire at the cost of the Japanese manufacturers and of the Indian consumers, who will find the prices put up. If Mr. Matsumoto was correctly quoted he probably spoke in good faith but without knowledge: Indian papers talk of the gag, but actually they are much freer than Japanese newspapers, which must not even mention the gag. And we find Mr. Murobushi, writing in the *Keizai Orui* to point out that Japan makes a mistake in entering into relations with the oppressors of India rather than with Indians themselves, and that the present affords a good opportunity for assisting India to emancipate itself. The readiness with which Japanese writers give expressions to such opinions is in marked contrast to their attitude regarding Korean or Formosan aspirations. There is a great deal of anti-British propaganda running rather wild in the Press at the present moment, and even the Foreign Office has been quoted as expressing, through one of its regular spokesmen, the opinion that the Indian tariff jeopardizes the peace of the world—though, to be quite just to the spokesman, he talks in another place about commercial war, mentioning real war. Perhaps his ambiguity was intentional, but the statement was evidently meant to be heard abroad.

### Ibn Sa'ud and Arabia

Captain C. C. Lewis writes about Ibn Sa'ud in *International Affairs* and says that since 1929 he has come to regard himself as possessed of a divine mission:

From the suppression of the Akhwan rebellion in 1929 Ibn Sa'ud began to dream dreams of a united Kingdom of Arabia with himself as King and Caliph and all his subjects professing the Wahhabi creed. But what perhaps is more important is that, in reviewing his own career and the countless occasions when he had succeeded in causes apparently lost, he could not come to any other conclusion but

that Allah was guiding his footsteps. Even a more sophisticated monarch could not attribute the numberless occasions on which has succeeded with incalculable odds against him, merely to blind chance, and Ibn Sa'ud is fundamentally a simple-minded man. These mental processes of the King did not take place in a day, but it has been obvious since 1930 that his mind has turned more to religion. That he is turning more to religious and spiritual matters is clear from the way in which he is emphasizing the puritanical restrictions of the Wahhabis. For example, on January 8th, 1931, there was an Accession Day Celebration to celebrate his coming to the throne, and after it the Ulema of Nejd protested against the worldliness of the affair; Ibn Sa'ud publicly confessed that they were right and he was wrong, and neither last year nor this year has there been such a celebration. Again smoking is entirely forbidden amongst the King's entourage and at any function which he attends. There have been numerous police raids in Mecca, Medina and Jedda, with the object of seizing liquor, and punishments ferocious to European eyes have been meted out to offenders. Not long ago a wretched Hadhrami stole a piece of the black stone from the Kaba in Mecca, because he thought that it would be lucky, but he discovered that any luck coming his way would have to be in Paradise, as his head was chopped off. A Hejazi who murdered his father and mother and then appealed to the King for clemency on the ground that he was an orphan, was executed at the same time. In his speeches Ibn Sa'ud has been particularly severe on backsliders. At the last Pilgrimage banquet oration he said, "I fear Christians once but I fear so-called Moslems three thousand times." This gave great offence to Mohammedans elsewhere, notably to the representatives of Persia and Afghanistan. Ibn Sa'ud has been definitely very much more strict on the observation of all the Wahhabi tenets recently. One more small example is that no music of any description is allowed in the Hejaz. Many Hejazi had brought in gramophones, so there was a police raid in which every single gramophone needle was seized; there is now not one to be had in the whole of the Hajaz except in the foreign missions.

After this he gives an estimate of Ibn Sa'ud:

Ibn Sa'ud is a genius. It is by no manner of means and exaggeration to say that he is the greatest Arab since the prophet. He is very fond of saying, "The English are my friends; but I will walk with them only so far as my religion and honour will allow." But he is genius enough to know when to continue the walk even though it is necessary to allow a certain amount of elasticity both to his religion and to his honour. In several matters repeatedly, perhaps almost once every six months, he has come up against Great Britain, and he has an uncommon instinct choosing the occasions when he can stand his ground and beat us, because for some reasons, perhaps not connected with Arabia, perhaps a Labour Government, we cannot do anything at the time. He always chooses occasions and always wins, increasing his prestige every time. Otherwise he lodges a strong protest and gives way.

#### A Diagnosis of the Economic Depression

Mr. J. A. Hobson, the well-known English economist offers a diagnosis of the present economic condition in *The New Republic*:

1. Large quantities of productive resources, good enough for utilization a few years ago, are lying idle in nearly all the major industries in nearly all countries.

2. This idleness means that the goods they could produce are not being produced because they could not be marketed at a price that would cover costs of production and leave a margin of profit.

3. Recent technological improvements, making it possible to turn out an increased product per unit of equipment, should enable business to increase the real income paid to each factor of production.

4. If the distribution of the potentially larger product between the owners of the different factors in production were unchanged, the real income of each owner would be larger and the present unemployment would be impossible.

5. We must therefore look to changes in distribution unfavourable to some factor of production for our explanation of the depression.

6. Dislocations due to post-war disturbances, industrial, commercial, monetary, though involving much waste, are not an adequate explanation of the general stoppage.

7. Trading obstructions, tariffs, embargoes, etc., are to be regarded primarily as results of an insufficiency of markets rather than as causes.

8. Had the Great War with its post-war economic troubles not taken place, the problem of an excessive productivity would none the less have emerged.

9. This actual and potential excess of productive resources indicates a disequilibrium between the amount of productive energy devoted to making capital goods and that devoted to making consumption goods, an excessive proportion being given to the former.

10. This excess of saving is a natural result of a distribution of income so unequal that a rich class receiving an income in excess of its high requirements of expenditure allows the surplus to pass automatically into business reserve and bank deposits.

11. This surplus of savings bears no natural or rational relation to the amount of the real capital required for the enlargement and improvement of the business structure so as to meet the increasing needs of growing populations with purchasing power.

12. For the surplus which goes into oversaving, as it is irrational in origin (consisting of rents, monopoly or quasi-monopoly prices and other products of economic force and chance), so it is irrational in its disposal.

12. For though the flow of each man's savings tends to pass into uses which offer the highest return in interest, the supply of savings as a whole is not appreciably affected by the rate of interest, *i.e.*, a rise in rates of interest would not cause a rise in saving. The supply of savings in directly governed by the profitability of industry, the surplus revenue of the well-to-do.

14. This irrationality of distribution of income, alike in origin and use, explains the chronic tendency towards oversaving in the capitalist system.

15. This oversaving has two phases. The first is that of over-investment and over-production of plant and other capital goods, and the attempt to operate this excessive plant with the assistance of bank loans for running expenses in the shape of wages and purchases of materials.

16. This phase of over-investment may continue

undetected for some time. For there exists no pooled intelligence able to forecast the future of the several or total markets upon which the utility and earning power of the new capital depend. The capitalist system is not a rational system.

17. When experience shows that an excessive capital equipment has been provided, so that the aggregate output, not in a few but in most industries, cannot be marketed at a profit investment stops and the second phase ensues.

18. This phase exhibits a rate of saving which falls with the decline of business profits but is still in excess of business requirements. It is the phase of idle money waiting in bank deposits for recovery and investment at some future time.

19. Here we reach the unemployment problem, idle plant, idle labour, idle savings, idle bank resources.

20. If this is the natural result of an irrational and unequal distribution of incomes, we may ask ourselves why this depression is so much deeper, wider and more prolonged than previous ones.

21. The explanation lies in the greater rapidity with which technological and other improvements have been applied to larger areas of the economic system. Statistics indicate a pace of technological advance since the War, in the United States, Germany and elsewhere, which greatly enlarged the output, not only of manufactures, but of foods and raw materials, with a considerable reduction of employed labour.

22. This advance, due to more and better capital, placed a larger proportion of the income yielded by the selling prices in the possession of the owners of capital, a smaller in the possession of workers. This statement is consistent with a rise

in money and real wages of the smaller numbers employed in advanced industries.

23. If the competitive system had remained in full swing the labor "saved" in the machine processes might have been absorbed in the enlarged demand for standard goods within the nation or abroad, or else might have passed into new industries in the producing country for the satisfaction of new needs, or it could have flowed into overseas areas by immigration for the development of new markets for our wares.

24. This was in substance what happened in our capitalist industries during the first three-quarters of last century. A rising standard of living for all classes in England and an illimitable overseas market for British surplus goods, though not preventing serious cyclical depression from taking place, furnished means of alleviation and recovery.

25. Just as any single person may save, invest and utilize for further production any proportion of his income that he may choose, so may any group or nation, provided that other peoples are willing and able to borrow and utilize those savings in the shape of export goods.

26. But the amount of effective saving for the economic system as a whole under the present technology of the capitalist system is limited by the amount of effective demand in the hands of would-be consumers. While the population of this or any other country might save and invest one-quarter of its whole income (given freedom of importation into other countries), the population of the capitalist world as a whole might be unable to save and invest more than one-eighth. If this were so, the attempt of each country to save and invest one-quarter would inevitably bring about such a depression as we are undergoing.

## INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

### The Rev. J. W. Burton on the Conditions of Indians in Fiji

Rev. J. W. Burton, General Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia, is one of that small band of noble-minded missionaries, whose names will be gratefully remembered by Indians and their children in Fiji for the splendid fight they put up against indenture slavery at considerable risk till that hated system was abolished. Rev. Burton's book *Fiji of To-day* created a great impression when it was published more than twenty years ago and it can be said without any exaggeration that it exposed the brutalities of the system with a frankness that was at once bold and refreshing. Rev. Burton visited Fiji in last May and has written his impressions in the *Missionary Review* of June. Here is an extract from his article:

The social changes are even more significant, though less apparent at first glance. Possibly the most noticeable change is in the condition of the Indian people. Thirty years ago, most were living under that terrible indenture system, in sordid coolie lines (or barracks) with accommodation so wretched that we should hesitate

to house therein domestic animals. For them life was an ugly experience, a recurring nightmare, without one touch of romance or lilt of joy. Almost-naked-children, incredibly filthy, played in the cheerless and depressing "lines." For them there were no opportunities of education, and only the barest echo of that ancient culture, which was their birthright, came to them from some wandering *sadhu* or half-educated pundit. Two schools in Suva then represented all the educational facilities open to this large population. To-day there are scores of government, mission and Indian-managed schools, with over a hundred qualified teachers. Indians have now increasing opportunity for realizing their own cultural heritage, and also have the privilege of obtaining an education in English to fit them for the modern conditions of their life.

One Sunday afternoon we visited an Indian settlement called Vuci. A fitful gleam of sunlight shone on a newly-painted building and within, through the open windows, could be seen a hundred black heads seated at comfortable line, which was removed from a well-known plantation some twelve miles up the river, and transformed by a touch of genius into a gracious centre of learning. Seated in the front of the building were a few old men who had known



the old coolie days, and on whose lined, sad faces the bitter marks of the past were indelibly written. What were their thoughts as they listened to their grandchildren singing Christian hymns! What suffering and horror had connected themselves in their minds with this once ugly building! And now, what hope for another generation! The building was a parable, and made an effective text for a sermon to the girls and boys present on the advantages and privileges that were theirs and purchased at such cost of pain and misery by their forebears.

The Indian community has undergone a vast social and, to some extent, a moral change. Better houses, better food, better clothes and better opportunities of culture are theirs. Most important of all is the new self-respect that has been born in their hearts, and if sometimes, as they hear from their fathers the story of their past servitude, they are bitter and ironical, we ought readily to forgive them, even though we might wish that an appreciation of their new privileges might make them a little more charitable in their judgments. The Indian people in Fiji have yet to learn one great lesson—a lesson the whole world has yet to learn; it is, how to live together in concord and mutual helpfulness; and they must learn, too, how to relate themselves to other races in an effort to make Fiji a beautiful and happy home for a free and progressive people.

Certainly there has been a great improvement in the social condition of our people in Fiji since the abolition of the indenture system and Rev. Burton can feel legitimate pride in having been one of the instruments to bring about this creditable state of affairs. Though there still remains a good deal to be done for our people in Fiji yet we hope that they will make up for their deficiencies and Rev. Burton will live long enough to witness the marvelous result in his own life time.

#### Arya-Samajist Preachers in the Colonies

We are glad to note that the *Sarva Deshik*, the monthly organ of the central body of Arya-Samaj in India and abroad—has written in its July number a strong article against those Arya-Samajist preachers who have made it a business to frequent the colonies with the ulterior motive of amassing money for private purposes. They have done considerable harm to the cause of the Arya-Samaj and it is time that they were exposed. The *Sarva Deshik Sabha* is publishing an account of the work of the Arya-Samaj in the colonies and we hope that it will give a clear lead to the Arya-Samajists of the colonies in this matter.

#### Dr. Lanka Sundaram's Observations

Dr. Lanka Sundaram, who has returned from his tour in Malaya, Siam and Indo-China,

delivered an interesting speech in Madras under the presidentship of Honourable Mr. G. A. Natesan.

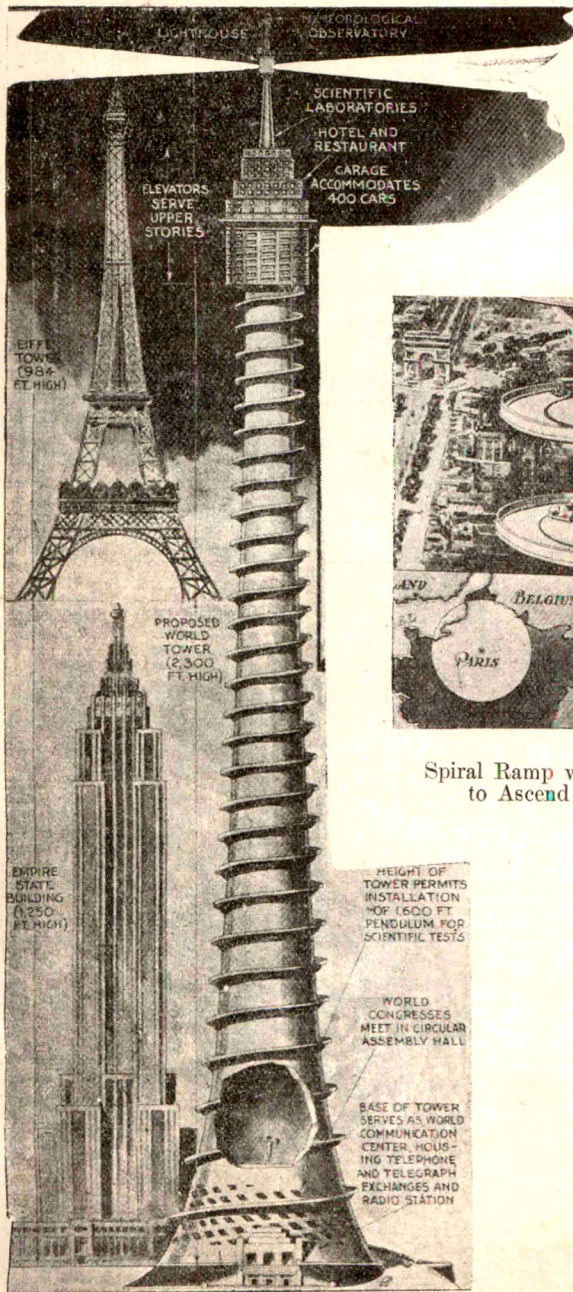
As a result of his tour, Dr. Lanka Sundaram said that he had come to certain conclusions and hoped to prepare a memorandum containing his conclusions and his recommendations to be submitted to authorities concerned. The first conclusion he came to was that it was grossly immoral for the people as well as the Government of India to permit any further assisted immigration to Federated Malay States or to any other country. The time was long overdue for stopping the system. As far as Malaya was concerned there were to-day four lakhs of Indians marooned and every effort must be made to restore parity between the sexes there. What was wanted was land colonization. The Indian labourers would always be in demand in the States and India, if it willed, could usefully exploit the situation to the benefit of the Indian labourers. Again if the conditions of Indians in the States were to improve, a greater liaison should be established between the Indians and their home country. The speaker believed that there was a great necessity for educated and cultured Indians to pay occasional visits to those countries in order to bring them in closer touch with the mother country. He therefore would appeal to the leaders to send out religious preachers and politicians periodically to the States. India was now passing through a transition and in the new constitution the position of the Indians abroad should be discussed and if a department of external affairs controlled by an elected Indian was established things were bound to improve.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram concluded by saying that till then India had neglected her sons and the Government of India had not seen its way to come to the rescue of the Indians even when they had a great bargaining power. What they need was incessant agitation and not mere petitioning. In every possible manner culturally, politically and economically Indians must keep a tight grip upon their nationals abroad and if this was done, the lecturer had no doubt that in a decade, the Indians overseas could be considered as the foreign legion of India, prepared to defend their mother country at all times. By giving attention to this important problem, they would not only be raising the status of the Indians abroad but also heighten the prestige of India. The Indians abroad deserved their gratitude and love and the lecturer hoped that these would be forthcoming in an abundant measure.

(Hindu, July 14th)

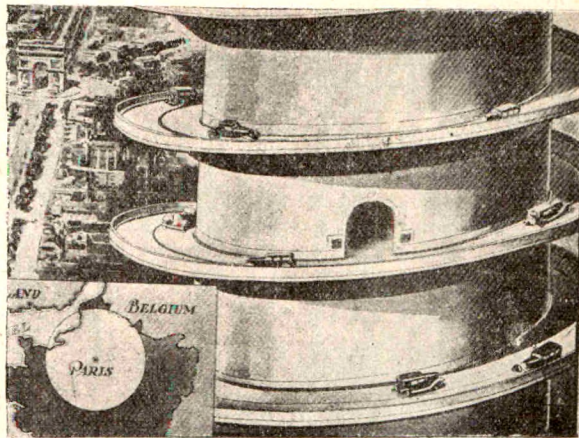
We shall eagerly wait for the memorandum of Dr. Lanka Sundaram and hope that he will some day visit such distant colonies as Fiji, British Guiana and Trinidad and give us the benefit of his experiences and impressions. We entirely agree with his conclusions narrated above. Occasional visits of educated and cultured Indians like Dr. Lanka Sundaram will prove useful in bringing about closer relations between India and Greater India.

# GLEANNINGS



## Tallest Structure Ever Built by Man Has been Designed for World Exhibition in 1937 at Paris

Set the Eiffel Tower on top of the Empire State Building, and you will have a structure approaching the dimensions of a skyscraper that is planned in France. This mighty shaft of reinforced concrete, to be known as the "World Tower," will be 2,300 feet high. Its erection is contemplated as a part of the Paris exhibition of 1937.



Spiral Ramp with Easy Grade Permits Motorist to Ascend and Descend from the Tower in their own Cars

Motorists who visit the World Tower will ascend the first 1,600 feet in their own cars. A winding ramp encircles the tower for this height, and enables automobiles to climb it under their own power. From there, the visitor is whisked aloft in an elevator.

A weather observatory and a lighthouse occupy the pinnacle of the tower. Calculations show that, at such a height, a beacon should be visible at a distance of 120 miles. On a lower floor, an immense circular hall 430 feet in diameter is to be the scene of important public gatherings. Laboratories, housed in the tower, will enjoy the benefit of its height, making possible such unusual apparatus as a 1,600 foot pendulum—a useful aid in studying the movements of the earth, and in experiments dealing with the laws of gravity. Headquarters for world communication services and for the press are in the tower base.



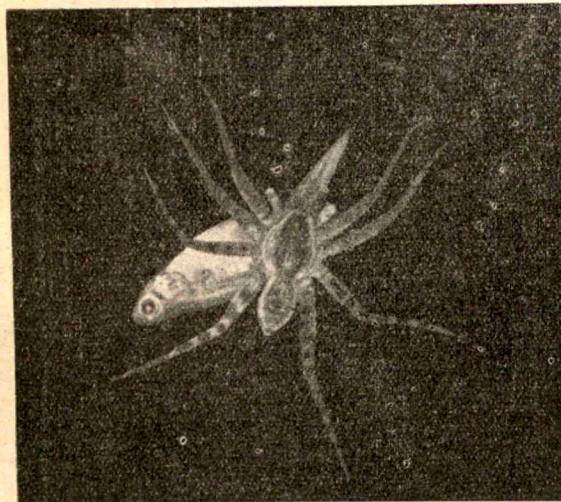
Revenues from all sources are expected to pay for the tower in forty years.

*Popular Science Monthly*

### Fish-eating Spiders

A species of fish-eating spiders has been discovered by Mr. Gopal Chandra Bhattacharya of the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta. Mr. Bhattacharya describes these spiders in the *Transactions* (Vol. VII, 1931-32) of the Institute:

"In a pond of water at Dum Dum I found a large number of diving spiders. Numerous sun-fishes or minnows (*Elassomaxonata*) were also swimming about in the same pond. When I noticed some four or five such fishes feeding at the edge of a small nymphoid leaf; a female spider was also seen, sitting at the centre of the leaf and watching the fishes patiently for a long time. From the attitude of the spider, a cursory observer would have concluded that she was absolutely indifferent to the movements of the minnows. The case was, however, very different; for the spider crept very slowly from the centre towards the edge of the leaf by alternately advancing and then stopping for a while. When sufficiently near she suddenly fell upon one of the small fishes about three-fourths of an inch in length; she caught the fish by the neck and inserted her poison fangs into it. In vain did the fish struggle to set itself free; the spider was in a secure position and succeeded in dragging the fish on to the leaf, where after a brief struggle it became completely paralysed, and died subsequently.

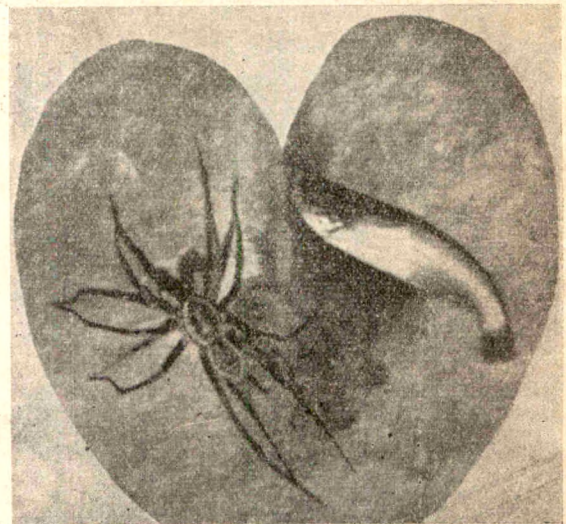


Process of devouring the fish (leaf not seen)

"For further observation I collected a large number of these spiders and placed them in a glass reservoir with a small quantity of water, in which were also placed some aquatic plants and half a dozen minnows. One of the minnows

was missing on the third day, and the number gradually decreased till on the tenth day all had disappeared. Evidently they had been devoured by the spiders.

"I next attempted to photograph these spiders in the very act of capturing and devouring the fish. The task proved to be exceedingly difficult. Success, however, attended my efforts after I had kept the spiders in a shallow vessel containing water for five days without any food, so that



Fish dragged on to the leaf by spider, which, disturbed by loud sound, releases it.

they became extremely hungry. After the spiders had become accustomed to their new surroundings, a number of minnows were introduced into the vessel, in which they swam about vigorously. One of the spiders now caught hold of a fish, and I took this favourable opportunity to photograph the spider in the process of capturing its prey.

"In the upper of the two illustrations the fish captured by the spider and dragged on to the leaf is seen released, on account of the spider having been frightened by a loud sound which was purposely made. In the lower illustration of the same figure there was no such disturbance, and the spider succeeded in pulling the fish on to the leaf and in completely paralysing and killing it by its poison fangs. After having done this the spider greedily devoured the fish. In order to have a clear view of the process, the leaf on to which the fish has been dragged is omitted from the illustration.

"When the vessel containing the starving spiders was supplied with tadpoles, the latter were attacked and paralysed by the poison fangs. The spiders, however, did not appear to relish the tadpoles as much as they did the minnows.



## NOTES

### *Untrue Statements About Santiniketan*

Writing of Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya and Animananda in his *Renasant India* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London) Dr. Zacharias says :

In 1897 the two joined forces, and in 1901 made the attempt of reviving the old Indian ideal of pedagogy. They started in Calcutta a school for high-caste Hindus, to be run on these lines, and after a few months were joined there by a third companion, Rabindranath Tagore, son of the famous Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, and of the same age as Upadhyaya. Rabindranath prevailed upon them to transfer their school to a country-seat of his father, near Bolpur; and thus began Shantiniketan, which in the thirty years which have lapsed since, has developed into the famous International University of the great Bengali Poet, whose name has become a household word of the whole world.

But the collaboration of the three soon came to an end, and in 1902 both Brahmabandhav and Animananda had to leave Shantiniketan; the former, because he had too much influence over the Poet; the latter, because he had too much influence over the boys—as Animananda once smilingly explained to me.

The fact is, as we have learnt from a recent conversation on the subject with the Poet, Rabindranath became acquainted with Brahmabandhav long after he (the Poet) had obtained the consent of his father, the Maharshi, to establish at Santiniketan a school, which was named Brahma-Vidyalyaya, for training students according to the spiritual ideals of the Upanishads as understood and interpreted by the Maharshi and the Adi Brahma Samaj, and after its work had actually commenced on a very small scale. The ideals of the institution have not remained exactly the same; there have been various developments.

Santiniketan, by the by, was not a country-seat of the Maharshi. It was found-

ed by him as an occasional retreat for religious-minded persons for meditation and other devotional purposes.

Far from joining the Calcutta school said to have been founded by Brahmabandhav and Animananda (the latter the Poet did not know at that time), Rabindranath did not even know of its existence. When he met Brahmabandhav in Calcutta, the conversation turning on the school at Santiniketan, Rabindranath referred to his then very limited experience of the work of teaching and expressed diffidence about his ability to teach. Brahmabandhav thereupon expressed his and his friend Animananda's ability and willingness to help him in his work, as they both had experience of teaching according to the ancient Indian ideal of pedagogy, which they loved and respected and according to which, partly, the institution was to be conducted. So he gladly invited them to join the Ashram, which they did. It had then only a small number of pupils, to which the two friends added a few more. Brahmabandhav was very helpful as an organizer and in introducing certain rules and disciplines. He was also an able teacher. Animananda proved to be a "true educational genius," as Dr. Zacharias calls him, and won the respect and affection of his pupils.

The reasons why they left Santiniketan have not been correctly given by the author. The untrue statement of Brahmabandhav's, alleged excessive influence over the Poet leading to his leaving Santiniketan need not be examined; as, called away by some other work of his elsewhere, Brahmabandhav left the school of his own accord. As for Animananda, he had to leave, not because



he had too much influence over the boys, but because of a different reason which the Poet has told us of. This, however, both he and ourselves are unwilling to divulge unless compelled to.

### *Bombay University's Hoarding Habit*

The surplus budget of the Bombay University was severely criticized by Prof. K. T. Shah at the University senate meeting held on the 12th June last. Criticizing the hoarding habit, he said, the Bombay University presented the unique spectacle of rapidly accumulating surplus for the last ten years, which was invested in securities depreciating year by year. He opined, the university was not carrying out the legitimate activities which the legislature intended it to. There was ample room for expanding its activities and enlarging its departments and added, while there was scope for expansion, there was also room for economy.

Universities stand, among other things, for garnering knowledge and adding to the world's stock of knowledge by fresh acquisitions. Hoarding of any other kind is not generally associated with universities.

### *"Communal Pact"*

Under the above heading, the *Statesman* publishes the following letter from Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji:

Sir,—The correspondence you have recently published on the Communal Problem has not, I find, taken sufficient account of one fundamental point. The minority communities of Bengal and the Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs, have declared from all platforms, Mahasabha and Round Table Conference, that they are prepared to work a genuine democracy, pure and undefiled, with their Moslem brethren in the majority, on the basis of a joint electorate, without claiming even any reservation of seats to the extent of their strength in population. What is the Moslem response to this offer? If it is accepted, it will cut the Gordian knot and purge the country for all time to come of the evils of communalism and of all its brood such as Communal Electorate, Reservation or Weightage of Representation. After this standing offer of the Hindus and Sikhs, there is no use branding them always as Communalists.—Yours, etc.

It has been repeatedly pointed out in this journal that, as Hindus—even those of them who adhere to the Hindu Mahasabha programme, do not want any special privileges and considerations for themselves but only want the wrongs done to them to be righted, they ought not to be called communalists. Communalists are they who have prayed for and obtained special favours, privileges,

'wegihtage,' and other anti-national and anti-democratic advantages for themselves.

### *Indian States' People's Conference*

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Chairman of the reception committee of the fourth session of the Indian States' People's Conference, which was held last month at Bombay, said in welcoming the delegates:

The position now is that the people in the States wish to be as completely free as their fellow countrymen in the British Indian provinces. The utmost that they would concede to the princes is the position of constitutional monarchs as the British Crown is in Great Britain. Continuing, he said, the federation envisaged in the White Paper was precisely what the Federation ought not to be, and regretted that the princes had made no secret of the fact that they would not mind entering it, if they were assured that their present control over the subjects would be allowed to continue. He suggested that in the provinces and in the units of Indian States there should be full local autonomy and there should be elected legislatures with ministers fully responsible to them. The future federated Government, he pointed out, should be a fully responsible Government and no departments should be reserved. The special powers and safe-guards which did not satisfy the people should be left over and the Chancellor of the Exchequer should not be a figurehead while the real power and authority would be divided between the Reserve Bank and the Governor-General. Concluding, he exhorted that the Federation which the people should accept should be the complete mistress of her own house.

There should be no difficulty for the people of the Indian States and 'British' India in supporting these views, as they are only a repetition of opinions widely held and long.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, the veteran publicist, emphasized in the course of his able presidential address

the supreme necessity for Indian princes to demonstrate that they are less self-centred, that they are prepared to be represented in the coming federation by representatives and that they would be prepared to introduce representative institutions in their States. Mr. Kelkar declared that the Indian States could yet be saved from the anarchist and the communist if the Princes showed a little more democratic spirit in politics and a little more socialistic tendency in matters economic.

He urged the Indian Princes to forgo willingly those legislative and executive powers which the King of England or the President of the United States of America did not claim or was not allowed to enjoy. He appealed to them to treat their State revenue as trust property to be administered for the welfare of the people. Within federation they should not make themselves a deadweight against



the democratic aspirations of the British Indian people. While he whole-heartedly approved of the federal scheme, he doubted whether the so-called federation was in the making or in the melting-pot, as the real attitude of the Princes was still shrouded in mystery.

Outlining the demands of the people of the States, he said :

Paramountcy should not be divided and it should ultimately rest with the Federal Government. During the transition period the Princes should establish responsible government in their States and undertake progressive legislation. The States should be admitted into federation on the condition that the standard of Government in them would be the same as that in British India. The States should be represented in the Federal Legislature only through elected representatives of the people and no nominees of the Princes should be allowed. Until responsible government was established in the States and independent judiciary came into existence the States' judiciary should be linked to the Federal Supreme Court. The declaration of fundamental rights of the people should be included in the federal constitution and such rights should be guaranteed to the people.

In conclusion, he said that the problem of federation deserved to be discussed in all its aspects, because once the Constitution Act was passed there would be years and years before it could be amended.

Mr. Kelkar's mature opinions will find a responsive echo in the minds of all Indian nationalists.

### *How Hyderabad Revenues Are Spent*

In his presidential address at the Indian States' People's Conference Mr. N. C. Kelkar appealed to the Princes to treat their State revenue as trust property to be administered for the welfare of the people. It is a pleasure to acknowledge that a few Princes act according to the spirit of this principle ; but unhappily most of them, whether Hindus, Musalmans or Sikhs, do not. Some make public declarations in harmony with these principles but do not act up to them. An apt illustration of this observation is to be found in a memorial submitted to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government by the Standing Committee of the Hindu subjects of Hyderabad, of which we received a copy recently.

The memorialists begin by observing :

We, the members of the Standing Committee of the Hyderabad Hindu subjects, note with satisfaction the remarks made by the Government of His

Exalted Highness in their communique issued from Delhi, dated the 2nd March 1932, in which they are pleased to say that "They (Hindu subjects) well know that their prosperity and happiness are as dear to their Ruler's heart as those of their fellow subjects, whether Muslims, Christians or Parsis. His Exalted Highness prizes alike the loyalty of all and will never tolerate any racial discrimination, either in the public service or in any other direction." The gracious Firman published in Jarida-i-Elamia Vol. 60, dated 12th Saharewar 1338 F. in connection with Gurudwara Nander, contains an explicit statement by his Exalted Highness of his wise policy in treating all the religionists in the State equally for which the Committee is very grateful. The relevant portion is as below :

"It is the duty of every Government that they should protect the life, property and the sacred places of the subjects of divergent religions. This had been the policy of my ancestors and inasmuch as I have been following their footsteps I have adopted the same policy. The Ruler of the country had never shown any partiality towards any religion, whatever be his personal religion. On the same principle, I have issued orders to my Government that, not only should they pay proper attention to the Gurudwaras but they should pay attention to every place of worship, so that they may be safe from the interference of outsiders. On account of this golden principle of administration, the name of my dynasty has become famous since olden times and I have strong hopes that the same good name would be perpetuated."

The memorial is followed by eleven tables. From them one can easily see that it is not at all true that the Ruler of Hyderabad "had never shown any partiality towards any religion." Hindus form about seven-eighths of the population of the State and contribute the bulk of its revenues. Now, look at the expenditure.

Table No. I gives the expenses incurred by the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam on Kazis, Pesh-Imams, Hafizes, etc., from 1325 Fasli to 1340 Fasli (1915 A. D. to 1930 A. D.) The expenditure has increased from Rs. 69,870 in the year 1325 Fasli to Rs. 389,075 in 1340 Fasli. In 1337 Fasli Rs. 595,700 were given for repairs for mosques in foreign countries. The amounts on this head are spent from Public Revenue contributed to the Government by all the religionists residing in the State and therefore the question naturally arises, why such a large amount should be spent annually for the benefit of one community ? If it is supposed that Government should create facilities for the better understanding of the religion by their subjects, the next question which arises is why the Government should spend such large amounts over Kazis, Pesh-Imams, and Hafizes and not spend a portion thereof on Shastris, Pandits, or Christian Priests in the State ?

In this connection it may be noted that one can understand the money spent from the public revenue for the religious uplift of the subjects of the State, but how can the expenditure of Rs. 595,700 be justified on repairs of mosques in foreign countries ?



Table II gives the amounts spent on pilgrims to Mecca by the Nizam's Government. Why should a State spend money on this head? And if there be any reason for doing so, why are not pilgrims sent at State expense to Benares, Palestine or Rome? Table III shows the amounts spent on Moslem festivals, nothing having been spent on non-Moslem festivals for more than a decade. Tables IV and IVA show that, of the Mamuldars, Yomiadars and Salianadars receiving annual cash allowances of from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1200 and above, 538 are Mahomedans, 160 Hindus and 8 others. Table V (religious charities), table VI (ecclesiastical department), table VII (religious and charitable institutions), table VIII (grants to foreign institutions), table IX (donations to several institutions and persons) and tables X and XI (amounts spent on the ecclesiastical department) all show partiality to Mahomedan persons, institutions, etc., to the total or almost total exclusion of non-Mahomedan ones. The amounts in each table total several lakhs.

### *Jagadananda Ray*

In Jagadananda Ray Santiniketan has lost an inspiring, devoted and very successful teacher. He was connected with the school almost from the beginning and gave himself literally to the work with all his heart. His love for his pupils knew no bounds. He did not think his duty to them ended with the school hours. He helped them whenever necessary and practicable during his and their waking hours. Nor was his work co-terminous with the teaching of the subjects professed by him. He enlightened and entertained his pupils with his store of scientific knowledge. No wonder, he was rewarded with the sincere respect and affection of generations of students. He has enriched Bengali literature with scientific books on various subjects written in a simple and attractive style. He was unrivalled in this field of literary activity. Though ostensibly written for boys and girls, these books are worthy of study by many of their elders. The Calcutta University had recently appointed him a member of a Committee for drawing up a scheme for the

development of scientific literature in the Bengali language. It would not be easy to find his successor. For a number of years he did useful work in connection with rural self-governing institutions. He had an abounding sense of humour and could laugh heartily. He was known as a successful actor in some of Rabindranath Tagore's plays.

### *Pandit Kailas Prasad Kichlu*

Pandit Kailas Prasad Kichlu of Allahabad, whose unexpected death in Europe came as a shock to his numerous friends and relatives, began life in a humble capacity in the office of the Legal Remembrancer of the United Provinces. He then moved on to the office of the Director of Public Instruction. Henceforth all the offices he filled were connected with education. He became successively head master, inspector of schools, registrar of departmental examinations, assistant director, deputy director, and Director of Public Instruction, U. P. Subsequently he became special officer of the Agra University and Government of India Educational Adviser in South Africa. The last office he held was the post of special educational officer in the Jaipur State, Rajputana. He was an able teacher, a good disciplinarian and a capable organizer and administrator. Withal he was noted for his geniality and remarkable conversational powers.

### *Sir M. B. Chaubal*

Sir Mahadeo B. Chaubal, whose death in Poona last month was announced with regret in the Bombay Presidency papers, was the first Indian executive councillor of the Bombay Government. To be the first Indian in holding a high official appointment may sometimes be due, not to outstanding merit, but to accidental circumstances. What made Sir Mahadeo Chaubal prominent was his excellent work in connection with the Public Service Commission of which Lord Islington was the president. After retiring from Government service he used to take active interest in the affairs of educational institutions in Poona, where he had settled.



Sir (then Mr.) M. B. Chaubal's note of dissent to the Report of the Islington Commission may still be read with profit. Long extracts from it have been given in Major Basu's posthumous work, *India Under the British Crown*. We will quote a few sentences here from the extracts in that book. It seems that among the arguments used against the larger employment of educated Indians in the higher public services one was that they did not 'represent' the masses and suffered from class bias. Sir Mahadeo Chaubal's reply ran as follows in part :

"If this argument is analysed one cannot help being struck with the assumption that this capacity to represent the masses is taken for granted in the European and the Anglo-Indian. It is difficult to understand exactly what is intended to be conveyed by the word 'represent.' If it implies a knowledge of the conditions of life of these masses, their habits, their ways of living and thinking, their wants and grievances, the ability to enter into their thoughts, and appreciate what is necessary to educate them, to give them higher ideas of life, and make them realize their duties towards all about them, there ought to be no doubt that the educated Indian has all these in a far higher degree than any European or Anglo-Indian can claim to have. The charge really is that the educated Indian has a class bias, a sort of clannishness, a tendency to favour his own caste or community in the discharge of his official duties which detract from his usefulness in the higher service, and therefore, the presence of the European in large numbers is necessary to hold the scales evenly between these few educated thousands and the dumb and ignorant millions, who would otherwise be oppressed by them.

"This is rather a shallow pretence—this attempt to take shelter behind the masses ; and I think it only fair to state that the class of educated Indians, from which only the higher posts can be filled, is singularly free from this narrow-mindedness and class or caste bias ; e. g., no instances of complaint on this score as against any of the Indian members of the Indian Civil Service would be available, and I have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in his recent contribution on village life in his tour through Southern India, that the interests of the masses are likely to be far better understood and taken care of by the educated Indian than by the foreigner. As a matter of fact, all the measures proposed for the regeneration of the lower and depressed classes have emanated from the educated Indians of the higher castes. The scheme for the free and compulsory education of these masses was proposed by an educated Indian of a high caste and supported mainly by the 'western-educated' classes. High-souled and self-sacrificing men are everyday coming forward from this class to work whole-heartedly in improving the condition of the masses."

### *Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta*

By the death of Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta Bengal has lost a true leader whose place, humanly speaking, will remain vacant for an indefinite period. We say, "Bengal", not "India", because, as Bengal has fallen on evil days, we want to avoid claiming for any Bengali, however great his worth, 'All-India' importance. Non-Bengalis ought to be the best judges of *any* Bengali's usefulness or otherwise to India outside Bengal.

Jatindra Mohan possessed all the qualities of a true leader. He had political knowledge and wisdom in abundant measure, though like others superior to him in these respects he was not infallible. He was fearless, sincere and truth-loving in speech and action. He was ever ready to lose life and limb and property in promoting the cause he had at heart. And it was not mere theoretical readiness. His fearlessness was proved on many an occasion. In the course of his service to the people he received bodily injuries, he went to jail, he was reduced to poverty by his fraternal generosity to those in need and by his giving up his practice as a lawyer for a time, and now the tale of his sufferings and sacrifices has been completed by his death.

As indicated above, he had known before his last imprisonment what loss of personal freedom meant. A man can be imprisoned many times, but can die only once. As he was only 48 at the time of his death as a prisoner, there was every possibility of his being imprisoned many times again if he had not been taken away so early. The hand of Death has spared Government that obloquy and expense.

He was not a mere political leader. Like a true son of his noble and distinguished father, he was a social reformer as well, doing from boyhood upwards many things quite naturally which are being considered quite remarkable achievements on the part of even some senior political leaders. He also practically worked for the industrial and economic advancement of the country.

He was Mayor of Calcutta for a longer period than any other incumbent of that high office. He filled it with dignity and impartiality.



lity and with his personal honour and integrity unsullied upon by the breath of slander.

He was a good sportsman, both literally and figuratively. His urbanity and freedom from fanaticism of any sort were well known characteristics.

That he had to die as a prisoner was his glory—the glory of a martyr, but our disgrace.

His imprisonment without charge and trial and his death in a state of detention must remain serious counts against the Government of the day. Being fearless of speech, in connection with the plunder of Chittagong Hindus he had given opportunities before his last imprisonment to some officials concerned and to the Government to take him to court. But these opportunities were not taken advantage of. Government chose the easier, swifter and apparently safer course of depriving him of his liberty without charge or trial

under some Regulation which has been found handy on many another occasion. He was suffering from ill-health at the time of his last arrest. What might have been, is generally mere fruitless speculation. But the human mind does not always work under full subjection to this sapient maxim. Hence his sorrowing countrymen cannot but think that, had he been free, he could have had better medical

treatment for his maladies and that unchafing spirit which makes for recovery. If he had been tried and found guilty and sentenced, he would have known when his confinement would end. But as things stood, he did not know when he would be free. So, though his spirit was cast in the heroic mould, that feeling of uncertainty and suspense could not but have stood in the way of his ultimate recovery. Government incurred a great res-

ponsibility, when they arrested and put in prison a sick man. It cannot be said that that responsibility was properly discharged. His is not the only case which shows that perhaps Government officials have an inadequate sense of their responsibility for the health of political prisoners—particularly of those who are deprived of their liberty without charge and trial. The number of cases of tuberculosis among such prisoners perhaps justifies such an observation.

The great popular demon-

strations of a spontaneous character which marked his funerals and the big meetings held in Calcutta and numerous other places in his honour show what place he occupied in the affections of the people. They also show that Congress has not lost its hold on the people—for he was above all a Congressman. Popular demonstrations are sometimes



Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta



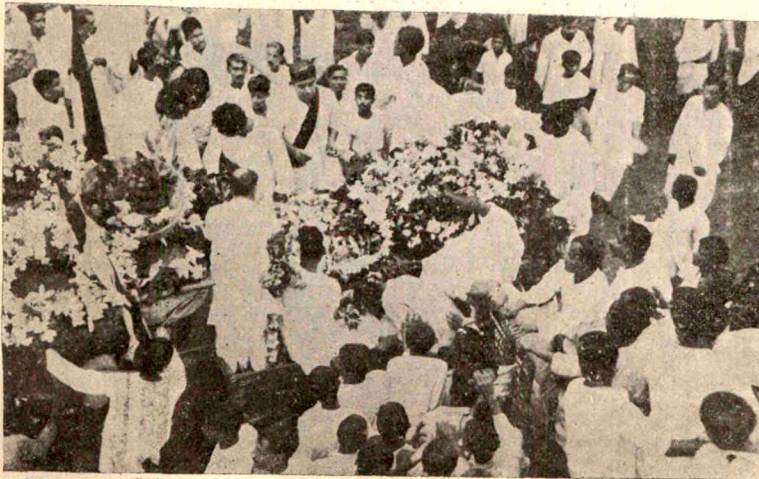
discounted. But all such demonstrations do not deserve such discounting. In the case of Mr. Sen Gupta, in addition to popular demonstrations, there are the tributes paid to his personality by leading men in different parts of the country, some of them not belonging to the Congress party. We refer to these tributes, as they have the ring of sincerity about them.

That there was no reference to Mr. Sen Gupta's death in the Calcutta High Court, of which he was a distinguished advocate, and in certain other courts, only shows, what is well known, that they are not the courts of justice of a free and independent country. We do not attach the least importance to such omissions. They do not take away from the greatness of the eminent deceased or of the cause for which he stood.

The European Councillors of the Calcutta Corporation who walked out when the resolution in honour of Mr. Sen Gupta was passed dishonoured themselves and their nation thereby. They could have stayed on after



The funeral procession of Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta in Calcutta



The flower-covered bier

observing that they did not share and could not honour his political principles and opinions. When any members of a representative body cannot vote for a motion, it is not usual for them to walk out. Walk-outs are for very special occasions. A walk-out was extremely unseemly on an occasion when a representative body wanted to show respect to the memory of a man who had been five times its worthy head—a man who as a political worker wanted freedom for his country, but who never acted feloniously or dishonourably. The violation of some laws involves moral turpitude, that of others does



not. So, whilst all Governments must needs punish even technical offences—it must be borne in mind that Mr. Sen Gupta's imprisonment was not due to any proved offence of even this character, private citizens are not bound to make an unseemly exhibition of disrespect for even rebels. But nothing succeeds like success, it seems. Hence, while Balfour and many other prominent British politicians have been known to place wreaths on the statue of the arch-rebel George Washington who with his comrades waged and won the War of American Independence, some puny specimens of the great Anglo-Saxon race could not refrain from showing disrespect to a dead non-violent rebel who and whose co-workers did not succeed in winning freedom for their country.

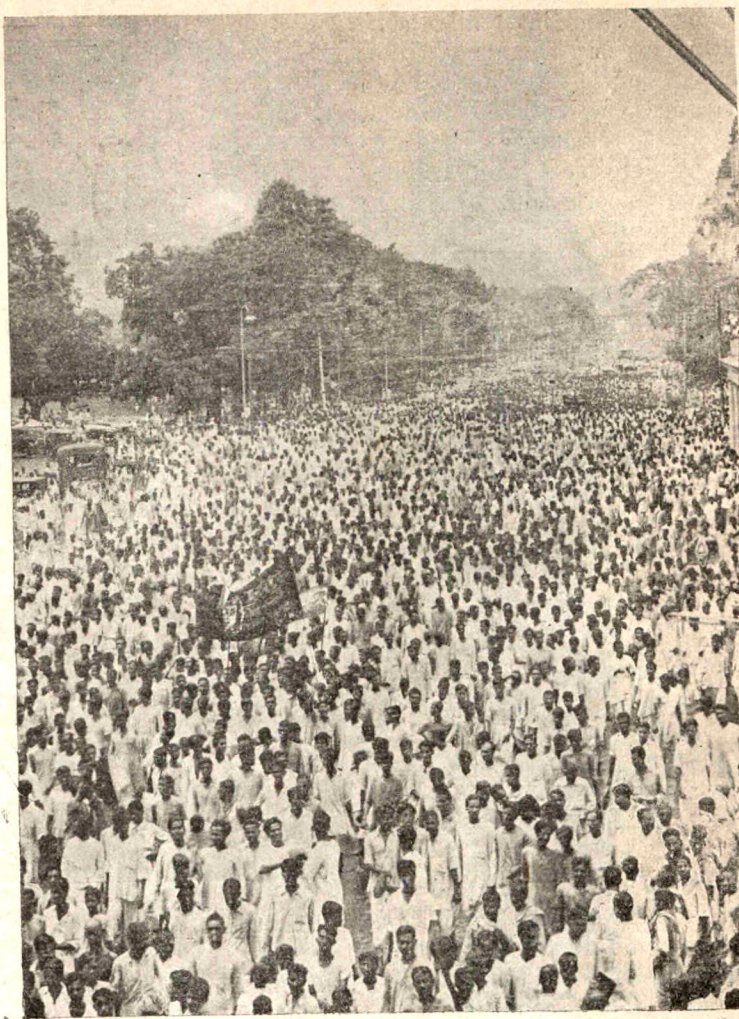
It is not by demonstrations and memorials that we can honour our leaders best. These have their value. But what is far more valuable and useful to the country is that we should all do our duty by it and lovingly serve it as they did. Their opinions may not all be ours, nor their methods. What is essential is that we should all unflinchingly follow the light vouchsafed to us as they did, in scorn of consequence.

*Acting Congress President Mr.  
Aney's statement.*

Nagpur, July 22.  
(Delayed & Censored)

Mr. M. S. Aney, acting President of the Congress, issued the following statement this evening:

"Having considered very carefully the recommendations of the informal conference recently held at Poona, the discussion among Congressmen in conference and outside and the advice tendered by Mr. Gandhi, I have come to the conclusion that



Part of the crowd which followed the procession

the country's best interests will be served by the following instructions being carried out:

Firstly, the civil disobedience campaign should not be unconditionally withdrawn in the existing circumstances.

Secondly, mass civil disobedience, including the no-tax and no-rent campaigns should be discontinued for the time being, the right of individuals who may be ready for every suffering and prepared on their own responsibility to continue civil disobedience being reserved.

Thirdly, all those able or willing to offer individual civil disobedience on their own responsibility without expectation of any help from the Congress organization are expected to do so.

Fourthly, the secret methods followed hitherto should be abandoned.

Fifthly, all Congress organizations including the A. I. C. C. office, should cease to exist for the time being, provided however, that, wherever possible, the dictators in the provinces and all India dictators should continue.



Sixthly, all Congressmen unable, for any reason whatsoever, to offer civil resistance, are expected to carry on individually or corporately, such constructive activities of the Congress as they are fitted for.

#### THE VICEROY'S "NO"

"I regret that it has not been possible to call off the movement and it has become necessary for me to issue these instructions. I share many other Congressmen's disappointment at Mr. Gandhi's very simple request, unaccompanied by any condition, for an interview with the Viceroy in order to explore peace possibilities being summarily rejected.

"His Excellency very wrongly allowed himself to be influenced by unauthorized reports of the confidential proceedings of an informal conference which, for the sake of furthering peace efforts, were purposely held back from publication. His Excellency should have known that, at the Conference, an overwhelming opinion favoured the seeking of such an interview for an honourable peace.

"I hold that it is impossible for any Congress organization or its representative to accept the terms peremptorily laid down by His Excellency as a condition-precedent to any peace conversation. I hope that the nation will compel a revision of this attitude by developing the requisite strength, at whatever cost it may be.

"Despite these instructions the suspension of the campaign till the end of the current month stands."—Associated Press.

Full unreserved comment on this statement is not practicable for two reasons. The minor reason is that, having been censored, it is not the full statement; according to Mr. Gandhi it has been mutilated and contains misrepresentations. The main reason is that a full and impartial criticism of the statement would require one to point out the merits, if any, and the shortcomings, if any, of Congress plans and activities up to date. This, as the law stands, cannot be done impartially and exhaustively.

Many Congressmen have objected to the statement on various grounds. Some have brought forward the technical and formal objection that the acting president was not competent to issue such fiats, only the all-India Congress Committee having that power. They have accordingly asked him to call a meeting of that body. Others have objected on other and more essential grounds. Mahatma Gandhi holds that Mr. Aney has not exceeded his powers.

#### *Gandhiji Explains Withdrawal Pro Tempore Of Civil Disobedience Movement*

AHMEDABAD, JULY 26. (DELAYED)

Mr. Gandhi has issued the following statement on the statement issued by Mr. Aney, acting Congress President :—

"The statement issued by Mr. Aney closely follows the advice tendered by me at the informal conference. It does not give any reasons for the decision taken. It was left to me to give them. This does not mean that they are necessarily the reasons that guided Mr. Aney and all those friends who accepted my advice. They must be taken, therefore, to be solely mine.

#### SECRET METHODS

"Mr. Aney's instructions taboo the secret methods. There is nothing inherently wrong in them. I fully admit the purity of purpose and the great cleverness of the workers in conducting the campaign by secret methods devised to meet the situation created by the repressive measures of the Government. But secrecy is repugnant to Satyagraha and hampers its progress. It has undoubtedly contributed in a great measure to the present demoralization of the people. I know that the ban on secrecy will soon stop the activities which appeared to keep the Congress before the public eye. But this doubtful benefit will be outweighed by the elimination of a method which is foreign to the spirit of Satyagraha and which interferes with its efficacy.

#### STOPPAGE OF MASS MOVEMENT

"Another change made is the stoppage of the mass movement. The masses have acted bravely and suffered much wherever they have responded to the national call, but ample evidence is forthcoming to show that they are not able any longer to suffer the prolonged torture of the ordinance rule, now crystallized into statute by the legislatures. The Congress, as an organization, finds it increasingly difficult day by day to render them effective aid. The stoppage of secrecy would prevent even the little relief that it was possible to give them. The masses have not yet learnt to act as one man and without direction. They need more training and experience.

#### SUFFERING OF A FEW

"It may be objected that the suffering of a few individuals, however praiseworthy in itself, is of no practical value and cannot affect British policy. I differ from such a view. In my opinion, the seemingly long or almost interminable process adumbrated by me will, in practice, be found to be the shortest, for I hold that true independence, *i. e.*, independence in the terms of and on behalf of the masses, can be proved in India's case to be unattainable by any other method. The method of non-violence, which is an integral part of the Congress constitution, demands the course suggested by me."

#### BRITISH WILL

"It must be clear to the dullest intellect" continued Mr. Gandhi, "that British policy cannot change through a constitution which registers British will and ignores the wish or welfare of a nation. Any constitution imposed upon India by British will, unaffected by anything done in and by India, must, in the nature of things, harden and perpetuate British policy. It can and will be changed by adequate action taken by India in the face of British repression. In other words, Britain cannot work out our salvation. We must work it ourselves. Our independence should mean the registration, not of Britain's will, but of our will.



## WILL OF DUMB MILLIONS

"I have suggested the only way that will forge the necessary sanction for the registration of our will, that is, the will of the dumb millions, for individual action must, in the long run, affect the masses. Let us not forget the uniqueness of India's case. I know of no parallel to it in history. British will is enforced through India's own men and, shall I say, even women. India supplied the civilian and the soldier. India supplies money and other resources. But our success is ensured the moment we take the right route to our goal. I claim that we took it in 1920 and, though it cannot be visibly demonstrated, we have since then taken long strides towards *Poorna Swaraj*. We could not have gone nearer the goal by any other way. Who can deny that, during the past thirteen years, we have seen an awakening among the masses never witnessed during the hundred years preceding September, 1920? My advice does not proceed from a sense of despair or defeat. I have neither.

## MAHATMA FILLED WITH JOY

"I am filled with joy that the national response has been so great as it has been. The greatest cause for joy is that individuals as well as the masses have observed non-violence in action. In spite of themselves, we are too near the time to judge the merit of non-violence observed by the Frontier Pathans. They might have used violent language, but they have refrained from violent action in a way they have never done before within living memory. Such is the testimony of several sober and independent witnesses. If non-violence becomes rooted in the Pathan heart, it will solve several difficult problems for us. What is true of the Frontier Pathan is largely true of the civil resisters throughout India."

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said, "I must not be misunderstood. My claim is that the danger of a sudden outburst of violence is always present so long as the violence of the heart is not eradicated. I would have India adjure violence even if it had the power to wield it. One lesson that the western nations teach the world in flaming letters is that violence is not the way to peace and happiness. The cult of violence has not made them or those who have contact with them any the happier or better. Were we as a nation ever to reach that living faith in non-violence and banish violence from our hearts, we would not even need resort to Civil Disobedience. The latter is required, whilst we are trying non-violence as a mere policy or expedient. Even as a policy it is any way far more effective than violence.

## SECRET ORGANIZATIONS TO DISAPPEAR

"Under the dictators' instructions secret organizations will naturally disappear. Every civil resister will be his or her own leader. He or she will carry the burden of the Congress on his or her own shoulder. Such civil resisters will be the trustees of the national honour. Meanwhile, the remaining Congressmen will engage in various other constructive activities, such as Harijan service, communal unity, khadi production, manufacture of new goods and improvement of methods of indigenous manufacture, as well as the development or resuscitation of village industries, the improvement

of agriculture and cattle breeding and the organization of labour unions not for political exploitation between Capital and Labour. In fact no branch of national activity may be left untouched by the Congress. This will be possible if we will get rid of the very wrong idea that there is no other Congress activity save that of civil resistance or that the latter blocks all other activities.

## COUNCIL PROGRAMME

"I have left the Council programme untouched. To think now of the working of the Reforms to come is, in my opinion, altogether premature. We do not know what they are to be and when they are to come. It would behave those who are inclined to participate to wait for the reforms before they commit themselves to a policy.

"The existing legislatures can give no decisive opinion on this question. My head reels at the very thought of entering the councils for seeking to win independence. They may give some relief in specific cases but that is a miasma to keep the nation from its goal. They have no temptation for me in spite of my having sought through Mr. Rajagopalachari and others the co-operation of the legislatures and the Government in the matter of untouchability bills. The primary responsibility for seeking it lies not on his shoulders, but mine. I offer no apology for having sought it. It is wholly consistent with the doctrine of non-co-operation.

## DICTATOR'S OFFICE TO BE ABOLISHED

"There is one thing on which Mr. Aney has differed from me and some other friends. I have felt strongly that the office of the All-India Dictator and Provincial Dictators should also be abolished. But he has felt equally strongly that the office should be retained, if only as a symbol. I, however, see grave difficulties in our way. I, therefore, still feel that dictators should abolish themselves.

## HONOURABLE PEACE

"The Viceroy's refusal to see me even for the sake of exploring possibilities of peace renders it unnecessary to examine the conditions under which, even without *purna swaraj* but in furtherance of it, civil disobedience may be discontinued. But I may repeat what I have said so often that all non-co-operation is undertaken to ensure real co-operation in place of a forced one and all civil disobedience of laws is resorted to for the sake of rendering voluntary obedience instead of forced obedience. Therefore, I have no doubt that the Congress would be ever ready for an honourable peace."

We agree with Mahatma Gandhi that dictatorship should go. If the essence or substance disappears or is in abeyance, what is the *practical* usefulness of the symbol?

The right of individuals to continue civil disobedience on their own responsibility and at their own risk without expectation of any help from the Congress, has been reserved and they are *expected* to exercise this right. At the same time, all Congressmen, unable,



for any reason whatsoever, to offer civil resistance, are expected to carry on, individually or corporately, such constructive activities of the Congress as they are fit for. The reservation of the right of individual Civil Disobedience will make even merely constructive Congress workers suspect in the eyes of the Government, and this suspicion will hamper the performance of their constructive work. If constructive work according to the Congress programme is attempted to be done corporately, that would require organizations. But, as Congress organizations have been ordered to be broken up, fresh organizations for constructive work would be required. Will they not be suspect? Moreover, does not the breaking up of existing organizations and building up new ones involve waste of energy?

As for council-entry, if the Constitution Act and the rules, regulations and instructions in furtherance of its objects do not make it impossible for Congressmen to enter the councils honestly and honourably, some parliamentarians among them should enter them, if only to prevent mischief and voice the national will.

### *Recognition for Dr. Kedarnath Das*

We are glad the scientific knowledge, achievements, experience and professional distinction of Dr. Kedarnath Das have been recognized by the conferment on him of a knighthood. His position in the profession is such that it is not necessary to refer in detail at this stage to his brilliant academical career and his subsequent honorary distinctions. The learned, scientific and professional bodies of which he is a fellow or a member and the contributions to medical literature which he has made, are too numerous to mention. But perhaps it may be pointed out that he is, so far as we are aware, the only doctor in Asia who is an Honorary Fellow of the American Association of Obstetricians, Gynaecologists and Abdominal Surgeons and of the American Gynaecological Society. He is the greatest obstetrician we have in our midst. There are references to his works in standard works published abroad. He has rendered signal service to the cause of

medical education in the country, and is at present Principal of the Carmichael Medical College in Calcutta.



Dr. Kedarnath Das

### *Principalship of a Women's College*

The following advertisement appeared in a Calcutta paper some months ago :

Wanted—A Principal for the Bethune College, Calcutta, on contract for 5 years, from 1st November, 1933, or any subsequent date on which she joins the appointment, on an initial pay varying from Rs. 403-12-0 to Rs. 616-4-0 a month, according to the age of the selected candidate (plus overseas pay varying from Rs. 170 to £17 a month, if the selected candidate is of non-Asiatic domicile), together with rent-free quarters.

2. Candidates, who should be British subjects, either unmarried or widows, and between 30 and 40 years of age, must possess a first class Masters degree of an Indian University or a good Honours degree of a European University, with considerable experience and proved ability as a successful teacher, disciplinarian and administrator of a large Women's College. The candidate must be an able organizer of the social side of College life, and should possess experience of a residential institution. The possession of research work, or of some later educational distinction, will be an additional recommendation.



3. Applications will be received up to 31st May, 1933, by the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, from whom further particulars can be had on application.

Bethune College is the only Government College in Bengal for women affiliated to the Calcutta University. As its students are naturally Bengali girls for the most part, the order of choice of a principal for it should naturally be, first, a duly qualified Bengali lady graduate; such a one not being available, the next choice should be that of a duly qualified Indian lady graduate of some other province of India; and lastly, if no duly qualified Indian lady graduate of any province be available, then a foreigner may be chosen.

The advertisement lays stress on the social side of college life. Stressing the importance of that side, but in no narrow sense, we also say that the principal should be one who knows the mother tongue, the literature and the conditions of life, at home and outside it, of the students (Bengali girls for the most part), the habits of Bengali girls, their ways of living and thinking, and their wants and grievances. She should be able "to enter into their thoughts and appreciate what is necessary to educate them, to give them higher ideas of life, and make them realize their duties to all about them." For these reasons we think it essential that a duly qualified Bengali lady graduate should be appointed principal of Bethune College. It would not at all be difficult to find one. The appointment of such a one would also serve as an incentive for our girl students to go in for the highest education available here. If offices of the highest usefulness, honour and emoluments are to go to strangers in spite of indigenous talent being available, that could not fail to act as a damper.

There is great financial stringency in Bengal. That is an additional reason why money should not be thrown away in the form of overseas pay for a foreigner when a daughter of the province would do the work far better without requiring such additional emoluments.

Married women, we find, have been summarily told not to apply for the post. One is familiar with the prohibitory notices, "Dogs and children not allowed," "No

encumbrances" (meaning children). In the case of the principalship of Bethune College, children, it seems, are not to be looked upon as a disqualification or a nuisance; for widows may apply and they may have children. It is the husband who is a nuisance, and if a very well qualified lady wishes to become principal of Bethune College, she must manage somehow to become a widow! We admit, in rare cases, the husband may be an encumbrance. But even then the gentleman would not and could not obstruct the lady principal in the discharge of her duties.

We would not exclude spinsters, or widows with or without children. But we are absolutely against the exclusion of mothers with their husbands living. A woman, normally speaking, with children and her husband living, is, other things being equal, undoubtedly fitter to educate and deal with the children (grown-up though they be) of other parents than those without children and without husbands. A little knowledge of psychology and human nature leads one to this conclusion. We had recently a talk on the subject with Rabindranath Tagore, who is generally credited with understanding both education and human nature. His opinion on the subject of mothers as educators is the same as ours.

Our views are indirectly supported by what is happening and being done in America in the sphere of women's education. In the course of an article on "College Curriculum in the United States and the Needs of Women Students," contributed to the April number of *India and the World*, Frances Valiant Speck, Research Associate, American Association of University Women, Washington, writes:

In the years that have passed since 1900, and especially in the last few years, efforts have been made to adapt more nearly to existing needs the College curricula for women. Having proved their intellectual abilities, women now freely admit that they are directly concerned with the home, marriage, children, and human relationships, and they wish to be prepared to deal effectively with these most fundamental matters.

One indication of the changed attitude of women college graduates is found in the statistics of marriage. Up to 1900 less than half of the women college graduates married, and those that did had an average of only one child apiece; analysis in the last few years show that about three-fourths of the graduates marry and that they have an average of two or more children apiece.



Again :

The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection included in its series of reports published in 1932 a report on "Education for Home and Family Life in Colleges." This showed that colleges—men's, women's, and co-educational—are showing an increasing tendency to provide courses that will help students meet the responsibilities of marriage, parenthood, and family life.

The normal life for both man and woman is a married home life, and even go-ahead American womanhood has been obliged to admit this in theory and practice. Is it to be reserved for Bethune College through its future Principal to practically convey a contrary lesson ?

### *British Ministers in Indian States*

In the House of Commons on the 26th June last the Under-Secretary of State for India,

Mr. Butler, undertook to circulate the list of nineteen States in which European officers were employed as Ministers. The White Paper proposals did not limit the State Rulers' discretion in the appointment of representatives to the Federal Legislature.

That is to say, these British ministers will most likely be appointed representatives of these States to the Federal Legislature and thus add to the strength of the elected and nominated European members of that body.

### *The Argument of the Ballot Box*

In one of his speeches at Dacca last month His Excellency the Governor of Bengal dwelt on the baneful effect of terrorism and exhorted his hearers and the wider public at large to bear in mind that "the mischief of all doctrines of direct action, of changing form and personnel of government by violence, rather than by argument of the ballot box is that there is no end to the process." So far as the condemnation of terrorism implied in his Excellency's exhortation is concerned, we are entirely at one with him. We also hold that the argument of the ballot box is undoubtedly to be preferred. What we do not know is how Indians can by the use of this argument change the form and personnel of the central and provincial governments in India. The Legislative Assembly has more than once passed resolutions supporting what is known as the

"national demand." But they have not been of any use. The form and personnel of India's government can, no doubt, be changed by British voters using the argument of the British ballot box. But Indian voters cannot be expected to consider the British Parliament and the British ballot box as substitutes for a self-ruling Indian legislature and the Indian ballot box.

### *Crimes Against Women*

Addressing the police His Excellency the Governor of Bengal said in one of his speeches in Dacca :

In addressing the gentlemen of the Union Boards, I dwelt mainly on the question of crimes against property. The greater part of our serious crimes comes under that head. To these I should add a peculiarly cowardly form of crime regarding which we perhaps hear more nowadays than formerly. I refer to offences against women. It is quite wrong to suppose that the Presidency of Bengal has a worse record in this respect than the other provinces of India. Statistics prove the contrary. The figures for Bengal have, however, shewn an increase under several heads. Further investigation would be necessary before we could say for certain how far this apparent increase is real and how far it may be due to the fact that additional cases are being brought to light through the activities of certain bodies which have been giving the matter quite properly their special attention, for in the nature of things this is the sort of crime that is very often not brought to the notice of the police. Also incidents are sometimes reported as crimes where no breach of the law has been committed. That was my experience during my ten years' service at the Home Office and I have little doubt, the same is true in Bengal.

Still there are no doubt too many offences of this nature, and representations on the subject have recently been made to me from quarters that are in no way unfriendly to Government. You will remember that as long ago as 1930 a circular letter was issued impressing upon officers the necessity of doing all they could to bring to justice those (of whatever community) who resorted to this form of offence. I am fully aware of the difficulties inherent in this class of case. But these difficulties must be faced. The tradition of British administration the world over is to provide even-handed justice to the weak as to the strong and to guarantee security of person and property. That is a tradition that we owe it to ourselves to hand on intact to the Governments of the future. I know that I can rely upon the police of all grades to keep this object ever clearly in view.

His Excellency's active interest in the problem of stamping out crimes against women will be highly appreciated.

We are aware that such crimes are committed to an alarming extent in some

other provinces also. The following letter published in the Lahore *Daily Herald* relates to such crimes :

We, the members of the Hindu Youths' League, want to direct the attention of the Hindus of every shade and opinion to the appalling number of cases of molestation and abduction of Hindu ladies. We do not want any scandal, but all the same we cannot hush up the matter.

But most of the cases of abduction and kidnapping of Hindu women and children are reported from the Punjab, Sindh and Eastern Bengal where the Hindus are in a minority. This fact puts the Hindus on their guard. We take this opportunity to exhort the Hindu youths that they should organize themselves so that in future none should dare to lay hands on the honour of their women. Oral condemnation would not be effective. This is just like crying over the spilt milk. We feel that some effective step should be taken to remove this blot from the Hindu community. We request the Hindu leaders to call an All-Parties Conference in which the teachers of various Hindu educational institutions may also be invited to think over this serious problem....

At a crowded public meeting held at the Lahore Y. M. C. A. Hall, under the presidency of Dr. Nand Lal, Bar-at-Law, speeches were made on the subject. Dr. Damayanti Bali, a lady doctor, "exhorted the Hindu young men not to care for the indifference of the big people but rather to gird up their loins to fight out the evil."

Captain Harnam Das of the Seva Samiti Volunteer Corps said that the time for making speeches had passed. He exhorted Dr. Damayanti Bali to raise up a volunteer corps of girls. He offered to assist her with 200 male volunteers to fight out the menace.

Professor Devi Das urged the women to organize themselves to protect their rights and interests.

Sardar Nirmal Tej Singh assured the meeting on behalf of the Sikh Young Men's Association that Sikhs would be ready to protect at the cost of their lives the honour of women, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh.

Pundit Shiv Ram Sewak said the women themselves could save their honour and rights.

Whether Bengal's record in this respect is worse or not, it is incumbent on both the people and Government of Bengal to fight the evil.

The customs and social ethics of this country are somewhat different from those of Great Britain. Hence what may not be crimes there, are considered equivalent to crimes by the people here. If the British-made law in India does not regard them as crimes, the law ought to be changed. The law ought also to be changed to make it easier for the

police to detect criminals and arrest them and to find out and rescue abducted and kidnapped girls and women. The punishments should be made more deterrent. In the case of accused whose offence has been proved, if the girl victimized cannot be found, the property of the accused ought to be confiscated. Persons guilty of gang rape ought to be transported for life, if not hanged. Many abducted girls are taken from place to place and kept concealed in the houses of the relatives or friends of the offenders. These shelterers ought to be punished along with the actual offenders.

### *Rammohun Roy Centenary Publicity Booklets*

The Rammohun Roy centenary celebrations are coming nearer. In order properly to take part in and profit by them, one ought to know the main facts of his life, what moved him to do what he did, the salient features of his personality, and the relation in which his life stands to the principal movements of modern India. If in addition anybody can study his works, so much the better for him.

Rammohun Roy Centenary Publicity Booklets are meant to supply to the public an adequate amount of information relating to him. The first number of the series is out. It has been prepared by Mr. Amal Home, editor of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*. He has bestowed much time and labour and great care to its preparation. Among the persons whose writings have been drawn upon are Sivanath Sastri, Rabindranath Tagore, Brajendra Nath Seal, Brajendra Nath Banerji and Ramananda Chatterjee. The editor has supplied eight appendices and 55 supplementary notes. Besides, there are 7 illustrations. Though the volume is called a booklet, it consists of 162 neatly printed pages of demy 8vo. size, besides the illustrations. So much informing and inspiring material for eight annas is uncommonly cheap. We congratulate the editor on his achievement.

### *The Communal "Award" Final!*

In this changing world empires come and go, races emerge and disappear from



view, but the Communal Decision given by the British Government through the Prime Minister Mr. Ramsay MacDonald stands fixed and unalterable. All those things which the gullible Indian people thought were pledges given to them by British sovereigns and statesmen were not pledges at all.

The White Paper proposals were the last of a series of such resolutions or proposals. But they are all liable to be scrapped or altered by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Theoretically, therefore, the Communal Decision, which is embodied in the White Paper, is also liable to change. But Sir Samuel Hoare has said that the British Government would not be any party to any discussion with a view to its modification. Sir Samuel Hoare has said that they (the British Government) were compelled to give it, and would not change it. Who compelled them we do not know. But what compulsion was there to make it flagrantly unjust to the Hindus?

The Communal Decision has taken advantage of all the existing divisions of the Indian people, made arrangements for perpetuating them and has added a few more divisions. There would be new jealousies where they did not exist before. Such a marvellous creation of the human brain as this decision deserves to live for ever.

### *The Poona Pact*

The Poona Pact, which is a limb of the Communal Decision by adoption or affiliation, would divide the Hindu community more thoroughly than the Premier's "award," and make this division longer-lived.

The Hindus of Bengal, of all shades of political opinion including most Congressmen, consider the provisions of the Poona Pact relating to Bengal unjust. But there can be no change! Assuming, without admitting, the validity of the technical objections to any change, may we appeal to history? After ages of stupor or foolishness or worse, when peoples have awoke to the wrong done to them or awoke to their own foolishness, changes *have* come—if not by the fiat of men in authority, then in some other way. The people of Bengal awoke to the injustice of the Poona Pact only three months—let us take the

period for granted—after its acceptance by the British Premier. And yet we are told there can be no righting of the wrong done! And this is said not by foreigners alone, but so think some prominent Indians also. It is really a pity. The appeal for justice preferred by any province or class or section of the population of India to their Indian fellow-countrymen should not be barred by limitation as it were or rejected on any other similar technical ground. Each case should be considered on its merits. Dr. Ambedkar has desired to amend the Pact on a material point. But nobody has said that his proposed amendment is time-barred.

The technical objections adduced to prevent consideration of the appeal of the Bengali Hindu intelligentsia for justice have been shown to be not quite valid by Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, Advocate-General of Bengal, and others. But our point is that even if they were valid, the appeal ought to be heard by our countrymen. They may not have power to immediately right the wrong. But if they be convinced of the justice of the case, that would be no small gain.

So far as Bengal is concerned, the communal "award" and the Poona pact have been such that, even if India got real Federation with central responsibility and autonomy in the provinces, Bengal would be a very weak unit and a perpetual danger to democracy and nationalism. *A chain is not stronger than its weakest link.* Hence to artificially weaken Bengal—or any other province, would be to weaken the whole Federation. But if the communal "award" and the Poona Pact be adhered to in their present forms, the strongest advocates of democracy and nationalism in Bengal, those who in this province have striven most strenuously for popular freedom against the autocratic, bureaucratic and communalistic forces combined—we mean the Bengali Hindu intelligentsia—this class, we urge, would be rendered hopelessly weak by unjustifiable undemocratic arrangements.

### *Rabindranath Tagore and the Poona Pact*

When at a recent meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee Sir N. N. Sircar

raised the question of the Poona Pact as it affected Bengal and pointed out that there was no signatory to that Pact representing the Bengal Hindus, Sir Samuel Hoare said that during the negotiations the Government received scores of telegrams, all in favour of the Pact, one of which came from a distinguished Hindu of Bengal—Rabindranath Tagore. Thereupon Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru chimed in by saying that both he and Mr. Jayakar were present in Poona during the negotiations and that he remembered the telegrams from Bengal. Dr. Tagore has explained his part in the affair in the following statement :

"I remember to have sent a cable to the Prime Minister not to delay in accepting the proposal about communal award sent to him by Mahatmaji. At that moment a situation was created which was extremely painful, not affording us the least time or peace of mind to think quietly of the possible consequences of the Poona Pact, which had already been arrived at before my arrival, when Sapru and Jayakar had already left, and in a conference in which no responsible representatives of Bengal took part. Upon the immediate settlement of this question Mahatmaji's life depended and the intolerable anxiety caused by such a crisis drove me precipitately to a commitment which I now realize as a mistake from the point of view of our country's permanent interest.

"Never having any experience in political dealings, while entertaining a great love for Mahatmaji and a complete faith in his wisdom in Indian politics, I dared not wait for further consideration, which was unfortunate, as justice has certainly been sacrificed in the case of Bengal. I have not the least doubt now that such an injustice will continue to cause mischief for all parties concerned, keeping alive the spirit of communal conflict in our province in an intense form making peaceful government of the country perpetually difficult.

"That the British Government refuses to reconsider this subject of a vital importance to us, while all other proposals contained in the White Paper are being freely rehandled, does not surprise or hurt me too much; but that the Indian members of the Conference, belonging to provinces different from ours, should not only remain apathetic but actively take part in aggravating Bengal's misfortune is terribly ominous, presaging no good for our future history."—(A. P.)

Rabindranath Tagore has often been twitted with thinking 'internationally,' in the sense that he does not care for the interests of his community, province or nation. There is this much of truth in this gibe that he is not a communalist or a parochial patriot and that he considers public questions from a broad humanitarian point of view. When

such a man issues an honest and frank statement like the above and says that '*justice has certainly been sacrificed in the case of Bengal,*' whatever foreigners may think, Indians even of the greatest prominence should pause to consider the case of Bengal.

The reference in the last few lines of the statement is to what Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said on behalf of himself and Mr. Jayakar, supporting Sir Samuel Hoare. Dr. Tagore's apprehensions are not baseless. It has been reported that Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas has opposed the proposal to give Bengal even half the proceeds of the Jute export duty, though in Bengal the Government, the Europeans, the Musalmans and the Hindus are convinced that Bengal is entitled to the entire proceeds of that duty. No public man outside Bengal should act on the assumption that Bengal must be wrong, just as Bengalis must not assume that they must be right always. Bengal may be despicable, but facts and justice are not. And the facts are that the Central Government takes the largest amount and the highest percentage of revenue from Bengal, and that Bengal is consequently a deficit province, not on account of lack of resources, but because of "inequitable distribution of revenue between the Centre and the Provinces," as the Bengal Publicity Board's semi-official pamphlet on "Provincial Finance under the White Paper" puts it.

### *Sir N. N. Sircar's Work in England*

It would be a dereliction of public duty if we did not in this connection acknowledge with gratitude the strenuous endeavours being made in England by Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar by speeches, publications, interviews and able and informed cross-examination of witnesses before the Joint Select Committee to obtain justice for Bengal. Just like other men, it is not for him to command success; but he has done more—he has deserved it. Some of the questions he has tackled are not mere provincial or Bengal questions; for instance the question of "The High Courts in India," or, "Is the Communal Decision a 'Pledge'?" or, "Is the Communal Decision

an Arbitral Award?" Some of the other questions in which he has interested himself are "Bengal under the Communal Award and the Poona Pact," "Allocation of Seats in the Bengal Provincial Legislature as proposed in the White Paper," "Facts relating to the Poona Pact and How it Affects Bengal," "Who are Depressed Classes in Bengal? What are their Number?" "Bengal Terrorism and Bengal Finance" Even strictly provincial questions indirectly promote the weal or woe of the whole of India. A festering sore in one limb, or paralysis in one limb, cannot but affect the health and strength of the whole body.

### *Mr. Devadas Gandhi Not Brahmanized*

In our last issue, page 112, we published an extract from the letter of *The Leader's* Bombay Correspondent in which it was stated that, as part of the nuptial rites of Mr. Devadas Gandhi, a ceremony had been performed for making a Brahmin of him. After the publication of our last issue we found in the same paper a letter from Kaka Kalelkar in which he said that the ceremony was the Vedic *Bratyastoma* whose object is not Brahmanification.

### *Suspension of Congress Committees, and Passible Chaos*

Ahmedabad, July 29. (Delayed).

Asked by a Representative of the "*Associated Press*" what he had to say regarding the fears entertained by some quarters that the suspension of Congress committees would plunge the country into chaos Mr. Gandhi said that behind this question there lay a grave misconception of the situation. The question presupposed that there were lawfully working Congress organizations all over the country which the Acting Congress President had dissolved.

The fact was that all working organizations were made illegal. What was therefore working were secret organizations and shadow cabinets and this was calculated to lead to chaos. That condition had been anticipated and stopped by the action of the Acting President. If there was any chaos now, it would be confined to individuals.

The more he read the criticisms levelled at Mr. Aney's action, Mr. Gandhi said, the more convinced he felt that as time passed people would understand the necessity of his action as also its beauty. It was the only action possible in order to save the Congress.

### A DENIAL

Asked if it was true as hinted in a Press report that he had offered the Government to take the possession of his Ashram in anticipation of confiscation, Mr. Gandhi replied in the negative. He added that he asked the people patiently to await events instead of anticipating them.

### MANY SCHEMES

Asked whether he had decided upon any plan, Mr. Gandhi said that there were undoubtedly many schemes floating in his brain which it would be purposeless to recount, but as soon as anything took a definite shape he would gladly share it with the public, but he would share it first with Government.—*Associated Press*.

Not being an active political worker, the editor of this journal is unwilling and unable to lay down a cut and dry programme for others to follow. But we may be allowed to give expression to some views.

Politics does and must occupy a large space in the minds of all modern live peoples. Though not properly organized and strong with the strength of unity, the people of India are a living people. And, therefore, they are and must be more and more politically-minded, though politics in the narrow sense should not and will not receive their exclusive attention. Hitherto Congress politics has largely occupied the field. As Congress is for the time being not to function politically in a collective capacity, individuals being left to do what they can in that direction, it cannot obviously supply the need for political agitation and action to an adequate extent. Who will then do this work?

Can the Liberals do so? Many of them have got abundant political information, political 'wisdom,' eloquence and argumentative power. But for reasons, which need not be dwelt upon, they have lost influence with the intelligentsia and the masses. The Liberals are against direct action of any kind. Direct action has, undoubtedly, not succeeded. But it has caught the imagination of the public, and in spite of its failure, it has not lost its charm. Can the Liberals or any other school of politicians devise some programme which is neither direct action on the one hand nor 'mendicancy' (in both the narrow and the broad sense) on the other? Then there may be a combination of progressive nationalists,



comprising men from the right wing of the Congress and the left wing of the National Liberal Federation, to carry on the needful political work vigorously. Liberalism *as it is* has been ousted, does not hold the field, and cannot recapture it. It requires revitalizing by the infusion of some amount of intransigency.

If that be not possible, and if Congress too remains in a state of suspended animation, a lull, a sort of interregnum, would be more desirable than confusion, disorder, 'chaos.' But "Nature abhors a vacuum." There cannot be a lull, an interregnum of any appreciably long duration. The lull would perhaps be followed by something stormy, either non-violent or violent. That would be undesirable.

### *Centenary of the Abolition of Slavery.*

The centenary of the abolition of slavery was celebrated on the 29th July last in England. William Wilberforce, who did more than any other man to rouse the public conscience to the inhumanity of chattel slavery, died on the same day a century ago. The abolition of slavery, so far as it has gone, is a matter for rejoicing. It marks a stage in the progress of man. But it should not be lost sight of that slavery in its literal sense still exists in some countries, and in a disguised form it exists in Africa and India and everywhere else where the wealthy organized peoples industrially exploit the labour of poor unorganized weak peoples.

Political servitude is not the same thing as chattel slavery. But it also is dehumanizing and harmful.

### *The Passing of Sabarmati Ashram*

We have not been able fully to realize the inner workings of Mahatma Gandhi's mind which led him to resolve to disband Sabarmati Ashram. The thought of the passing of Sabarmati saddens us. It stood for the spirit as opposed to matter, however bulky, mighty or imposing the latter might be. It had the faith and the courage to

stand up in all its smallness against the big. It stood for purity and truth. It stood for the self-mastery of man as opposed to the dominance of machinery.

### *Sir Samuel Hoare Congratulated !*

We have not been surprised, though we have been both amused and humiliated, to read in the papers that he has been congratulated by some Indian "delegates" on his ability and courage and what not in standing up for the White Paper. India remains in her present political condition because there can be found Indians to praise a man who stands up for a charter of India's servitude, which the White Paper is. When die-hards like Churchill raised a storm of agitation against the White Paper, we suspected that it was, in part at least, meant to mislead Indians to think that that document must be a great boon, for why otherwise should the opponents of India condemn it? Churchill and Co. may be congratulated on their success in bamboozling at least a few Indian "leaders" without followers.

### *Expansion of Depressed Class Education in U. P.*

The unanimous acceptance by the U. P. legislative council of the Brahmin Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's resolution asking for an allotment of funds to the extent of a minimum of Rs. 10,00,000 in five years for the expansion of education of the depressed classes shows that a representative body of which the vast majority of members do not belong to the depressed classes does care for their welfare.

### *Freeman's "Chosen Region of Lies"*

The English historian Freeman has written in *The Methods of Historical Study*, pp. 258-59, "When we come to manifestoes, proclamations," and the like, "Here we are in the very chosen region of lies; everybody is, by the nature of the case, trying to overreach everybody else." "He is of childlike simplicity indeed who believes every royal proclamation or the preamble of every Act

of Parliament as telling us, not only what certain august persons did, but the motives which led them to do it."

We read this passage years ago, and came to the conclusion, to which we have adhered ever since, that English dictionaries give only the ordinary exoteric meanings in the case of certain words, their esoteric diplomatic meanings being known only to the initiated. 'Pledge' is one of these words. We were confirmed in our conviction when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald declared in effect in the House of Commons that what Indians considered pledges were mere "declarations of intentions." If further strengthening of our conviction were needed, it came on reading the proceedings of that meeting of the Joint Select Committee at which Lord Salisbury and Lord Irwin in their diverse but converging methods gave the *coup de grace* to Indian simpletons' superstitious belief in so-called pledges. What a relief and a solace even to wise simpletons to know the reality!

The only pity is that Freeman has not lived to read the proceedings of that edifying meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Had he lived to do so he would most probably in a revised edition of *The Methods of Historical Study* have inserted the word "pledges," after the words "manifestoes, proclamations," "preambles," etc.

### *Mr. Jamshed Mehta's Example*

Mr. Jamshed Mehta, whose tenure of the Mayoralty of Karachi for eleven years has been marked by many great improvements in that city and its administration, has resigned his office as a protest against the introduction of the poison of communalism into the administration of the Corporation of that city. Having been at Karachi during the session of the Congress held there last, we personally came to know how he is esteemed and admired by all communities and sections of the people for the impartiality, energy, ability and devotion with which he performed his heavy duties. The cause of his resignation is that he has come "to realize in an increasing degree that the Corporation had decided serious and important questions, particularly the question of high appointments,

in a communal spirit." He has therefore dissociated himself from this communalization of the civic government of the town, as he was rightly convinced that it would lead to a deterioration of the efficiency of municipal administration.

The principle which Mr. Jamshed Mehta has upheld by his resignation ought to be followed by all Governments and local bodies. But the Government of India and some provincial Governments have already gone in for the opposite practice of dividing jobs according to religious communities, the Calcutta Corporation has followed suit, and the Unity Conference at Allahabad was asked by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed and his friends to divide jobs according to creed. Some Hindu leaders, too, who want unity at any price, favoured the idea, to which we could not and never can reconcile ourselves. It would make for loss of national efficiency and would not develop but impair the efficiency of even the communities favoured. And in addition it would give rise to justifiable heart-burnings and discontent among the fittest, excluded from office because of their creed.

### *R. O. T. C. in America*

In our last June number Dr. Sudhindra Bose has described the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (R. O. T. C.) in educational institutions throughout the U. S. A. In the opinion of Dr. J. T. Sunderland, "Those corps and the military training in our [American] colleges and universities are an insidious and powerful influence against all peace movements; they tend to militarize the whole mind of the country."

### *The Possibility of American Exploitation of India*

Jonathan Mitchell writes in *The New Republic* that "if there is to be any quick expansion of American exports, it will have to be in our exports to Asia." He considers separately and in detail the possibilities of exploiting China, India and Soviet Russia. In his opinion.

"The exploitation of India on a grand scale, if it occurs, presumably will be managed by

England. As far as direct trade with India is concerned, we would get the leavings, although these might easily be substantial. However, India's exploitation by England would almost certainly bring about a great increase in exports from us to England itself, and through England to India (provided, that is, we agreed to accept English-Indian securities in return), and would probably be an important stimulus to world trade everywhere.

The writer then describes two British policies with respect to India the object of both of which is the exploitation of India.

Ever since the World War, England has vacillated between two irreconcilable policies towards India. One is the policy of Mr. Winston Churchill, according to which Indian Nationalism is to be rooted out by force and India is to remain solely a place to send younger sons, and other indigent male relatives, of the English governing classes. The other policy, of which Lord Irwin has been perhaps the most conspicuous advocate, is to concede whatever is needful to Gandhi, make an end to the present unrest and uncertainty and start ahead at once with India's economic development.

"Economic development" is an euphemism for exploitation.

The writer finds a close parallel to Lord Irwin's policy in the Nine Power Treaty programme for China.

The essential object of the Nine Power Treaty is to establish in China a central government which shall be strong in relation to its own citizens, well able to preserve order and protect foreign investments, but *thoroughly subservient* (since dependent for its existence upon foreign loans) *in relation to the Great Powers*. Lord Irwin, and those who believe like him, apparently wish to create from among the bankers, merchants and lawyers who throng the Indian Nationalist movement—and who are markedly less spiritual than Gandhi—a similarly complaisant government for India.

So the Great Powers did not want China to be really free ?

The writer proceeds :

As in the case of China, the exploitation would afford no permanent way of escape from our economic troubles. But even though for the most part we had to deal through England as a middle man, it would be temporarily very helpful to our business men. Like China, India's potential capacity to absorb Western manufactures is enormous, and once India's development was begun it is possible that wealth in India would increase rapidly.

It is worth pointing out that the negotiations now in progress between the British government and the Indian leaders are of critical importance for England's own destiny. Quite apart from its future potentialities, India is already England's largest single overseas market, and a sustained, all-

embracing boycott against England by India—one like the boycott South China has maintained against Japan—would seriously affect England's international-trade balance. Continued long enough, unless England could find compensating market, it would force perhaps one-tenth of England's population permanently on the dole. Active, armed rebellion by India, on the other hand, might quite possibly set afire the whole Orient.

But that is out of the question.

### *"Seeds of Dominion Status" in the White Paper*

In the Joint Select Committee Sir Samuel Hoare said that the White Paper contained "the seeds of Dominion Status" but did not explain how it did so. Perhaps, in the way that autocracy contains the seeds of democracy, in the way that the autocracy of the Bourbons contained the seeds of the French republic, or in the way that Czarist rule contained the seeds of the soviet republics !

### *Rabindranath Tagore's Two Telegrams*

In his anxiety to save the life of Mahatma Gandhi—an anxiety shared by numerous other persons, Rabindranath Tagore sent a cable to the British Prime Minister to accept the Poona Pact. Sir Samuel Hoare has been able to make much political capital out of it, and for that reason Tagore's importance has been emphasized by him. But the same Tagore, along with some seventy other not unimportant Indians, sent another cable to the Premier urging the release of political prisoners of certain descriptions and the inviting of the Congress to collaborate in shaping the coming constitution. This latter Tagore is, of course, not an important man !

### *Accidental Synchronism*

Recently there has been much agitation in England, by British die-hards, delegated members of the European Associations in India and the delegated members of the Indian Police service, some of whom appeared as witnesses before the Joint Select Committee, against the transfer of law and order in Bengal to Ministers who are and will continue to be either Musalmans or Hindus. His Excellency



the Governor of Bengal has openly declared himself opposed to any discrimination against Bengal. So the accidental synchronism of the Beldanga riots with the aforesaid agitation has not pleased him or strengthened his hands. But this synchronism may perhaps have pleased the agitators. But if they use such riots as an argument against the transfer of law and order, they must meet a counter-argument, namely, that though law and order has all along been a reserved subject, such orgies of plunder, arson and murder, far from being prevented, have gone on increasing in intensity, volume and number.

Such accidental synchronisms have been noted before. This particular one was an accidental challenge to Dr. Akm who had come to Calcutta a little earlier to prosecute his campaign against communalism.

### *The Beldanga "Riots"*

At Beldanga, Nowpukhuria, Mirzapur and other villages in the Murshidabad district Muslim mobs of several thousands indulged in orgies of assault, loot, arson and murder, directed against the Hindus. Armed police pickets guarding the village Nowpukhuria on the day of occurrence were driven off by a Muslim mob of several thousands, and a Circle Inspector of Police (a Hindu) was severely beaten by the mob in the Dak Bungalow in the presence of the Sub-Divisional Officer. As all this happened while the police authorities were supervising patrol arrangements in the localities, the riots have not enhanced the prestige of the Government.

Muhammadan apologists, the most prominent among them being Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin, who rose to be commissioner of a Division, say that the Moslems were provoked by the Hindus. Though the Khan Bahadur observes :

"It cannot be denied that the Mussalmans have been guilty of a most dastardly crime, viz., arson and loot, which no amount of provocation can justify or mitigate,"

the bulk of his very long statement has been devoted to magnifying the alleged provocation given by the Hindus and to minimizing the guilt of the Moslems. Moreover, he comes to the conclusion,

"The real blame, however, must rest on the shoulders of those who deliberately gave the illiterate Mussalmans the provocation which exasperated them into committing these gruesome acts."

The Khan Bahadur's statement has been effectively criticized and its misleading character thoroughly exposed in the editorial and correspondence columns of *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* and some other papers. But let us have some idea of the provocation alleged to have been given by the Hindus. The Khan Bahadur writes :

"The Rath Jatra took place on the 26th of June and the Hindus though adhering to the letter of the agreement by not taking the procession beyond the temple, offended against it in spirit by tarrying opposite the temple and beating their drums in an annoying and outrageous manner. This hurt the Mussalmans but nothing untoward happened on that occasion."

"The Ulta Rath processions with music proceeded to the Shiva temple and one by one they halted there for considerable length of time beating their drums and playing their music in an outrageous manner whilst the Mussalmans were assembled in the mosque for their afternoon prayer. Some of the Mussalmans complained of this to their leader Haji Md. Yusuf, who sent a slip to the Police asking them to request the Hindus to refrain from disturbing the Mussalmans in their prayer. This was not done, as evidently the processionists did not go beyond the limit prescribed in the agreement."

So, even the Khan Bahadur admits that the Hindus adhered to the letter of the agreement. As regards its spirit, everything depended, it seems, on the degree of loudness of the Hindus' music. Is there any sonometer which can help the Hindus to find out the pitch and the loudness of their drums and pipes which will not offend Moslems? Or can the Khan Bahadur procure for payment, by the Hindus, the services of Moslem musicians or noisicians who are experts in determining this pitch and loudness?

We think the Khan Bahadur and intelligent and educated Muhammadan leaders like himself would have done better, if, instead of indulging in apologetics, they had told their illiterate or less educated co-religionists that Hindus had as much right to perform on their drums and other musical instruments in all those public places in which Mussalmans have the right to perform on their instruments during the Muharram.

### *God and Natural and Human Noises*

It does not appear that God, who is worshipped under different names by different peoples and communities, is an exclusively quiet-loving Being, and is disturbed by either music or noise. For, He is Himself responsible for the roar of storms, volcanic eruptions and cataracts, which is louder and more terrific to human ears than man-made noises. Moreover, commonsense tells us that He does not discriminate between Hindu, Christian and Muhammadan drums. Muhammadans themselves, too, do not object to their own Muhammad music before mosques or to the Christian Government's martial music played before mosques by marching troops.

But as these remarks may be slighted as those of an infidel, let us hear what, according to a Mussalman gentleman, the Moslems of countries other than India feel on the subject.

### *"Music Before Mosques" in other Muslim Countries*

Dr. R. Ahamed writes in his "Thoughts on Beldanga" :

I remember to have visited the beautiful Mosque in Paris, near the Jardin des Plantes. Hundreds of worshippers go there every day. Just attached to the Mosque and run by the same management is a Restaurant and Cabaret, where wonderful Pilau and Kabab are served. Music goes on till the early hours of the morning. Nobody objects, because the absurd idea of "no music before a mosque" is unknown in any country except India, —Morroccan, Egyptian, Arabian or Turkish Muslims are ignorant of any such thing. Still we are asked to believe that it is an Islamic custom not to permit music before Mosques. I would ask some of our dogmatic worthies to visit the bazaars of Algeria, Cairo or Istanbul. They would soon revise their opinions.

The doctor then points out what ought to be done.

But the point is, many Muslim leaders (so-called) do not want to see reason. If they were reasonable I would have expected them to say that no religion, least of all Islam, would approve of loot and arson even if music has been played 60 yards away from a mosque. That is why I have a kind of conviction that there has been a break-down of intelligence amongst the Muslim leaders.

The lesson of Beldanga for us all—Hindus and

Muslims—is that we must realize that the masses are below the level of the best intelligence amongst the individuals. The mass has to be persuaded, cajoled or frightened before reasonable action can be taken. One of our future problems is to find some method of bringing our highest intelligence more rapidly and effectively into action, and to get the mass mind directed and inspired by the standards of our best individuals. Then only can our masses have a sense of justice, fair-play, feeling of fellowship with other human beings, sympathy and understanding, a code of honour, a hatred of cruelty and intellectual judgment. This is a task for the younger minds of Bengal.—Will they do it ?

### *Moslem Riots in Bengal*

Moslem unrest and riots in Bengal are not of quite recent date. They have gone on for decades, though Dr. Taylor, author of the *Topography of Dacca*, and Walter Hamilton, author of the *East India Gazetteer*, bear testimony to the neighbourly feelings and behaviour of Hindus and Moslems a century ago.

The Partition of Bengal produced great unrest. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was then for some time a member of the Supreme Legislative Council. In one of his speeches there (*Speeches by Dr. Rash Behari Ghose*, pp. 31-33) he said :

"And this brings me to the unrest in Bengal, the partition of which has not only strained the loyalty of many people but had led to tragic results which ought to have been foreseen by the author of that measure. *One of its objects was to strengthen the Mahomedan influence in East Bengal. That influence has been strengthened ; but its strength has been manifested in a peculiar way.*

[Italics ours. Ed. M.R.]

Judging from the seats allotted in the Legislatures to the different communities, one of the objects of the R. T. C., the communal "award" and the White Paper would appear to be to "strengthen the Mahomedan influence." If Moslems feel that their influence has already increased, their leaders ought to see that that feeling does not find vent in harmful ways—ways harmful to themselves no less than to others.

As at present excuses are being brought forward to minimize the guilt of Moslem mobs, so a quarter of a century ago similar excuses were trotted out. Among these Dr. Ghose referred to the charge "that the

Mahommedans were goaded to madness by the boycott movement of the Hindus, and that this was the real cause of the general lawlessness of the lower classes among the Mahommedans which burst into flame in East Bengal." He quoted the evidence of several English magistrates to prove that that was not the case. Said he :

"At Jamalpur, where the disturbances began in the Mymensingh district, the first information lodged at the Police station contained no reference whatever to boycott or picketting. Mr. Beatson Bell, the trying magistrate at Dewanganj, found that the boycott was not the cause of the disturbances. Another special Magistrate at Dewanganj, himself a Mahommedan gentleman of culture, remarked : 'There was not the least provocation to rioting; the common object of the rioters was evidently to molest the Hindus.' In another case the same Magistrate observed : 'The evidence adduced on the side of the prosecution shows that, on the date of the riot, the accused had read over a notice to a crowd of Mussalmans and had told them that the Government and Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders to the effect that nobody would be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus. So, after the Kali's image was broken by the Mussalmans, the shops of the Hindu traders were also looted.'"

Again, Mr. Barneville, the Sub-Divisional Officer of Jamalpur, in his report on the Melandahat riots said : "Some Mussalmans proclaimed by beat of drums that the Government had permitted them to loot the Hindus." And in the Hargilchar abduction case, the same Magistrate remarked that the outrages were due to the announcement that the Government had permitted the Mahommedans to marry Hindu widows in *nika* form. Dr. Ghose observed :

"The true explanation of the savage outbreak is to be found in the 'red pamphlet' which was circulated so widely among the Mahommedans in East Bengal, in which there is not a word about boycott or Hindu volunteers."

It is unnecessary to dwell on the contents of this 'red pamphlet.' What has to be investigated is, whether notices like those referred to above were read out at Beldanga or other villages, proclamations like the above were made by beat of drum, 'red pamphlets' were distributed, or any other similar means adopted to excite the Moslem villagers. For, it has been alleged that there were brains behind the mobs, who were organized, and led by men of a higher class than themselves.

### *Mr. Butler and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*

Mr. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for India, stated in the House of Commons some time ago, that if the allegation that Congress delegates in Calcutta were subjected to assault, etc., were again repeated, action would be taken. When this was cabled out to India, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who originally circulated the allegation, again asserted that he believed the statements made by the aggrieved Congress delegates to be true. Action on the part of Mr. Butler may perhaps follow.

### *"Asia for the Asians"*

Japan has not really liberated Manchuria. She has practically annexed it. So the cry of "Asia for the Asians" with Japan as leader, raised by some Japanese, cannot deceive Indians. The real object of imperialist Japanese may be guessed from the following extract from the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* :

Mr. Kikuchi Bungo, Director of the Nippon Rayon Co., fears no great things can be hoped from the proposed Anglo-Japanese conversations. In his opinion, the only remedy for the situation is the establishment of an Oriental Monroe Doctrine as against the American—the Orient for the Oriental with Japan for its leader. Even if Japan should play the part of a second Germany in fighting the world, he says, I do not think that we should come out of it a second Germany. Manchuria has become independent, thanks to the great sacrifices made. Let us go farther and "do" China more thoroughly. To "do" is not a happy word. What I mean is to place the country more thoroughly under Japan's influence. It will not do merely to have her under our control by force. But trade will then increase as it did when Tsingtau was guarded by Japanese men-of-war. It is advisable that the whole of China should be joined to Japan by force or by persuasion, it does not matter which.

Some Japanese have been trying to prevent rousing Indian hostility. They point out that the boycott of Indian cotton by Japan would be a mistake. For example, Mr. Takanobu Murobushi, a liberal writer and one of the promoters of the Gandhi Society now forming in Tokyo, writes in the *Keizai Ora* for June :

Away from the League of Nations, regarding Soviet Russia with a hostile eye, working up bad



feelings against America, colliding with the neighbouring nation of China, must Japan needs break relations with India also to complete her international isolation? Or does she intend to conquer China, India and ultimately the whole world?

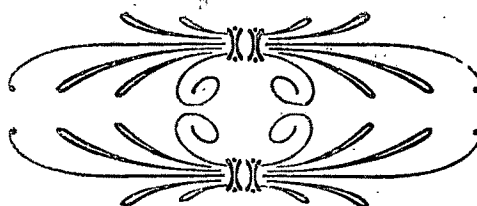
But is it really India that is going to adopt a prohibitive tariff against Japanese goods. Or is it the power behind her? Those who know that the erection of tariff barriers in India was the direct product of the Ottawa Conference will be at no loss to detect the truth—that the Indian tariff does not mean a conflict between India and Japan, but a conflict between Britain and Japan, or more strictly speaking, a conflict between British industry or capital and Japanese industry or capital, for there is no reason why the Indian masses should boycott Japanese goods for the benefit of the manufactures of Britain—manufactures, moreover, which are more expensive than Japanese goods.

Again :

Mr. Ito Takenosuke, Managing Director of the Ito Chu Trading Company, says that it will be a foolish policy to boycott Indian cotton, for such a quantity of raw cotton as Japan now imports from India (say 900,000 bales a year) may be disposed of without much difficulty by the growth of cotton spinning in India and the possible use of more Indian cotton in the Lancashire mills, that even if cotton depreciates more or less in value the loss will be put up with by the farmers with resignation and the gain will accrue to the spinners in India and England, incidentally taking away from the competing power of the Japanese spinners in the world market.

What the real object of Mr. Takanobu Murobushi is we do not know. But he talks like a real statesman and humanitarian, when he writes :

All nations should stand on an equal footing, this is an inviolable principle, and it is the rule of right that is alone in accord with it. What Asia demands is that no nation shall be conquered by another or sell its liberty to another. The nationalist movement of China and the Swaraj movement of India resolve themselves in the last analysis into the principle of national equality. Nor can there be peace on earth unless and until this principle is firmly established. Let all Asia, not merely India only, rise under this slogan. Asia will no doubt do so sooner or later, and Japan is the only nation capable of leading the movement. It is in this sense that Japan should be the emancipator of Asia. The emancipation of Asia must not mean the substitution of Japanese for British Imperialism. Neither China, India nor any other people of Asia want any alien master. What Asia really wants is neither an Oriental Monroe Doctrine nor Japanese Imperialism but a free federation of Asia. Japan should learn lessons from British policy, but not repeat its errors and thereby estrange for ever peoples who should be her friends. The time has come for the first time in our history for us to usher a regime of right into Asia. If we make the most of this opportunity, Japan will be the emancipator of Asia, whereas if we miss or abuse this opportunity, the nation will be condemned to permanent isolation.



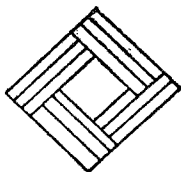


EVENING GLOW  
By Deviprasad Ray-Chaudhuri

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## MAHATMA GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF TRUTH

*Studied in relation to Western Mysticism*

By VERRIER ELWIN

PART ONE

(Continued)

### IX

**S**T. Catherine of Siena, the largely unlettered daughter of an Italian dyer, joined the Third Order of St. Dominic, and by a life of extraordinary persistence, of exquisite sanctity, and a divinely-inspired courage, became one of the chief influences in the religious and political life of her time. She very commonly speaks of God as the Truth, though for her the word has not the richness and grandeur that it has for Augustine. Sometimes her use of it is even more conventional than Gregory's—she uses it to mean truth of doctrine, or as a synonym for the Scriptures. On the other hand, she occasionally uses the word in its fully mystical sense. God is the Eternal Truth. Since Truth is infinite, it must be adored with infinite love. "Love should be directed to God endlessly, boundlessly, since he is the supreme and eternal Truth." For her as for Bernard, humility is the hierophant of the mysteries of Truth. "If thou wilt arrive at a perfect knowledge and enjoyment of the Eternal Truth, thou should'st never go outside the knowledge

of thyself; and by humbling thyself in the valley of humility thou wilt know God and thyself." The following beautiful passage refers to Christ. "He who follows Truth receives the light of grace and cannot faint from hunger, because the Truth has become his food. Those who follow Truth are sons of Truth and pass through the door of Truth and find themselves united to him who is the door and the road and at the same time infinite peace." Catherine closes her great *Dialogue* with the enraptured cry, "Clothe me, clothe me with thyself, O Eternal Truth."

For the first time I note in Catherine a direct connection between Truth and service in her saying, "The soul in love with Truth never ceases to serve the whole world." Of course, all the writers whom we have discussed have, in greater or less degree, believed that the life of the spirit must be creative and issue in loving action for the sake of the world. But no one—not even Mahatma Gandhi—has worked out fully the connection between Truth and Service. Perhaps at this point we might suggest a few thoughts along



the lines of Bernard's three degrees of Truth. The first degree of Truth, the knowledge of ourselves and especially of our social selves, our sins against society and the sins of our own class or caste against the poor, awakens in us the sense of penitence. There is no purer form of penitence than that which issues in acts of loving reparation to those who have been wronged. The knowledge of the Truth about ourselves then will result in loving penitential service of the poor and the oppressed. In the same way, the second degree of Truth, the compassionate vision of the world, in which we look on the sins of mankind not as judges but as penitents, must also lead to acts of love and mercy. We will not now wish to condemn the world; we will desire to heal its wounds. But nothing save the vision of Truth will enable us to do that in the right spirit. The third degree of Truth—the direct vision that is open to the pure of heart—must also result in creative action. For Truth is the same as universal Love, and to behold the vision of Truth is to have the heart enlarged with love until it is fit to break. In this Ultimate Truth nothing is forgotten, nothing is ignored, all the joys and sorrows of mankind are there, and the whole world is loved more deeply when it has been seen in God. Then all service becomes a sacrament of the Divine Truth. I do not know if St. Bernard would agree with my adaptation of his teaching, but in some such way we may be able to link together the ideals of Truth and Service.

Of the great German mystics who go by the name of the Friends of God, it is only the Dominican Suso who habitually thinks of God in terms of Truth. Calling himself the Servitor of the Eternal wisdom, Suso sought "the hidden mystery of the pure and absolute Truth" not by logic or analysis, but first by a life of rigorous asceticism and later by the path of loving contemplation. To Suso, Truth is formless, simple, incomprehensible. It must be sought, therefore, by the renunciation of all form and multiplicity. "Perishable love is a cloak of all Truth." "The setting of the sensual nature is the rising of the Truth." "If a man wishes to conform himself to the Truth, he must in

the first place be diligent in turning inwards from things of sense, for God is a spirit. Secondly, he must take note whether he has attached himself to any obstacle (that is anything that will stand between him and Truth). Thirdly, he must observe whether he is his own guide in anything, owing to the sensual appetite having got the start. Fourthly, he must, in the light that fills his soul, consider the presence of the all-penetrating divine essence in him, and that he is one of its vessels." This is the preliminary moral discipline. But there is also a spiritual discipline. "To gaze without any medium upon the unveiled Godhead is undoubtedly absolute and unmingled truth; and the more intellectual and unimaginary a vision is, and the more nearly it approaches to the unveiled contemplation, the more noble is its character."

Suso's contribution to Truth-mysticism lies in his emphasis on the simplicity required for the vision of God. Without simplicity there is no purification. The senses, the mind, the spirit are to be purified and simplified if they would gaze with untroubled eyes on the pure and simple vision of Eternal Truth.

## X

The Society of Friends has at all times been distinguished by its love of Truth and its search for it at any cost. From such reading as I have in Quaker literature I would hazard the opinion that the first Quakers thought of Truth as a doctrine to be defended: they quickly developed the idea of the Eternal Truth to be found in the inner spirit of man; while the most modern Friends think largely in terms of the quest for intellectual and scientific truth. Thus of George Fox, the Founder of the Society, it was said, "He was valiant for the Truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in labouring in it, steady in his testimony to it, immovable as a rock." This is not "Truth-mysticism": it is dogmatism. But William Penn, and still more the deeply spiritual Penington, regard Truth as a possession of the spirit. Penn urges his followers to be possessors as well as professors of the Truth, embracing it not only by

education but by judgment and conviction, from a sense begotten in their souls through the operation of the eternal spirit. He insists that Truth must be sought within. "Some seek it in books, some in learned men, but what they look for is in themselves, yet they overlook it. The voice is too still, the Seed too small, and the Light shineth in darkness. They are abroad and so cannot divide the spoil; but the woman that lost her silver found it at home after she had lighted her candle and swept her house. Do you so too and you shall find Truth." "Wherefore, O friends," he continues, "Turn in, turn in, I beseech you." For only by the path of inwardness can men come to the Eternal City.

The Society of Friends has refused to attach itself to any creed or form, believing that by such crystallizations of belief the purity of Truth will be sullied. The way to Truth, as J. W. Rowntree says, is rather by "the way of service and a life of love freely given." The dedicated life is itself a sacrament of Truth. In such an atmosphere there will always be a strong desire to seek scientific and intellectual truth. The Yearly Meeting of 1920 issued *A Word to All Who Seek Truth*, in which it declared that religion cannot meet the questions of the ever-insistent child-spirit of the human race with outworn formulas. "No faith can satisfy that is not absolutely sincere and real and that cannot stand in the fierce light of truth."

"To find an answer to the quest for truth," the statement continues, "is no mere matter of abstract interest, to every sincere seeker it is the deepest concern in life. The very fact that men demand an answer to their quest is part of the answer. If there is no ultimate truth, then the world is irrational, and men can have no trustworthy standard of truth and falsehood. The fact that all have such a standard is a witness to something beyond itself."

"The man of science, following the demand for truth in himself, and guided by an inward criticism of what he finds in nature, discovers truth there. The joy of discovery is found in the correspondence between the inward sense and the outward fact."

"So in the sphere of ultimate truth with which religion deals, man has within him a sense of truth which we speak of as the Inward Light and which we believe to be of God. That something we cannot call less than divine and universal, for it links us with the eternal realities, and with our fellow-men of whatever race or creed..."

"A religion based on Truth must be progressive. Truth being so much greater than our conception of it, we should ever be making fresh discoveries. The mysteries of nature are continually being unveiled before the patience and perseverance of those who devotedly search them out and loyally follow the laws they discover. So it is with the things of the Spirit. A vista of infinite progress opens before us."

I have quoted this fine passage at length because it illustrates with great exactness an aspect of the quest for Truth which is very characteristic of the modern world. If I am right in my analysis of the progress within the Society of Friends from Truth of Doctrine to Mystical Truth and then to the search for truth of fact or scientific truth, the history of the society will reflect the history of Christendom in general. To-day men are more interested in the search for scientific truth than for anything else. Yet, as we shall see there are still those who seek truth of doctrine, and those who seek the hidden and blessed truth of the spirit, neither of which need be alien to sciences but which rise beyond it.

## XI

At the same time as the Society of Friends was troubling the jails of England in its passionate search for truth, the quiet courts of Cambridge were giving hospitality to a group of philosophers who were to be famous in the history of English religion as the Cambridge Platonists, and who tried in that distracted seventeenth century to draw the church back to her old loving nurse, the Platonic philosophy.

The most attractive writer among the Cambridge Platonists was John Smith, a man of great charm and purity of character as well as of deep learning, who won at his too-early death the beautiful tribute that his heart was full of a love enlarged as God's love is. In Smith's *Discourses* there is a whole philosophy of Truth. The foundation of all his teaching about Truth is that Divinity is a Divine life rather than a Divine science. The knowledge that we find in systems and models is but a "poor wan light"; to find the Land of Truth we must turn to the powerful energy of Divine knowledge that displays itself in purified souls. We must seek God within our own

spirits rather than in books. For that which enables us to know the things of God "must be a living principle of holiness within us. When the Tree of Knowledge is not planted by the Tree of Life, and sucks not up sap from thence, it may be as well fruitful with evil as with good. If we would indeed have our knowledge thrive and flourish, we must water the tender plants of it with holiness. When Zoroaster's scholars asked him what they should do to get winged souls, such as might soar aloft in the bright beams of Divine Truth, he bids them bathe themselves in the waters of life; they asking what they were, he tells them the four cardinal virtues, which are the four rivers of Paradise."

Again and again John Smith insists on the vital connection between Truth and life "The reason why Truth prevails no more in the world is, we so often disjoin Truth and true Goodness, which in themselves can never be disunited; they grow both from the same root and live in one another." What he calls sober and practical truth must possess the consciences and judgments of men. "There is a knowing of the Truth as it is in Jesus, as it is in a Christ-like nature, as it is in that sweet, mild, humble and loving spirit of Jesus, which spreads itself like morning sun upon the souls of good men, full of light and life. There is an inward beauty, life and loveliness in Divine Truth, which cannot be known but only then when it is digested into life and practice." On the other hand, "there is an inward sweetness and deliciousness in Divine Truth, which no sensual mind can taste or relish."

The man who seeks knowledge with a pure heart shall not be disappointed. As he frees himself from his slavery to this base flesh; as he closes the eyes of sense and uses more and more the eyes of his mind, then the light of the divine world will begin to fall about him, and those "pure coruscations of immortal and ever-living Truth will shine out unto him, and in God's own light shall he perceive him."

"He that will find Truth must seek it with a free judgment and a sanctified mind; he that thus seeks shall find; he shall live in truth and that shall live in him: it shall

be like a stream of living waters issuing out of his own soul; he will find satisfaction within, feeling himself in conjunction with Truth, though all the world should dispute against him."

This love of Truth is our pledge of immortality. For John Smith, as for every Platonist, eternity does not mean that we are projected into a heaven where time goes on for ever, day after day, like a human life indefinitely prolonged, but it is the perfect vision of God to which Truth uplifts us. The unveiled vision of Truth is eternity, an experience of such intensity and depth that it cannot be measured. The strongest argument we have for the immortality of the soul is the presence in us of "a naked institution of eternal Truth which is always the same, which never rises nor sets, but always stands still in its vertical, and fills the whole horizon of the soul with a mild and gentle light. There are such calm and serene ideas of truth, that shine only in pacate (*i. e.*, peaceful) souls, that necessarily prove some permanent and stable essence in the soul of man, which ariseth only from some immovable and unchangeable cause which is always the same." Thus man is kindred to the archetypal ideas of Justice, Goodness, Truth, which are always the same, and although we ourselves are but of yesterday and mutable every moment, the Truth is eternal, and our kinship with Truth makes us eternal too.

John Smith gives us a beautiful picture of religion—the quest for Truth in holiness, a constant enlargement of mind and heart as the soul draws nearer God, and in the end the rapture of the vision of Truth which is the spirit's immortality.

Another of the Cambridge Platonists, Benjamin Whichcote, reminds us of the beautiful thought that Truth is the law of the universe, an idea which is inherent in the New Testament doctrine of the Logos. Truth is the underlying harmony and reason both of the whole universe and of the spirit of man which is its microcosm. Truth is therefore no stranger in the spirit of man. "Truth is so near the soul," says Whichcote, "so much the very image and form of it, that it may be said of truth that as the soul is by



derivation from God, so truth by communication. No sooner hath the truth of God come into the soul's sight, but the soul knows her to be her first and old acquaintance. Though they have been by some accident unhappily parted a great while, yet having now through the divine providence happily met, they greet one another, and renew their acquaintance as those that were first and ancient friends. . . Nothing is more natural to man's soul than to receive truth." Long before Origen had declared that "as the eye seeks the light, as our body craves for food, so our mind is impressed with the natural desire of knowing the truth of God." Truth is thus the gracious bond which links us not only to the eternal world which is to come, but makes us free of the universe in which we live. To realize Truth is to be in harmony with all existence.

## XII

Our survey could be extended, but we are now in a position to summarize the main features of the "Truth-mysticism" of the West. We must first, however, remind ourselves that there are many references to Truth of a purely conventional character in the literature of all religions. One or other system of doctrine will be called the Truth. The Gospel is the Truth. Martyrs on both sides will be regarded as valiant for the Truth. This is not what I mean by Truth-mysticism, yet it should not be despised. For it means that at its highest a doctrine or a church or a sect is loved, not for any benefit that is to be gained from it, but because it is believed to be true. The conception may be narrow and narrowing, but at least it exalts Truth as the measure of things.

But Truth-mysticism is built on a wider foundation than this. I take its fundamental ideas to be as follows :

(i) Truth is not only a definition of the Ultimate Reality or God. It is itself a great ontological reality, existing in its own right, so that it can be said both that Truth is God and that God is Truth.

(ii) In this Ultimate Truth all other truths exist, and it is only in the light of the Ultimate Truth that lesser truths can be understood.

(iii) Truth is the law of the universe and

the law of man's being. It is the end for which he was created. Man, therefore, will only be truly himself when he is following truth, nor can there be any nobler task for him than this which unites the law of his own being with the law of the universe.

(iv) Since God is One, and the universe is a unity, it follows that all partial truth is related to the Universal Truth and that all truth is ultimately one.

(v) Man's longing for Truth and his capacity to know it is a pledge of his immortality, for it unites him to the stable and unchanging realities beyond himself.

(vi) The Ultimate Truth can only be known by a life of truth, that is by a life consistent with itself, of transparent and luminous holiness. Although all knowledge ministers to this life, unless the Tree of Knowledge is planted by the Tree of Life, it will bear no fruit.

(vii) The life of truth is marked especially by the virtues of humility which gives us self-knowledge; compassion which gives us the knowledge of the world; and perseverance which carries our feet upward to the unveiled vision of God. It demands also a great love, and the renunciation of all sensual passions which are in their nature disorderly and therefore contrary to the law of truth within us.

(viii) The vision of the Ultimate Truth will result in an increased love of humanity, and in a zeal for the service of the world. The life of service is the sacrament of Truth.

Before passing on to consider the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, we must distinguish the following elements in the idea of the search for Truth. There is first what we have just described as Truth-mysticism. Here the search for Truth means the realization of the Eternal Truth which is God. This search can be conducted within the boundaries of any religion or philosophy, and as long as life lasts it never ceases. It is sometimes said that the adherent of some particular religion should not call himself a seeker after Truth since he already possesses it. But Truth in our sense of the word is never possessed fully in this life. The most orthodox Christian, for example, who believes that he is in

possession of a perfect scheme of truth, must always press forward to realize that Truth in his own soul. Membership of an institution, acceptance of a creed, does not mean the attainment of Truth in the sense in which our Truth-mystics use the term.

Secondly, there is the search for intellectual Truth, truth of fact, truth of doctrine. This is what most modern men mean when they speak of the quest for truth, as we have seen in the statement of the Society of Friends quoted above. This ideal demands above all things intellectual integrity, patience, accuracy, fearlessness. It has cost the world a thousand martyrs. We think of the fate of the victims of the Inquisition, of the no less horrible fate of the Victims of militant Protestantism, of the persecution of the first scientific and historical critics of the Bible. A seeker after Truth in this sense must be prepared for something worse than persecution: he must be prepared to follow Truth wherever it may lead him. And he cannot tell where that will be. He may be led with Newman to find intellectual peace in the acceptance of a closed system of Doctrine. On the other hand, he may find himself adrift on a stormy sea with no light to guide him. He must be ready for anything. Yet for all its dangers the need for men and women who will take up this quest is paramount. As Canon Streeter says in his recent Bampton Lectures on *The Buddha and the Christ* given before the University of Oxford:

"The quest for religious truth is the great adventure for which humanity now calls. In a world which is like to perish for lack of a religion, the churches are perishing for lack of men to undertake this quest. There will be in this audience some of the younger generation who have heard or will some day hear, the call to dedicate their lives to that adventure. To them I say: Listen; but also count the cost. You will find yourself unpopular with certain sections of the religious press—that is an affliction not difficult to grin and bear. You may have painful interviews with persons in authority or members of your congregation—interviews not less distressing because they are obviously as painful to them as to yourself. You may be kept exiled, as friends of mine have been, in a remote country Vicarage during the best years of your life, as a 'dangerous person.' But if, as the years go on, the gleam you saw in youth becomes ever clearer, and you feel able to hand on to others who are groping in the darkness the light that you have gained, these things will seem to you of small account. Yet remember that your search for truth will not

be genuine unless from the first you face clearly the possibility that it may lead you to a contrary conclusion. You take the hazard that one day you may come to think that the light you saw in youth was just a will-o'-the-wisp; that all your thought and work has led you down a blind alley; that the mystery of the Universe is guarded in a keep which will capitulate to no man's siege."

"Yet, say I, face, and take, that risk."

This is not in itself what I have called Truth-mysticism, yet the spirit of this quest must animate the heart of every genuine Truth-mystic.

Finally, there is the search for moral truth. The West does not normally think in this way, for it bases its ethics on love rather than on truth. But of recent years the idea of truth as a foundation of social reform has become prominent especially in the poets of America and England. Lowell's poem is sung as a hymn in many churches,

Though the cause of evil prosper,  
Yet 'tis truth alone is strong;  
Though her portion be the scaffold,  
And upon the throne be wrong—  
Yet that scaffold sways the future,  
And, behind the dim unknown,  
Standeth God within the shadow,  
Keeping watch above his own.

T. Hughes writes,

O God of Truth, whose living word  
Upholds whate'er hath breath,  
Look down on thy creation, Lord,  
Enslaved by sin and death.  
We fight for truth: we fight for God!  
Poor slaves of lies and sin;  
He who would fight for thee on earth  
Must first be true within.  
Then, God of Truth, for whom we long,  
Thou who wilt hear our prayer,  
Do thine own battle in our hearts,  
And slay the falsehood there.

And the nineteenth century S. Johnson interprets the Kingdom of God as the Kingdom of Truth.

The true thy chartered freemen are  
Of every age and clime.

The true mystic, the man whose life is full and real, will seek for truth along each of these three paths. As he presses forward with all the powers of his spirit dedicated to his high quest, he will find that the three paths converge in one. At the end he will find his feet treading wearily but with a secret exultation along the Path of Sorrows. For the Road of Truth leads to no other hill save that of Calvary.

## RELIGION AND POLITICS

By JOHN EARNSHAW

A time of national disaster, or suffering, is often marked by an increased interest in religious matters. The drabness, the monotony of unrelieved depression, the prospect of an existence without hope often tempts people to turn to religion, in the expectation that religion will somehow comfort them. It is also usual for certain religious enthusiasts to take the opportunity to preach to people that the root cause for their misfortunes is the growing indifference to God, and that all misfortunes will vanish if only people will become religious. Thus certain people in America have recently declared that the way to end the present economic depression is for the President to issue a decree compelling people to meditate for a fortnight on God. Similarly in Europe during the Great War many people began reading Bibles, and considering more seriously about religion, only to feel that somehow they were not satisfied. And again, the Nazi movement in Germany has got a strong religious colouring. Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who was last year in India investigating the Civil Disobedience movement, recently described some of her experiences in Germany after the rise of the Nazis.

"It is difficult to account for the queer mixture of sadism and a religious revivalism in which the worst excesses have been committed... The older Lutheran pastors are enthusiastically behind Hitler. They are in every procession and attend every meeting. Their churches, which were empty except for the very staid Sunday-observing minority, are now filling rapidly. Their influence is seen in certain of the new *Kultur*-decrees, and the drive against the modern artists' and poets' colonies and associations.

Yet this undeniable puritanism goes with an orgy of cruelty that makes one shudder at the queer depths there are in the human mind. I talked to a middle-aged business man who was the angriest person I met in Germany. He was a minor municipal councillor, neither a Jew nor a Socialist, but he was the manager of one of the multiple shops that the Nazis specially dislike. He was arrested and taken to a Nazi *lokal*, made to stand at attention, face to the wall, with a dozen other assorted prisoners, and beaten on the head. Nearly fainting he was dragged before a sort of court-martial, some Nazis with revolvers at a table.

"You can't believe how horrible it was," he said. "I was reeling from their blows on my head. Yet if I hesitated at an answer to any question, they struck me in the face. If they did not like my answer, they slashed me with a whip. Then they made me do the military punishment drill, slashing me if I did not do it smartly enough." When the Nazis found they had nothing against the man he was taken to the bathroom, allowed to wash, a doctor bandaged his head, and then he was brought back to the court-martial, who ordered him to say his prayers.

"A ghastly mockery, surely," I said.

"No. There was no mockery about it. The president of this sort of court seemed in deadly earnest about it. When I had said my prayers, they ordered a guard to fetch a taxi, and showed me out as though I was leaving a business interview":

(*Time and Tide*, April 1, 1933).

The above is an interesting revelation of how matters may become confused in people's minds, but the point to remember is that religion often flourishes most during a period of depression. It remains to consider the reasons for this fact.

In the first place the obvious reason, which is usually given, is that when people are contented they become too proud, and self-satisfied, and it is only when they feel themselves helpless in the face of some disaster such as a war that they are driven to seek comfort in religion. In a period of prosperity, therefore, religion with its vaguer, intangible joys, has to compete with the practical, material joys of the present world, and not unnaturally religion loses force. In a period of depression, since the world has little or nothing to offer, religion naturally seems to be more desirable. This explanation is not so convincing however, if one remembers the number of people, who in a period of prosperity can enjoy it only from a distance. Even during a period of prosperity there are surely sufficient people who are wretched, unfortunate, for whom life has nothing to offer, who should flock to religion. Nevertheless, such people usually seem to avoid it. This is more obvious in the most politically advanced countries of Europe. In other words, the supposed.



attractiveness of religion in times of depression must exist for a very great number of people in times of prosperity. It is necessary, therefore, to go further into the question.

To say that man must work in order to live is a platitude, but because it is a platitude it is often misunderstood. In the first place the existence of human life depends on the ability of man to force Nature to supply him with his necessities. It should, therefore, follow that the more Nature gives, the higher will be the standard of life, and machinery which enables man to force Nature to give more abundantly should be for the benefit of man. Unfortunately this delightful dream is spoilt by the fact that man can consume only that which he produces. At first it seems natural enough that a man should consume in accordance with his powers of production, since what is not produced cannot be consumed, and also if a man is lazy, and produces nothing he should not be allowed to live on the industry of others. But people forget that man with the assistance of machinery can produce more, than man can produce by his own efforts. Therefore, part of what is produced is produced by man, and part of what is produced is produced by machinery. Now the quantity of articles needed by people can be obtained *only if they work*. Thus a person whose work is not now needed on account of the introduction of machinery cannot obtain anything which is produced since he has not worked. Machinery, in other words, makes work less and less of a necessity, but under the present system is the *sine qua non* of existence. Machines, by making possible a higher standard of life, make work unnecessary, and unemployment, and economic depressions are the inevitable result. All that one can say in favour of our present system is that it puts a premium upon work! But because of the necessity of having work one has the present state of the world; high tariff walls, whose sole object is to create work in preference to commodities; each nation striving to get a "favourable balance of trade" which means in simple language, to obtain the privilege of working for another nation, and dictating the price that must be paid; this need for ever greater and greater

export markets, the inevitable result of which is war. All this is the result of our present system!

The people then who assume that the present economic depression can be ended by religion must either believe that this inevitable unemployment, together with which there must exist inevitable starvation, will be relieved by some miraculous act, such for example as the feeding of the Israelites on "manna" when they were wandering in the wilderness, or else they feel that heavenly joy is a substitute for material food. The alternatives, in short, are, either religion will be of assistance to people in this present world, or else that it will not help people in this present world, but it may help them in the next. If the second alternative is considered then it is fairly obvious that religion has no need to interfere in the things of this world since it cannot better them. But at once one is brought up to face the fact why is it that the power and attractiveness of religion varies with the prosperity, or the reverse of the people?

Now when people discuss religion, and advocate its cause on account of the joys that it will confer in the next life, they very often forget the close connection that exists between religion and the things of this world. Religion may deal with non-wordly matters, but the representatives of religion often possess a great many of the things of this world. In other words, it is hard to distinguish between religion and religious organization,—the former may not be concerned with the things of this world, but the latter most emphatically is! A very superficial study of European history reveals the economic motives underlying the Reformation, and it was economic considerations, namely the possession of confiscated church property, which prevented England reverting again to Roman Catholicism. A religious organization is like any other organization existing in a modern state. It is allowed to exist only under certain conditions. If it does not obey those rules, laws, or regulations, then its existence will be officially terminated, and if it continues to exist, it can only continue to do so secretly. But practically every organization believes in itself, and, therefore,

wishes to be strong, and it is hardly likely to be strong if it is compelled to remain a secret organization. Therefore, it is most probable that a religious organization will fall into line with other organizations, and will observe the usual rules, and conventions of society. The result of this, in short, will be that whilst religion emphasizes other-worldliness, religious organizations will practise worldliness and, further, religious organizations will be more likely to support, than to attack, the established order. What one will, therefore, expect to find is that religious organizations will emphasize the need for people to be quiet, passive, patient in suffering, to look on this present as unreal, and as a preparation for the world to come. Naturally, any state or government which is hard pressed, and which is afraid of criticism will try to induce religious organizations to order their members to respect the established government, to be "loyal" citizens, and to regard all who are opposed as being non-religious. A religious organization is, therefore, likely to be a conservatively inclined organization, and a religious person is more likely to be a conservative than a radical. It is true that certain religious leaders have been radicals, but usually such people have been denounced sooner or later by their religious societies. The generalizations and suggestions which have been so far advanced may become clearer if one notices certain significant incidents.

One of the first things to notice is the claim often advanced that as religion deals with a person's beliefs and his future life, therefore, people may have different political and economic theories whilst professing the same religious beliefs. It is true that people of different views and theories may claim to be members of the same religious organization but their influence in the organization, and the attitude of the organization towards them usually is based on their attitude in politics. After all there is nothing surprising in this. The religious organizations are usually rich, and own property. Any violent alteration in society, which would recognize the fundamental importance of machinery, and the right of the individual either to be supplied with the

opportunity of work, or else being supported by the state, would naturally decrease their wealth and their importance. A change in leaders or rulers, a religious organization may well support, especially if it tends to increase the power and prestige of the organization, but a change of principle in the society, practically never.

In India at the present time the political attitude of the Christian community, and more especially of the leaders of the Christian community, is a good illustration of the point. At the beginning of the Civil Disobedience campaign in 1930 the Bishop of Calcutta advised an Indian Christian who wrote to him for advice, not to take part in the movement—the main gist of the argument being that as it is impossible to build bridges with butter, so it is impossible to effect reform by Civil Disobedience. Whether the argument is in this case sound or not is beside the point; the point to notice is that this type of thought is essentially conservative, and tends to support the government of the day. It is very similar to the action of the American Quakers during the American War of Independence who declared that it was their fixed policy never to plot, contrive against, or overturn any government. So far no special criticism might be made but the "testimony" then went on to urge all "to firmly unite in abhorrence of all such writings and measures, as evidence a desire to break off the happy connection we have hitherto enjoyed with the Kingdom of Great Britain, and our just and necessary subordination to the King, and those who are lawfully placed in authority under him." This at a time when hostilities were going on can hardly be termed remaining neutral! Or again, many missionary societies have a rule to the effect that members of the society must abstain from taking part in the political affairs of the country in which they happen to be working. So far as non-British societies are concerned this rule has something to be said for it, since such societies can argue that as they are citizens of another government they have no right to interfere in Indian affairs. For British societies working in China the rule might also have some force, since China has a National

Government. But British societies in India are composed of British citizens, and as British citizens they have a responsibility, which no amount of words can take away, for what goes on in India. Great Britain claims to have responsibilities to see that India is properly governed, and as citizens of Great Britain the members of British missionary societies must accept responsibility for the way in which this "trust" is carried out. In other words, if the missionary shuts his eyes to what is going on in India then he is theoretically remaining neutral, but practically he is helping the Government, since it is unthinkable that he should remain silent in face of anything wrong or un-Christian, and if he remains silent then it clearly means that everything is going on satisfactorily.

So far as the Indian public is concerned conclusions drawn from this silence of missionaries are not flattering. There is a widespread belief that missionaries are agents of the Government, and are always afraid of doing anything of which the Government may disapprove. This apparent fear of doing the wrong thing the Indian contrasts with the exhortation of the missionaries to the non-Christians to do what a non-Christian community would certainly consider "the wrong thing" and to be baptized. A feeling naturally grows up that there is a certain lack of sincerity in this type of preaching. Then again, certain missionary societies maintain schools and colleges in India, usually with the assistance of Government grants. If the missionaries engaged in college work take themselves seriously, then surely they must realize that it is their duty to inspire and instruct their students. How they will be able to inspire and instruct students when they remain silent on matters in which the students find most interest is rather difficult to make out. An India which hopes to obtain self-government surely needs all the contributions that its most thoughtful citizens can offer, both in social and political affairs. Members of college staffs are presumably able to think, and to allow them to think but not to act is like allowing an engineer to design a bridge but not to construct it! It becomes still more difficult to understand this distinction

between theory and action when one considers the action of the present Archbishop of Canterbury in becoming a member of the Indian Select Committee. The Archbishop of Canterbury by his official position as leader of the Anglican Church has connected official Christianity with the "reforms" that are to be introduced. This action officially connects the Anglican Church with the reform measures, and remembering the connection between the Anglican Church and the majority of the British missionary societies' work in India it is hard to see how the missionary societies claim to be exempt from responsibility in the reforms, and if they are responsible for the reforms, then surely they have a tie with politics. So, too, there is the problem of the Indian Christian community as a minority. Whether the community has any right to claim minority representation does not matter. The community taking it as a whole does claim special privileges and it is surely the duty of the missionary to advise them whether they should make such claims or not. And still more, when they make such claims, the missionary ought to make his position clear as to whether he supports the claim or not. So far then as Christianity in India is concerned, it is clearly conservative in its outlook.

Turning now to the problem of the religious reformer, the individual—who is unable to remain silent in the face of what he believes to be the apostasy of his religious organization from the ideal which marked its early days: He is primarily an individualist, who feels that society is made up of individuals, and therefore he believes that if the moral standards of the individuals can be raised, then society will of itself be reformed. This naturally leads him to emphasize the moral qualities, and as a rule, there is great importance attached to the ideas of gentleness, patience, meekness, with the belief that such qualities together with firmness of purpose will lead people to feel ashamed of attacking, and therefore others will realize the truth that the reformer is advocating. This attitude implies the belief that conflict is not inevitable, and that it is only the blindness, ignorance, or selfishness of mankind which causes confusion and



conflict. But though there is much that is attractive in such a position, yet it overlooks the inevitable fact or conflict, which is due not to the individual, though the individual may accentuate the bitterness of the conflict, but to the system. As has previously been emphasized, at the present time work is a necessity if the individual is to live, and the "right to live" depends on the opportunity to work. Since machinery makes work unnecessary civilization can only continue if fresh work is created as fast as scientific inventions do away with the need for work. As it is, however, the machines do work, and, because they do work, lay claim to a share of what is produced regardless of the fact that the machine cannot "consume" since unlike an individual it has no need of food and clothes. Thus the number of people for whom work exists is smaller than the number of people able to work. *Conflict is inevitable.* A shopkeeper who sympathized with his competitors and helped them would soon find himself in the bankruptcy court. This fact is more commonly felt than realized. The result of this is the growth of charity. Charity has come to be so widespread, and so universally praised that the rightness or wrongness of charity is rarely challenged. People do not pause to consider that the surplus which they have for distributing as charity has been acquired through somebody else going without. If the rich meet together to consider and examine the lives and conditions of the poor, this is termed charity, and is held to be good. If the poor meet together to consider and examine the lives and conditions of the rich, this is termed communism, and is held to be bad. The rich, and powerful, are in a minority in any nation and their riches and power is due largely to the social organization of their nation, and it is difficult for a rich man to avoid getting richer, and more powerful unless he definitely retires from active life. The rich man, in short, may be compared to a person who has taken one or two drops of milk from a thousand small cups, and has eventually managed to fill a bucket. Then discovering that he has got too much he tries to return some of the milk, and naturally

finds that it is impossible for him to pour back the milk into cups without spilling and wasting it. It might be argued that if a sufficient number of rich men realized this, they might meet together and agree to find some way out of the difficulty. But again one must realize that this would mean that it was a system that they were trying to abolish, and a system not peculiar to any one country. Under such circumstances they are hardly likely to have much chance of success. But, just as the power of one individual can be overcome by coming into conflict with another powerful and stronger individual, so too power in the present system can be overcome only by the creation of another stronger power, which would mean the radical alteration of the present system.

The interests of religious organization however demand the continuation of the present system, possibly with modifications. But religious organizations would lose rather than gain by any alteration. Take for example the position of religious organizations in the U. S. S. R. Before the Revolution the Orthodox Church possessed many good men, some of whom denounced the evils of the Tsarist government. But even these people wanted only to substitute a "liberal" government which would be no more than a modification of the old. The establishment of the Bolsheviks was not with the support of the Church, but rather in opposition to the Church. So too in the case of Spain, the establishment of the Republic in 1931 resulted in a diminution of the powers of the Church, and as a result the influence of the Roman Catholic Church has been against the Republic. Thus the connection of religion with religious organization results in the continuation of the present order, rather than "establishment of a new heaven and a new earth." A religious reformer, therefore, may often do more for the benefit of the few who gain from the continuation of the present system, whilst the poor whom he wishes to help are as a matter of fact hindered rather than helped! By making the present system more tolerable, the life of the present system is prolonged.

One may conclude then, by saying that since religion and religious organization

are practically inseparably connected, religion must be connected with politics, since religious organizations are connected by the very fact of their existence. The connection can only be disavowed if one is blind to obvious facts. Further, religion is a conservative force and therefore will directly, as in the case of missionary societies in India, or indirectly by advocating minor modifications support the present state of affairs. Thus so long as religion and religious organizations

are connected, religion will decline in the face of growing misery and suffering brought about by the present system. If religion is to become an active force in the life of a nation, it must be prepared to admit its connection with politics, it must agree to its organization abdicating its power and privileges, its riches and its property, and must work for a radical reconstruction of society.

## A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

NABOR was now steering the machine back across the mountains, over wide tablelands and mountain forests. Ashan looked at the mountain landscape and again at the clear morning sky and the deep cerulean vault overhead. 'Man is not a bird,' he said, 'but he has the ambition of accomplishing what seems to be impossible and here you have invented a machine which can fly higher and longer than any bird with its heavy freight of so many human beings. There is the power of inventiveness with which the fertile brain of man has been gifted, and there is also the impulsion of curiosity which is no more than an instinct. You have now seen two worlds and the time may come when others of your race may dare more and visit another planet. Who can tell what order of beings inhabit the other planets and whether they may not be planning voyages of discovery like your own? You have found much that is common on Lamulo and Heperon. Nature presents the same features with variations. There is a marked similarity between creatures having life. The human families on both are much the same. But you must bear in mind that if the inventiveness of man is wonderful, the inventiveness of Nature must be inexhaustible. She plays on an instrument of which the octaves cannot be counted and there is no such thing as a complete gamut in the music of nature. Each inhabited world is a unit by itself, one chord, as it were, of an instrument, the vastness of which staggers the imagination. The roundness of all celestial bodies is suggestive of their completeness as units. There are no angles, nothing that jars anywhere. Each unit is self-contained with its portion of stirring

life and its equally wonderful treasures of inanimate objects. But mark you, while every heavenly body is self-contained not one is self-dependent. All creation and the measureless extent of the universe form a single organism. There you have the omnipotence of the Law. All bodies travelling in space are interdependent, linked together by an invisible but unbreakable chain. Eliminate the sun and you wipe out the solar system, and you cannot remove the sun without upsetting the astral system. Your science may say that stars have died but they leave a void and some subtle disturbance is felt in the universe. It is the oneness of it all that overwhelms the mind. Amidst numbers that are bewildering and almost incalculable it is the One that dominates all—one Law, one Purpose, one Will, one Guidance.'

By this time we returned and the Master withdrew to his own cloister which we had not yet seen.

In the afternoon we went out somewhat early to the garden and a little later the Master came out and began conversing with us while pacing up and down the shaded paths. 'I have not yet enquired,' he said, 'what was the first place you saw when you landed on this planet.'

'We were very fortunate,' replied Maruchi, 'that we landed in the grounds of the monastery of Opi. We met there with great kindness and stayed for sometime.'

'Indeed! Then you must have met Narga, Karos and the other monks?'

'Yes, Master, we had that good fortune and it was from them that we first heard about you and also learned that Narga was your pupil.'

The Master looked keenly at our faces. 'And what is your opinion of Narga?'

'She is wonderful. She is as wise as she is fair and we were greatly impressed by her knowledge and her illuminating conversation.'

'You saw the temple of Raba at the Monastery?'

'Yes, Sir. We were kindly invited to the worship one morning and we saw a thing which we could not have believed if we had not witnessed it. We saw Narga rise through the air to the dome of the temple.'

'You saw that, and she let you see it? It was very unusual and it was a mark of special favour and great confidence. I wonder whether she favoured you all equally, or one of you attracted her more than the others.'

The Master looked at us again and his eyes slowly scanned our faces till they rested on Orlon and held his eyes. So searching was the question in those luminous eyes that Orlon flushed to his ears and suddenly went pale again. The Master turned away his eyes and spoke in a level and smooth voice. 'Narga is gifted beyond most men and women. And so you saw that it is possible for a human being to rise in the air without the help of such a contrivance as the one that has brought you here?'

'It was incredible. But is it possible for any one having such powers to travel great distances through the air?'

'I am not sure. It is certainly not possible to travel like that from one planet to another because there is no air for most part of the way. I found Narga more brilliant than any student who has ever come to me and she developed extraordinary psychic powers in a short period of training. But I am not sure whether she has subdued her own nature. There is the call of youth and there is also the glamour of life. It requires a long and patient struggle to overcome our instincts clamouring for satisfaction. Narga was impatient and I fear she was dazzled by her own success. There are some tests through which she must pass unaided and which could not be imposed here. She considers she is Vesta herself but she has yet to pass through the flame without scathe. But the veil of the future is not for us to lift. There is no power that can intervene between a human being and his or her destiny. If it were of any avail I would try to foresee Narga's future but I prefer not to do so because there is no power in heaven or Heperon that can alter the course of events or break a single link of the chain that leads from the cause to the effect. Do you see any purpose in your having come all the way from a world which is not our own and your landing at Opi of all places in this wide world? You might have descended in a big city, in an opening in some forest, or amidst some savage tribe among whom you would have been in deadly peril. But no, the first sight you had of any habitation here was of the

monastery at Opi. Your ship was being steered by your pilot all right, but there was another power guiding his hand, a power which can neither be felt nor resisted. Your first view of Opi might have been a mere accident or it might have been an event pregnant with grave possibilities, it is futile to consider which. And now, my young friends, I shall be here again at night, and if you are not in the habit of retiring early I shall be glad of your company.'

At night there was a crescent moon and we sat under the dim moonlight and the light of the stars. Ashan took up the threads of his remarks where he had broken off in the evening. 'We were speaking of Narga,' he said, 'and of what the future may hold for her. As I said, I do not intend to try to peep into her future because it cannot be altered. She is gifted but she has not passed all the ordeals necessary for the full emancipation of the spirit. If her advance is arrested and the fetters of the flesh imprison her wings I shall not be surprised for we are our own pathfinders and cannot proceed beyond the clearing we have made in the forest of fate. Every life that we live is a new link in the chain of being and we lengthen it or break it according to what we attain or what we lose. Life is behind us and before us, not merely in our present existence but in others through which we have already passed, but of which most of us have no recollection, and still others which are awaiting us in the future. Because we do not know of past lives or because the future is hidden from us we must not take it as satisfactorily demonstrated that this life is the beginning and the end of our existence. This is true only so far as this tenement of clay is concerned for we shed it as one casts away an old garment, but we do not so easily rid ourselves of the soul that indwells this mortal flesh.'

'We speak of the immortality of the soul as a matter to be debated, a blind or unreasoned belief that cannot be accepted without adequate proof. Proof of what kind? Such as will be palpable and acceptable to the senses? To prove that a stone is hard you feel it or knock it against the head. Is that sort of proof available even in simple things? The senses are frequently mere organs of delusion. The eye deceives us and all our senses are in the habit of playing us tricks. When we speak of proofs we think of such as will appeal to the intellect often against the evidence of our own senses. So contradictory is the constitution of our natures that we can only hope to arrive at the truth by resisting conclusions which appear irrefragable to some of our senses. The eye shows that Heperon on which we happen to be sitting at this moment is at rest and the stars and the planets are revolving around it. We know that our eyes are deceived and are deceiving us. The sense of movement creates the impression that our planet is fixed as if it were chained to staples driven deep some-



where in space whereas we know that it is rushing through space at a tremendous speed. And how do we know that there may not be problems in which the evidence of the intellect may fail and delude us like the senses that stand on a lower level? Ah, my children, you are wise and you may know something of the wrestlings of the spirit, the feints and the sudden attacks and the strangleholds, the contest in which we are oftener vanquished than victorious. The struggle that you see everywhere all around you is going on more intensely within ourselves, the grim and prolonged battle with our passions, our senses and even our intellect. And this fight is neither begun nor ended in one life.

'Even without attempting to rise higher than the intellectual plane do we not find evidence that the essential principle of life, the vitality that is independent of the pulse-beat and the coursing of the blood through the veins survives the flesh? You have added to my poor knowledge by telling me of the Buddha and the Christ, the manner of their lives and their teachings. We also have had teachers like them for the human race would be in evil plight if it had not been for these messengers of the eternal truth. It is undeniable that the men known as the Buddha and the Christ are no longer living in your world, having gone the way of all flesh, but is it not equally true that the words they spoke, the precepts that they laid down, the truth that they revealed are still living, and are accepted and followed as living guides by millions of your fellow human beings in your world? Remember that these teachings were the creations of men known to be dead. Teachings that minister to the spirit are not structures of stone and mortar, but fabrics woven by the loom of the immortal soul, garments that never decay nor perish and clothe the nakedness of other souls through the revolving cycles of time. How can the creator die while that which was created lives? If the word lives the spirit that spoke the word must also live. The mechanism of the voice becomes extinct but not the living word and the living lesson. The flesh and the form decay but the spirit knows no decay and no death and flits to a new abode and vitalises a new shape.

I have heard from you that the Buddha spoke of numerous previous births as we speak of things that happened yesterday and that great Teacher was not subject to delusions nor was he a man of easy credulity. The articles of his creed show that he was one of the closest reasoners that your world has ever known, that he unreservedly condemned all forms of easy belief and he utterly disclaimed the possession of supernatural powers. He spoke of his previous incarnations as a matter of simple knowledge to him, a gift of memory which men do not ordinarily possess and which persists through many lives and deaths as we call them. What

was to the Buddha a plain and simple fact is to other people an incredible and impossible hallucination. Yet there is no other explanation for the strange and unaccountable contradictions that we see in human nature. Why should a man throw away a kingdom when most people hanker after wealth and power? A mad man may do so but no one ever suggested that the Buddha had taken leave of his senses. You will see two men brought up in precisely the same surroundings and under the same influences grow up utterly unlike each other. One man is kept rigidly aloof from all temptations and is carefully watched and yet he is tempted and falls. Another may be left unprotected in the midst of much evil but he remains entirely unaffected and wins through to a higher and nobler life. There is a storage of energy behind us, the accumulations of previous lives. This may be of either kind, one that tends to our uplifting or another that drives us to our undoing. We carry with us unconsciously a bank-book of our previous births and the account is carefully made up from day to day. If we are solvent we may become prosperous and may in this life and others which will follow lay by enough to discharge our original debt to the law of being; or we may go on adding to our debt and floundering deeper and deeper into the quagmire of births and deaths until all hope of extrication disappears. The sequence of incarnations accounts for much of what otherwise appears unaccountable and arbitrary.

'And now, my dear young friends, I must wish you a good night's rest. I thank you for your courteous attention, but I expect you to enlighten me a great deal upon the wisdom of your own world.'

'Master,' gravely replied Mearuchi, 'we have come to you to hear and not to speak. Favour us with more of your wisdom at your pleasure.'

As we passed into our own rooms Orlon said quietly, 'Maruchi, you are proving a very good listener.'

'Meaning that before this I used to do most of the jawing myself?'

'Well, no. What I mean is that we all become like very docile children in his presence.'

'What else would you expect? Are we not as children before him? I wonder whether he will speak to us of deeper things and show us some of his marvellous powers.'

'Such as Narga revealed?' I asked.

'That perhaps, and others that may be more wonderful.'

'Maruchi, are you cultivating a hunger for miracles.'

'May be, or it may be a thirst for knowledge.'

### XXXI

Every morning found us waiting in the garden amidst the flowers for sight of Ashan the Master and the sound of his voice, smooth, deep

and of a timbre that strangely stirred the heart-strings. Hardly any one else ever spoke. Urim and the other young monks were always present and they listened to the Master as attentively as we did. Our respectful attitude was a natural homage to the personality of the Master and the wisdom that radiated from him and flowed out of his lips. There was an unconscious majesty about him and a strength of the intellect and the spirit that held our minds in thrall. He appeared to be always standing at a great height above us and to bend down to us in gracious condescension. And all the time he was absolutely free from any assumption of superiority of any kind. He was simple, modest, natural and unassuming. The more we saw of him the more we felt attracted towards him and the greater grew our respect for him. We felt amply repaid for all the vicissitudes of our arduous enterprise by the privilege of having seen and heard such a man.

'The dread of death,' he was saying this morning, 'is not merely due to the somewhat natural fear of the unknown but to the apprehended loss of our individuality. As life goes on the association of all ideas centres round our persons, the visible tabernacle of our being. There is a perpetual conflict between our belief in the indestructibility of the spirit and the ephemeral nature of our bodies. We seldom find any consolation in the thought that it is not a permanent bond that ties the spirit to the flesh. The natural law of birth, growth and death applies to everything having life and we come to believe that death ends all. Even if it were so we should be able to face death undismayed since it is nothing more nor less than the fulfilment of a law of nature. If you put it crudely we have no consciousness that we ever asked for life and why should we be afraid to part with anything for which we did not seek ourselves? Here is a delusion subtler and more baffling than the tricks of the senses. The child cries when it is born and it has no language other than a cry, and the old man cries at the approach of death. Is the new-born child afraid of life and is the frail old man afraid of death? Intelligence dawns but slowly for the child and it usually fails in the case of a very old man. That is why we speak of extreme old age as a second childhood. The spirit is lulled into a state of unconsciousness both at the beginning and the end of life. This is the wrapping of oblivion that swathes the spirit for a little while just as in life we are frequently found straying in the mist of *maya*. So intricate, so mazy and so prolonged is the purpose of being that it is impossible for it to be accomplished in the brief span that we call life.

Moreover, when one thinks of the uncertainty of life is he not assailed by very serious doubts about there being any purpose at all in life? Think of the infants that die in birth or pass away after a brief existence, the vigorous young

lives that are cut off in the hey-day of youth, the endless variety of ways in which death comes. Does it not all seem cruel, callous, meaningless? What is this blind, baffling law that reckes not life, the most beautiful thing in creation? Why this prodigality of waste, this wanton sport of building and breaking, this wilful and wild scattering of flotsam and jetsam on the placid waters of time? The explanation is to be found in that sequence of incarnations of which I spoke, the round of existences that makes up the chain of being, some links of which are long and others short and which goes on dragging its length or breaks and disappears by the use made of each separate existence.'

Maruchi ventured to ask a question. 'In what relation, then, does the Creator stand to the individual being?'

'Take the case of the airship that has carried you from one world to another. The analogy is not very precise but it will help to illustrate my meaning. The machine was made by certain persons, but you do not expect them to drive or steer it and they cannot be responsible for anything that may happen to it. Of course a machine has no life and no will and is under the control of your pilot. But suppose it were capable of moving by itself and flying without the help of a human hand you would not blame any man or the inventor if it were to wreck itself. This is by no means a satisfactory comparison but really there can be no analogy between the world of the spirit and the world of matter. What is the notion that you have of the Creator? What have your teachers taught you about the creative Energy behind the creation and in what relation does man stand to his Maker?'

Maruchi said, 'Different peoples have different scriptures and there are necessarily different theories about the creation. Some of these have been challenged by science, but to believers the scriptures are the word of God, revealed by inspiration to prophets or great saints and consequently it is blasphemous to question the divine authority of these books. And this belief has proceeded a step further since among many peoples there is a firm belief that God appears in the flesh like a man among men. Some believe that He has appeared like this only once, others believe that He does so repeatedly according to the need of humanity. Thus there have been men who are looked upon and worshipped as God incarnate.'

'This is inevitable,' replied the Master. 'When you invest God with a personality similar, even if magnified many times, to that of human personality you establish an affinity between God and man very different from that between God and the rest of the creation. When man looks round the world in which he lives he finds that he is superior to every other form of life and that he is the lord of all created beings.

He may fancy that he is made in the image of God, not physically but spiritually and that brings him, in his estimation, closer to God. The next step is the conception that the deity may come, now and again, to dwell in the flesh of man. The physical body cannot overcome its nature even when God inhabits it and is subject to decay and death. Imagine now another world and this can be done without any undue strain because it is quite within the bounds of possibilities, and probabilities, peopled by a race incomparably superior to ours. If their ideas of the Creator coincided with ours would it not be reasonable for them to believe that God appears among them as one of themselves? If they were to become aware of the existence of a lower order of beings like the human race would not they indignantly repudiate the idea of the incarnation of God as a man? Nothing can help any race to go beyond its limitations. The conception of the deity is always beset with this difficulty. We unconsciously attribute to Him qualities that are human and thus bring Him down to our level. If one considers a man as God incarnate he has the satisfaction of feeling that he has seen God, and God cannot be seen.

'No one has any notion of the number of worlds similar to yours and ours, nor is there any justification for an assumption that these other worlds are not inhabited by beings equal to or superior to us in intelligence. If the same belief were to prevail in all these worlds among all these peoples it would mean that God appears in the flesh in every world containing beings who believe in a personal God. This in itself entails no difficulty since God pervades the universe and if it please Him to appear in the flesh He may multiply His image times without number. But this belief in the living incarnation of God is not as ancient as the human race. The first objects of adoration were the manifest forces of nature, and the marvels of creation. The mind of man was like a mirror in which were reflected the glories and terrors of creation. Conflicting emotions chased one another in his heart. Now it was a feeling of wonder which intensified into worship at the sight of the daily miracle of the rising sun, again it was a sense of awe and palpitating terror on witnessing the war of the elements, the roar of the storm and the crash of thunder, the swift death that darted from the lightning, the devastation caused by an earthquake, the sweeping destruction by flood and fire. The imagination of man created a bewildering multiplicity of divinities. Gradually came to him a clarity of thought and a concentration of reasoning that enabled him to realize that behind the variety and conflict of phenomena there is but one first Cause, a single primal energy that accounts for all the calm and commotion in nature, that the shifting panorama of phenomena and change, the unending

procession of life and death, the ceaseless process of construction and destruction are like different notes of music on the same cosmic instrument over which sweep the fingers of the Master Musician. Over this revelation the mind of man meditated and all the higher faculties of his nature were focussed on the effort to grasp this supreme truth.

'As the soul of man rose as an incense to this realization he struggled for words to comprehend the incomprehensible, and human language can only designate the First Cause as a personality. The law of cause and effect is everywhere in evidence and immutable, but what is there behind the cause, whence the law? The existence of the Lawmaker having been revealed the spirit of man hungered for a more intimate knowledge of Him and since all things were possible to him who made all things He might even appear among men to help them, and, if need be, to suffer for them. This is a late conception, for it took the human race in your world and in ours very long to realize the existence of a single deity and it took much longer to realize that the deity could appear among men as a man. If this is essential for the salvation of the race how about the many races that never comprehended the existence of a single deity as the ultimate source of creation and yet attained to a high degree of intelligence and achieved many triumphs? The secret of this conception lies in the desire to bring God down to our own level, to make Him visible to our eyes and palpable to our senses. The need for our attempting to reach the heights where communion with Him is possible disappears, but the truth remains that the advance of the spirit is always along an upward path and even the belief in the incarnation of the deity in the flesh does not set us free from the struggle necessary for the attainment of truth and scaling the heights. We forge the links of our own chain and we have to break them. Between us and our destiny there is no intervention of any agency other than our own will. There is neither help nor hindrance out of ourselves and there is no mediator or saviour who interposes between us and what awaits us as the result of our own actions. We sow our own seeds and we reap our own harvest.

'What evidence have we got of previous births? None, so far as our senses and our intellects are of any help to us. We see merely the constant round of births and deaths, a span of life which is very short even at the longest. There seems to be nothing behind or before our present existence. There is no instance of any man, who is once dead, coming back to a second life and being identified as the other man who lived in a previous life. Still most of us believe in the immortality of the soul and we know for certain that the voices of the dead are sometimes living forces influencing the lives, thoughts and conduct of living man and are as real as our own



existence during the term of life. We see a positive continuity of existence in this undeniable fact. There is something detachable from the mortal life of a man, something which death cannot extinguish and which lives and will continue to live after the flesh has perished. Is belief in past births a delusion? Does not the average ignorant man who sees the sun, the stars and the moon revolving round the immovable earth think another man who affirms that the earth is whirling round the sun to be under a delusion? Between your man of science and superior education and another before whose eyes the spirit-world has revealed itself there is the same distance as between the other two men. It is the man who prides himself upon the precision of his knowledge, who is under a delusion, and not the seer and the visionary. Ignorance is always comparative and has no fixed standard. What we call knowledge is merely the partial removal of ignorance. In the world palpable to the senses, in the vast organism we call nature we have to lift veil after veil to add to our knowledge. All around is an intricate maze of delusion through which we often meander and only the resolute among us find an opening somewhere, though the centre still remains undiscovered. Behind the visible creation is that other world of the spirit which is an unknown land to most of us and where the doors are opened only to the most intrepid and the most dauntless seekers. The seen and the known are often illusory, while the unknown and the unseen are frequently true. We know for a fact that our senses are unreliable as guides and the same statement holds true of the intellect when we are concerned with problems of the spirit.

'Is it not possible,' asked Maruchi, 'that even the wisest among us may fall into an error when it is merely a question of an individual belief? The Buddha was wiser than many generations of men, but his belief in previous births might have been founded upon a doctrine already in existence, for in the country in which he was born men had believed in previous births and the transmigration of the soul from a human to an animal body long before him and the Buddha merely emphasized this creed by declaring that he remembered all his previous births, a gift of a spiritual memory possible only to a Buddha. Could not this particular delusion have persisted even in his case?'

'True, on the supposition that no man is free from error. But as there is an exception to every rule so there must be to this and there may appear a man at rare intervals who is entirely free from error, and the Buddha was such a man. What made him as a young man give up a kingdom that was waiting for him and tear himself away from the arms of a beautiful and loving wife? Why did the call of a suffering

and misguided humanity reach his ears alone? Remember his long and bold quest for the truth, how he followed the usual course of the mortification of the flesh and gave it up when it brought him no light, and how on that memorable night under the Bo tree he calmly defied the sirens and monsters of Mara, the tempter, and how with the dawn he emerged into the effulgence and glory of full and perfect knowledge. He never accepted anything on trust, he felt himself bound by no tradition and accepted no authority as unimpeachable. He rejected the divine authority of the Scriptures of his own people, he condemned the sacrifice of animals as part of a religious rite. He broke unhesitatingly the trammels of caste, accepted the food of the unclean and the untouchable, and admitted all to his Order, provided the test of self-restraint and self-discipline was fulfilled. There can be no question that he accepted nothing without evidence that fully satisfied him, but this evidence was not always of a kind that others could understand and follow. Evidence that to him was convincing and complete was intangible and unrealizable to others. After the routing of Mara's army the gates were flung back for the spirit of the Buddha to enter the domain of full enlightenment. What he saw and learned there can never be known to any other man who has not passed the portals of light and entered the land where all things are known. The Buddha spoke of his race—not a race of kings, but the race of Buddhas. Who else except himself could have any knowledge of that race? Who but himself could have any knowledge of his past births? Because that knowledge transcends our own, because he stood on a height that others may not reach and his vision extended to distances beyond the range of our very limited vista, would we be justified in saying that he was under a delusion? It is better for the welfare of our souls that we trust his truth as we recognize the wisdom of his teachings. He never had any delusions, the Blessed One, after the mists of unenlightenment had been once dispelled. Unknown to him the propulsion of the accumulated momentum of his past incarnations pushed him out of the king's palace and the scenes of pleasure into the dreary and deep forest to seek the lost thread of his past lives and the clue that would lead to the solution of the riddle of life. When after a prolonged struggle he found enlightenment he found all. How can we seek to measure the extent of his knowledge by our ignorance, or how can we presume his belief to be a delusion? We may not know, we may not understand and yet we can believe, for faith is the strongest staff in our hands when we wish to climb the heights.'

## AT THE CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR

BY LIEUT. P. GOPALA KRISHNAYYA, M.A., M.Sc.,  
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ON May 27, 1933, it was my unique good fortune to be present at the ceremony that opened the world's fair at Chicago. Dignitaries and notables were scheduled to initiate the exposition, formally but for all that the honour goes to the "unknown citizen." Long before the gates along the three mile front were unleashed crowds swarmed about them. The fair was opened by the populace.

A day of brilliant sunshine and clear cool air set the exposition off to a fine start. About four million people were with me on that day. At 10 o'clock a blast of band music was heard in the upper reaches of Michigan Boulevard, and the parade which heralded the opening of a century of progress began passing the site of the original Fort Dearborn, where the seed of modern Chicago was planted over a century ago. Past the site of the fort, now built up with towering skyscrapers and hustling with the hustle of a big city's commerce, the parade went, linking past and present with a chain of men and music. The United States Army and Navy, reserve officers training corps, high school bands, military school bands from far and wide, they all joined in the music.

Then came in view a big red float, dazzling, regal. It is the Queen. The Queen going to the fair in state. She had just been chosen the night before the opening, a young blonde beauty from the State of Wisconsin, Miss Lillian Anderson, 23 years old. Until recently she was a waitress in a café and Cinderella-like was selected from many contestants to be "Queen of Charm" of the exposition. Her fifty attendants pay their homage to their queen and the people on the side lines become her vassals. It is her day, but it is Chicago's day, too, and as they all pass down the avenue and on to the fair grounds, showers of white

flakes fall from skyscrapers, "Ohs!" and "Ahs!" rise from the streets, the fair is on.

After the parade had entered Soldier Field, the opening programme began, with an invocation by Bishop George Craig Stewart of the Episcopal diocese of Chicago, followed by short speeches by Mr. Rufus C. Dawes, president of the exposition. Governor Henry Horner, Mayor Edward T. Kelly and finally by the address of Mr. James A. Farley, Postmaster General in Roosevelt's Cabinet and the President's right-hand man, who was instructed by the Chief Executive to open the exposition in his place.

Millions of persons, here or beside their radios, all over the United States, heard the words of dedication by Mr. Farley. In a speech ringing with earnestness, he declared the exposition open ending with the following words, "The century of progress celebration tends to substitute healthy rivalry among the nations for destructive jealousy.... Such events as this cement the bond of international friendship and contribute in no small degree to the furtherance of the hopes for all of us. Good customers are good neighbours."

Mr. Farley then read President Franklin D. Roosevelt's message. The President with his characteristic humanistic outlook saw in the Chicago Exposition not only the interest of his country, but that of the world at large. He said:

"Who is there of so little faith as to believe that man is so limited that he will not find a remedy for the industrial ills that periodically make the world shiver with doubt and terror?"

"Every convention of the peoples of the world bring nearer the time of mutual helpfulness," it continued.

"So I welcome the celebration you are now beginning. It is timely not only because

it marks a century of accomplishment, but it comes at a time when the world needs nothing so much as a better mutual understanding of the peoples of the earth.

"So I congratulate Chicago and its guests and wish the exposition unbounded success—success as a show but more success in helping to bring about binding friendship among the nations of the earth."

A gay modern, brilliant show covering 424 acres of new "made" land and lagoons the exposition gives a final triumphant answer to those who thought it would be impossible in a period of business recession to carry out a great world's fair to completion.

It has been done, and with a flourish. For three miles along the new lake shore there stands today a lively city of colour and light built to last five months, the duration of the fair, original in architecture and full of novel exhibitions and entertainments.

Architecturally the exposition is a flash of modernism, a complete contrast to the first Chicago world's fair which was classical. Here are no colonnades, and but little ornamentation. The buildings are of a new type, all different, each one designed to fit the specific use.

It is an unfamiliar world. The plain broad surfaces of the buildings, the lavish use of brilliantly coloured paint, the sharp angles of the structures, the wide terraces, the absence of windows, the frank use of factory made wallboard, painted, for exteriors—these are characteristics of the buildings which strike most visitors as strange and even shocking but which appeal to some as promising experiments in new forms of architecture.

"The day has come for which we have prepared so long; Chicago celebrates its centennial," said Mr. Rufus C. Dawes, president of the exposition at the opening ceremony.

"The century of Chicago's life has been the century of expanding comprehension of science and increasing use of science for the purposes of men. This exposition will illustrate the dependence of modern industry upon scientific research. Here are gathered the evidences of man's achievement in the realm of physical science—proofs of his power to prevail over all the perils that beset him. Here in the presence of such victories men may gather courage to face their unsolved problems."

Mr. Dawes welcomed the representatives of foreign nations, who, he said, in spite of obstacles, had by their presence given to the American people a new pledge of friendship and sympathy. He acknowledged also the contribution made to the exposition by the leaders of American industry.

While the day time ceremonies were not radically different from those of other expositions, those of the evening are believed to be without precedent.

A remote star opened the exposition officially at 9-15 in the night. Arcturus, 240,000,000,000,000 miles (240 trillion) away from the earth, was assigned the role previously filled by kings and presidents. The light from this star, which left its source in 1893, the year of the first Chicago world's fair, threw the switch which turned on the vast system of lights of the second exposition.

So exact were the calculations of astronomers and preparations of electrical experts that those who best understand the means by which the star's energy was put to work on earth, say that there was no element of uncertainty about the performance. Even the possibility of clouds hiding the star had been foreseen.

One of the wonders of the stellar ceremony is that a great astronomer, who for years has carried on his work despite the seeming handicap of blindness, was responsible for the idea. Dr. Edwin B. Frost recently retired director of Yerkes Observatory of the University of Chicago was originator of the Arcturus ceremony.

After the lighting of a great searchlight on the Hall of Science, one building after another was illuminated. The exposition was ablaze in the manner of 1933. One does not see thousands of bright lights here, but rather great, glowing, colourful spaces of light; illuminated surfaces; fountains and cascades of light; luminous compositions.

Neon and other luminous gaseous lights play their part, but not so large a part as was originally expected. The brightly painted walls of the buildings, with their clear yellows, intense "electric" blues, pure greens and red orange hues, need only to be



bathed in ordinary untinted light to look like highly coloured velvety surfaces.

The exposition is a non-profit enterprise. At the opening Mr. Dawes referred to the financial set up saying, "This exposition is the spontaneous expression of the pride of the citizenship of Chicago. It has been sustained by the voluntary action of individuals. No part of the burden of its expense has been laid upon the taxpayer."

The United States Government participates, having officially recognized the exposition and appropriated about Rs. 4,000,000 for its building and exhibits, but there was no subsidy for the exposition itself.

Estimates on how long it will require to take in the world's fair vary from a week, for a business man's whirlwind survey of the exhibits and fling at the concessions, to the entire five months period for one who wants to do a thorough job of it.

There are some sixty buildings given over to free exhibits, with a total corridor length or walking distance of eighty-two miles. There are some 12,000 exhibits, so that if two minutes were devoted to the scrutiny of each one it would require six weeks to see them all, working ten hours a day.

The visitor may look upon the world as it existed before man made his appearance, and, in animated dioramas and animated replies, see prehistoric monsters foraging and fighting among flora and fauna of their primordial age.

The "wonders" of the exposition include a walled city from China, a golden roofed temple from Jehol, a Belgian village uprooted from the sixteenth century and roads, aqueducts and siege works of the Caesars of Rome.

There are also maps that guided Christopher Columbus on his voyages, the Great Chalice of Antioch, which some students believe to be the Holy Grail; the picturesque nunnery of Uxmol, representing the height of Mayan culture, and tea houses from Japan.

Eighteen nations are participating in the exposition, either officially or through exhibits privately financed. Ten countries officially represented by large buildings or exhibits

are Italy, Sweden, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Japan, China, Morocco, the Irish Free State, Egypt and the Dominican Republic. Those having privately financed exhibits are Great Britain, France, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Poland, Mexico and Cuba.

Most of the nations participating in the fair have blended modern scientific achievements with the ancient representations of their lands. The Irish Free State is showing how it transformed the River Shanon from a subject of sentimental songs to a great new power development.

Buildings, exhibits and features of the world fair, representing 85 per cent of the Rs. 100,000,000 invested in the exposition, are available to any one who pays the general admission fee of 50 cents (nearly equal to Rs. 2) to enter the eighty-two miles of exhibits can be viewed without any extra charge.

The exhibits may be divided roughly into several groups: The industrial, including electrical, travel and transport; heterogeneous industries, model house groups, the agricultural and dairy products industries, the basic sciences, medicine and nursing, the social sciences, exhibits from foreign countries, and those of the Federal Government and the thirty-eight States.

One of the main features is exhibits in the radio and communications and the Electrical Buildings. Here is illustrated the principle of electricity from a vast power system to a light that burns without wires when held in the visitor's hand.

The Hall of Science, in which hundreds of exhibits tell of scientific advancement in the last 100 years, is a centre of special interest.

Great exhibits portray the contribution religion has made in the last 100 years to the world's welfare and advancement, particularly in the fields of education, social service, architecture, art, hospitalization, home and foreign missions, care of the aged, indigent and homeless, international relations, industrial justice and spiritual unity. The focal point is the beautiful Hall of Religion in a garden like setting overlooking the central lagoon. Here different faiths tell the story of their services, while ecclesiastical relics and works of art are shown.

enunciated in old musical texts. The present volume is devoted to the Raga Bhairava, with the traditional *raginis* of the melody according to the school of Hanumana, viz., *Bhairavi*, *Bangali*, *Madhyamadi* and *Saindhavi*, as current in modern practices.

In a practical and popular guide, such as offered by our author, in such a lavishly attractive form, there was no room for any kind of scientific or expert disquisition on the theory of the *ragas*, or a history of their evolution. Yet there are many practical difficulties and pitfalls which it is impossible to avoid in writing text-books or guides on Indian music. We are tempted to point out one of these typical pitfalls as illustrated in the volume before us. But we do so with all respect and humility and with an express reservation that our remarks offer no criticism to the valuable work of the author—and should not be interpreted to discount, or to depreciate the value of the volume in any way.

In the long and checkered history of the evolution of the *ragas*, the origins of which can be traced as far back as the fifth century A. D., the old Indian melody-types have undergone many changes and some have, from time to time, dropped from current practices, the place of the melody going out of use being taken by their popular substitutes for the time being in favour in particular schools, or areas of culture. In this way, many of our *ragas* and *raginis* have lost their original forms, and their note-compositions as given in the ancient texts in many cases differ from their forms as available in current practices, as they have reached us, today, through their long career of evolution. Many melodies, whose names only survive, had gone out of practice long ago and are sometimes confused with other melodies of similar names though their structural forms and *rasa* are fundamentally different. Some typical parallels and contrasts, (parallels, in similarity in names, and contrasts in note structure), are offered by the misleading pairs—*Nata*, and *Natika*, *Todi* and *Todika* (*turiya*), *Desha* and *Deshak*, *Lalit* and *Lalita*, *Saranga* and *Sarangi*, *Saviri* and *Saverika*. It is of considerable doubt, (though valiant efforts have been made to establish an identity), if the *Khamaj* as known in current practice, has any relation to the old melody known, under the name of *Khamvati*, in our ancient text.

The data in the volume before us curiously offers a very typical illustration of this peculiar confusion.

The Ragini *Madhu-Madhavi* (मधु-माधवी) is here cited as a *ragini* belonging to the group of Bhairava. Now, *Madhu-Madhavi* in its peculiar note structure, with *ri* as its *vadi* or dominant note, and *ma* as its *anuvadi* or interpretative note, and with *ga* and *dha* as its dissonant (*vivadi*) note is not a morning *raga* at all and cannot be allocated to the Raga Bhairava. The ancient texts properly assign to this group the Ragini *madhyam-adi* मध्यम-आदि which is one of the old *grama-ragas*, and which long ago dropped out of use, and is, scarcely, known, or recognized by very few, if any, living *ustads* today. Its structural

composition 'begins with the *madhyama* note' (*madhyam adi*) and has the same note for its dominant feature (*amsa*). According to some, it is a septa-tonic melody, according to others it abjures *ri* and *dha*. It is, therefore, fundamentally different, both in form and *rasa*, in its note-structure, as well as its emotive value, from *Madhu-madhavi*, properly so-called and which latter belongs to the *Saranga* (सरंग) group. This confusion is of a little long standing, and not of recent growth, as in many later texts, this Ragini of Bhairava is wrongly designated by the name of *Madhu-madhavi* instead of its correct name *madhyamadi* and our author cannot be held responsible for this. Happily, the author has unconsciously offered a very convincing evidence of the confusion. On the page opposite 21, the author has reproduced in a tiny miniature in colour, the correct pictorial version of *Madhu-madhavi*, properly so-called, from an old picture. This pictorial version gives a fundamentally different *tasvir* (visual pattern, pictorial design) from the visual picture proper to *Madhyamadi*, the *rasa* of which is interpreted as 'an embracing couple'—'Shiva and Sakti', (in this case, the Ragini *Madhyamadi*), as correctly interpreted in the illustration by Mr. M. B. Savant in strict conformity with the *dhyana* prescribed in the ancient text. As the old picture of *Madhu-madhavi* demonstrates it is not the expression of the *rasa* of *sambhaga Sringara* (which *madhyamadi* stands for)—but the emotion of a heroine awaiting her lover—in the sweet (*madhu*) early spring (*madhavi*) easily understood, in terms of the Vaishnava symbolism of 'Radha waiting for Madhava' in the '*madhu masa*,' the 'month ushering the spring season.'

The illustrations which form an attractive feature of this princely tribute, deserve a word of commendation. Though lacking in the depth and conviction of the old *ragamala* masterpieces, this new pictorial tribute is a valiant and praiseworthy effort to visualize the dramatic atmosphere suggested by the sound-forms of ancient Indian melodies. Though the artist employs Indian architecture and local ethnic types and costumes, they are imprisoned in their Indian settings and fail to attain universal qualities, and sometimes degenerate, as in the picture of Bhairava, to a cheap theatrical effect. 'Bhairavi,' and 'Saindhavi,' are perhaps the two most successful attempts in this new but creditable pictorial interpretation of Indian music. The get-up and printing of the volume is excellent.

The volume would have certainly enhanced in value if the patronizing Foreword, with its quaint jargons and grotesque expletives of artistic pretensions had been omitted. The author's own preface sufficiently sets forth the aim of the project with courteous dignity and princely modesty.

The large and growing Indian public interested in the culture of Indian music will surely accord to this enterprise a cordial welcome. The author's effort deserves a warm reception both in India and abroad.

## CHINA'S SAD PLIGHT

By BIKKO

**E**VENTS are moving fast in the Far East. Mr. Kuhara, who held the portfolio of Communications in the Ministry that the murdered Mr. Inukai organized in the middle of December 1931, revealed some time back that the seizure of Manchuria by force was in the plans of the Japanese Army from a long time before, and that the reason why it was not carried out during General Tanaka's Ministry was his pusillanimity.

Some four years later, however, when General Tanaka was already gathered to his ancestors and Japan was under a ministry the chief of which was not a soldier, the seizure took place on the excuse of an outrage alleged to have been committed by the Chinese. Manchuria is now Manchukuo, and its people are, according to Japanese expositors, free from the intolerable hardships they were suffering under the Chinese misrule, and are happy and contented.

Manchukuo, however, is now a little more than its original. What I mean by that perhaps requires a little explaining. When the Chinese ruled the territory Manchuria proper (Manchuria is an English appellation) was called by them as the Three Eastern Provinces. After the trouble started, the thoughts of the 'nurses' who brought it into existence were perhaps not quite clear as regards the extent of the territory. When the declaration of freedom and independence was made and Manchuria became a self-determined sovereign State, its far-sighted Japanese advisers and functionaries wisely included the name of the Governor of Jehol as one of its founders. This wedge afterwards allowed a whole army to pass through. For, on the allegation of a rebellion against him, an expedition was sent and Jehol was taken. So Manchukuo now consists of four provinces. Whether it will remain so circumscribed in area is not quite clear yet. A provincial Government here and another

there, in places outside the present domain of the new State, are, if press despatches are to be believed, expressing fond desires to be parts of this well ordered, peaceful, and happy state, and so developments are always possible. One might say that developments are in progress. But more of that anon.

When the Lytton Commission, in fact, enquired, first at Hsinking, as the old Chinese city Changchun is now called, and then at Tokyo, as to what were the boundary lines of the new State, they got no reply. Later the Great Wall was spoken of as its natural southern boundary line, which delimiting its area effectively also buffered it against the Chinese, south of the wall. This was when Jehol was not yet occupied. After its occupation, however, it was said that the Wall was not sufficient of a protection, and that a buffer zone south of it was required, for the Chinese "insincerely" continued to send expeditions with a view to the recovery of the lost territory.

And these expeditions have been productive of very serious results. For the battles that followed and continue south of the Great Wall have been deadly in their effects—to the Chinese. Ill-equipped and seriously wanting in artillery with almost no fighting planes to match the Japanese air squadrons the Chinese, though they are fighting bravely, even heroically, have been and are losing ground.

Such is the power and effectiveness in destruction of modern war machines. The Chinese are not cowards. They are not altogether without arms. If that were so, there could be no resistance whatever, and ineffective though it was and is, the resistance still continues. From the point of view of theoretical freedom China can arm herself. She can press her citizens into military services and organize them into armies. She is not wholly without arsenals and factories to turn out munitions and



necessaries of war. But her efforts have been inadequate, as cannot but necessarily be the case when obsolescence is so rapid, and efficiency in industry and war is so tremendously increased with every improvement in machines and technique.

A little digression here. Before the establishment of the Republic the Chinese Empire was divided into three dependencies and twenty-two provinces. The former were Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinghai or Kokonor, the land of the Kalmuk Mongols. The latter included Manchuria or the Three Eastern Provinces, the Province of Sinkiang or the Chinese Turkistan, and China proper or the eighteen provinces. From this it will be seen that Manchuria was within the directly administered provinces of the Central Government; and, secondly, the term China proper does not therefore mean that places outside of the eighteen provinces were outside also of the true dominion of the Chinese Government. Nominally the Republic was established in 1911. Actually, however, the old empire continued in all but name. Yuan Shi-kai, the strong man of China, who advised abdication to his monarch, and who on the advice of Dr. Sun Yat-sen became the President of the Republic, saw fit later to proclaim himself the Emperor of China. That brought about his end, but not before greater mischief had been done. The fall of the monarchy left the provincial satraps without footing. President Yuan Shi-kai brought their adhesion to the Republic. His royalist pretensions, however, undid their balance. They, who were being won over to nationalism and service to China from their allegiance to the Emperor and who might have been the defenders of the Republic were made in their mind opportunists. It merely wanted circumstances to bring this state of affairs to the surface and one was presented when the emperor Yuan Shi-kai died. Then, in the separate provinces over which they ruled, the satraps became so many kings in all but name. They gave nominal allegiance to the Central Government of course; but when it suited them they flouted its authority and went their different ways and followed their different interests. They carried on wars between each other and made peace again.

In short China was in a process of dissolution of the old order. And the new order was not yet firmly established.

In 1927, however, something happened. The Nationalist army marched on Peking. The opportunist Government that was nominally functioning from there collapsed. The Nationalist army captured Peking and the present Kuomintang Government established its authority. The new Government, however, had immediately to face foreign interventions. Japan, of course, was there with her picnic party; England landed forces at Shanghai; and even America, which, under the leadership of that splendid statesman, Mr. Stimson, had so honourably stood by China in this difficult period of her life bombarded Nanking.

So that between 1927 and 1931, when the Japanese started operations round Mukden, there was a gap of only four years. From 1927 to date it is about six years. During this period the Nationalist Government has made tremendous progress. It has concluded treaties with foreign Powers on equal terms. It has secured tariff autonomy and retrocession of some of the Concessions. It has organized its military forces at its present footing. It has met one of the most up-to-date military machines of the present time at Shanghai in frontal fight and stood its ground despite heavy losses in men and material (including the destruction of the finest collection of books on Sinology resulting from the bombardment of the Shanghai Commercial Press). This is no mean record of achievements in so short a time.

To resume the thread of our narrative from where it was left. The Chinese as I have said are losing ground and, at the time of writing, the Japanese Army is practically at the door of Peking, on the excuse that the Chinese are provocative. Naturally! For China cannot have any right to protect its own territory. There is, of course, no war between China and Japan. Only there is a "Protocol" between Manchukuo and Japan whereby Japan obligates herself to assist Manchukuo in suppressing internal disorders and in repelling external aggressions. Areas south of the Great Wall, however, are not in Manchukuo's territory, according to authoritative declarations

of the Japanese Government, but that was a theoretical difficulty, which the allied Armies of Manchukuo and Japan could surely overcome.

What then is the idea behind the present operations in North China? The idea is, as some foreign observers think, to put the Chief Executive of Manchukuo at Peking and at proper time to proclaim him emperor. The conjecture seems entirely fanciful. But such a possibility cannot altogether be denied. The Chief Executive's installation at Peking may mean a natural extension of Manchukuo's boundaries. With Japan's arms to protect him at Peking and to pacify internal disturbances, the little war-lords of the surrounding areas could be effectively brought under his allegiance. A buffer zone would doubtless be required to protect the Emperor's domain. Absolute peace would not be possible in this buffer area because of the inevitable armed excursions of Republican China. Skirmishes would occur, and this buffer zone would require to be protected, and just as Chinese hostilities around the Great Wall area have "forced" the Japanese army to undertake the task of breaking the Northern Army of Republican China, a process in which the area was occupied, so also it would be "forced" to break the Southern Army of China for "peace and order" in Southern China. This will mean that a necessity will be felt to protect this buffer zone by another buffer zone, for when successful self-defence has gone as far as that and faces the communistically governed areas, then the need for eliminating these pestilential sources of possible contamination of Imperial Japan will necessarily arise. Of course such progress will be in stages, as progress hitherto has been. Perhaps a "cordon sanitaire" would come as a preliminary, and then would be felt the imperative need for their elimination, until, like *Pax Romana*, Japanese peace would be established in large parts of China.

Perhaps fancy has been on its wings here; for though the anticipation is not at all outside the realm of possibility, its serious fault is that it has not taken any account of the reactions of the big Powers. An English paper published in Japan states

in this connection a truth that in its nakedness doubtless hurts all of them. "The Japanese troops, now operating in North China, will be withdrawn as soon as the object of the present advance has been achieved," so said the War Minister Araki. "Unfortunately" writes the English paper, "the War Minister neglected to say just what that object is. The Chinese troops had challenged the Japanese, he said, and it had been found necessary to crush them before full concentration could be effected. That is all very well, but who is going to decide where the crushing shall cease? As has often been pointed out, the worst of self-defence is that it proves necessary to go on self-defending, first in Mukden, then Chinchow, then up to Manchuli, then Jehol, then the Great Wall and now beyond it. The process has been a nibbling one, almost as if each time, the Powers' reaction was awaited before proceeding with the next phase of the operation. *The Powers', apparently, have had no reactions...* (Italics mine.)

That actually has been the case; and to my mind the fact that there was no reaction was the outward manifestation of the helpless condition of the European Powers—and of them of England principally. Paralysed by jealousy and suspicions in the Mediterranean. England has been made completely impotent even when the whole gains of her one hundred years' of diplomacy have been seriously impaired in China. That this helplessness is very real must be apparent to Indian statesmen, for it was for this reason that England has gone to America to beg for assistance.

In these circumstances the German Vice-Chancellor von Papen's jibe, aimed particularly at Great Britain but applicable to all the big Powers, hits accurately. Von Papen said that the big Powers are ready to threaten sanctions against Germany who is fighting against an immoral treaty, but are silent against countries actually engaged in war.

I have said that a situation, such as envisaged above, in which a Japanese peace will be established in Northern China is within possibility. In saying this I am not without my 'authority.'

Some spokesman of the Japanese army has already put it on record that the dissolution of the Kuomintang, the political party that mans the executive and shapes the policy of the present Nationalist Government at Nanking, may be necessary ; for, otherwise peace between China and Japan could not be stabilized. Doubtless Kuomintang, which from the position of a formidable secret society has grown to be the predominant political party in China, is the greatest obstacle in the path of Japan's ambitions. But Kuomintang is the symbol and embodiment of China *redivivus*. From 1900 to 1933 is a far cry. But what Dr. Reinsch in his famous book *World Politics* then said holds true with little modifications today. He wrote : "Should the idea spread that foreigners are about to effect a radical change in their social and industrial condition of their Empire, a violent and frantic resistance would be offered. When we consider that most of the 400 million inhabitants would readily be drawn into the existing secret societies for the purpose of defending their hearths and their civilization, the futility of any effort of Europeans to govern them against their will, an intelligent and stubborn race like this, at once becomes apparent."

And the Chinese are not blind. Dr. Chuan Shi Li, a Chinese scholar educated in America in a book he published sometimes back said, "The Chinese nation has fully realized her precarious international situation. No foreign nation can save her from being subjugated and exploited by foreign militarism and imperialism. This can be done by her own people alone. China has been duly punished for long isolation, for her extreme conservatism, for exceeding ignorance and disregard for modern sciences . . . but with the popular move for democracy . . . China can no longer permit intrusions on her inherent sovereign rights."

The fighting that is going on between China and Japan is one of attrition, Japan's finances are in a serious state already. She had a deficit of nearly a billion yen in the last fiscal year. In the current fiscal year it is estimated to be about eight hundred million yen. Finance Minister Takahashi mentioned last year that five years of such military expenditure would make Japan financially bankrupt. And that is only from the point of view of finance, with no further complications considered. And complications certainly are bound to arise. China's case is not absolutely hopeless.

## THE SUTTEE

By SITA DEVI

THE house wore an ominous look like that of the sky before a terrific cyclone or that of a volcano before a destructive eruption. Everyone walked on tiptoe and none spoke above a whisper. Even the children did not cry or shout. The neighbours took turns in attending to the afflicted family. Some went to the doctor's, some did the necessary telephoning, while the women-folk took care of the neglected children.

The cook was attending to her work in the kitchen in a dispirited way. No one felt any desire for food. Still it was considered a bad omen not to light the kitchen fire. So the daily routine of serving four meals was adhered to. The cook was an

old servant of the family. She had been here for ten years or more. She was like one of the family and felt their sorrow like her own.

A small girl of ten came and stood before the kitchen. Her face was sad, her eyes tear-laden. "What is it, Bela, my dear?" asked the cook. "Has the Doctor Babu come?"

"No," replied the girl. "He will come after an hour. He has been called away elsewhere. Is the milk ready?"

"Yes," said the cook and poured the hot milk into a shining brass cup. The cup was too hot for the tender skin of the girl's palm. She put the end of her *sari* on her hand and placed the cup on it and thus carried the



milk. The cook began frying the fish and muttered to herself, "The Lord alone knows what will happen to the poor people! God is jealous of all human happiness."

The family was not a very small one. There were the old mother and the widowed sister with her small son. She could not endure too much of her dead husband's relatives and so stayed here for the greater part of the year. Then there was Bhabatosh, the master of the house, his wife Kalyani and her three children. She was carrying again. Bela was the eldest, the second child was dead and next came the boy Kalyan. He was about seven years of age. Then there was another gap left by the cruel hand of death. The youngest child, Tara, was only two years of age.

They had been passing their days like most middle-class Bengali families. Bhabatosh had a decent job and earned about two hundred rupees. It was not negligible, considering the terrible condition of the money market. Besides the house in which he lived was his own. It was small. Still they managed somehow with it. They did not live in (perpetual terror of the landlord) ✓

About a fortnight ago, Bhabatosh returned rather early from office and did not feel like taking his usual evening meal. "Give me a cup of strong tea," he said to his wife. "I don't want anything else."

"Why, what's the matter?" asked Kalyani anxiously. "Are you feeling unwell?"

"Yes, rather," replied Bhabatosh. "I am afraid I am going to have fever. Only last month I had to stay away from office for three days due to Kalyan's illness. If I am absent again, what will the manager think?"

Kalyani went and prepared the tea silently. But even this Bhabatosh could not retain. He became terribly sick. As he flung himself on the bed, Kalyani put her hand on his forehead. It was burning with fever.

That fever was still continuing unabated. It was rather increasing. A doctor had been called in, he had called another more experienced for consultation. Both of them were of the same opinion. Bhabatosh was suffering from typhoid fever! They were expecting a remission on the fourteenth day,

but instead of that the disease had taken a turn for the worse. The doctors suspected pneumonia. Bhabatosh's old mother had given up food and drink and was weeping all the time. She was of no help, and none expected her to be of any help. Everyone whispered behind her back, "What an unlucky old woman! She had been waiting for this. Last year she fell ill at Puri and should have died then. They say truly that when a very old person recovers from serious illness, the messenger of death takes away a young person instead. He does not go away empty-handed."

The widowed sister was looking after the household and after the children too in a way, bewailing her hard lot all the while together with the neighbouring ladies. The doctor had forbidden Kalyani in her delicate state to attend to the patient, but she would not listen to him. She was nursing him day and night and had made over the youngest child, too, to her sister-in-law to save it from infection. Once in the day, she was dragged out of the sick room for taking some food and rest. But instead of taking these, she would rush into the room which contained their family idol and beat her forehead on the ground before its seat. Her face was terrible to look at.

Today the patient's condition had become alarming. The neighbours had gathered there from the morning. There was no man in the house fit to take charge, so Kalyani's cousin Saroj had been hastily summoned by wire. Misfortune never comes singly, and so the doctor who had been attending Bhabatosh so long had suddenly been called away to the bed side of another dying patient. Messengers went for him repeatedly and returned disappointed. They were afraid to change the doctor at this critical stage.

Bhabatosh's sister sat by him. The youngest child was being taken care of by Bela, who was now and then being relieved by a girl from next door. Kalyani had bolted herself inside the room which contained the family idol, and nobody knew what she was doing there. The younger children had partaken of their midday meal, as well as they could as none of the elders had attended to them. The older members of the

family had eaten nothing. The cook had waited for them the whole afternoon, then she had put up everything and had retired for her noon-day siesta. It was past two when the doctor's car stopped before the house. With the exception of Kalyani and her youngest child, everybody ran to meet him. But the doctor did not speak, he scarcely looked at anybody. He marched off straight to the patient's room.

He examined Bhabatosh very carefully and listened to the attendant's account and looked over the patient's chart. Then he came out with as grave a face as he had gone in with.

Bhabatosh's old mother was waiting for him. She flung herself before him and wailed out, "Give me some hope, doctor. How did you find my child?"

The doctor had to stop perforce. He tried to comfort the old lady as well as he could. "Look here, mother, we mortals are helpless. We can but do our best. But why are you so upset? I have seen worse cases getting cured. Everything is possible through God's grace."

The old woman began to sob aloud. Her daughter dragged her off forcibly. Bela, too followed them weeping.

As the doctor was going down, Saroj, who was accompanying him, asked in a low voice, "How do you find him? Is his condition serious?"

"Certainly," replied the doctor. "It is very serious."

Saroj's face turned pale in dismay. "Is there no chance at all?" he asked.

The doctor forced a smile to his lips. "What is the use of getting so nervous about it?" he asked. "Of course there is a chance of his recovery. But you can have another doctor's opinion if you so wish."

They stood half way down the stairs. Here there was a small room. It was in this room that the family idol was placed.

As the doctor finished speaking, the door of this room opened, and Kalyani was seen standing in the doorway. She had a dirty *sari* on, with broad red borders, her hair was dishevelled, and tears streamed down from her bloodshot eyes. Her forehead was bruised and swollen.

The doctor started at her appearance. "What are you doing, madam?" he said. "Do you want to kill the child you are carrying or do you want to kill yourself? Cannot you think of your children? Sorrow waits us at every turn in this world, but we must not give up in despair for that."

"If God saves my husband, we shall all live or let the three of us go together," answered Kalyani in a hoarse voice.

The doctor turned from her to Saroj. "Do not neglect her," he said. "Her condition, too, is serious. I warn you, unless you take better care of her the worst will happen."

"We don't know what to do," said Saroj helplessly. "We seem to be surrounded by fire on every side. Who is to look after her, and make her see reason? Instead of being looked after, she is looking after the patient day and night."

"Engage a nurse for the patient," said the doctor, getting into his car. "It is criminal folly to let her strain herself like that in this condition."

The car started off and Saroj came up again. Kalyani was still sitting on the stairs. "Have you eaten anything?" Saroj asked.

"I took a little milk in the morning," said Kalyani.

"What are you trying to do?" cried out Saroj in anger. "Affairs are serious enough as it is. Do you want to kill yourself, too, over and above that? What is going to happen to the children then?"

Kalyani gave out a shriek of agony like one tortured. "Cousin, I beg of you, do let me alone! Why should I want to live? I do not want to live if I am doomed to widowhood. I shall break my head with a stone if I cannot save him. I do not care what happens to the children."

What could he say to this half-demented creature? The world was nothing to her without her husband. She had lost all her senses through this terrible fear of losing him. Even the love for her children seemed to have deserted her.

Kalyani lost her own mother in her childhood. Yet she did not care what happened to her own children if they became mother-

less ! Fear reigned supreme in her mind, a yawning gulf seemed to have opened beneath her feet. She was a typical woman of Bengal, uneducated, helpless and ignorant of the world which she had hardly seen. She had no separate existence of her own, she was like a parasite on another human being through whom she lived. If that tree was cut down by the cruel hand of death, how could the poor parasite think of living on ?

The whole day passed off like this. In the evening Kalyani came and sat down by the bedside of her husband. Her mother-in-law was lying on the ground in front of the patient's room. Saroj had proposed to bring in a nurse, but the three ladies put up a most stout opposition. As long as they were alive, no Christian woman was needed to look after Bhabatosh.

Bela sat in the kitchen, eating stale rice. The boy Kalyan did not like such things. He had bought some hot *kachuris* from the sweet-meat shop at the corner and was enjoying them surreptitiously. He was afraid that if Saroj saw him he would not only lose the delicacies, but get a scolding to boot. The youngest child was toddling about here and there. Her aunt had gone for her evening bath and her sister was busy eating. So there was none to look after her. She was picking up all sorts of things from the floor and enjoying them.

The cook had come upstairs with some barley water. She called Kalyani and whispered, "Do you know that a great saint has come to that house in the street corner ? Yes, the rich Seth's house. Our maid servant Kati told me. People are flocking there from every quarter just to catch a glimpse of him. Why don't you go once ? If he takes pity on you everything may happen."

Kalyani remained silent for a moment, then said, "All right, I shall go."

The doctor came in the evening with another consulting physician. Kalyani ran away at the very sight of him. She could not endure his lectures. He was a man and did not know what a woman's heart was like. While the fire of hell was burning within her, he asked her to take care of herself and her unborn child. So she fled.

The doctors remained for about half an

hour, gave some instructions about medicine and nursing, then left. Kalyani then came out. She was preparing to go out though her dress and her hair was as dirty and dishevelled as before.

She ordered the maid servant Kati to take a hurricane lantern and accompany her. She also told the cook to inform her mother-in-law that Kalyani had gone to the house of the Seths to see the saint. Kati came out with the lantern and they both started.

But there was no comfort for Kalyani even there. The saint knew how to give solace to the sorrowing and afflicted, but he did not know of any weapon that could avail against death. So the unfortunate woman returned weeping. Saroj had come out to remonstrate, but at the sight of her tears he went in again.

Early next morning, Kalyani came down to the kitchen. The cook had just begun to sweep the room. She stopped, seeing Kalyani and asked, "Why have you come down so early ? How is master now ?"

"Just the same," Kalyani answered, "I want to go to Kalighat once. Who is to go with me ?"

"I don't know, mother," the cook answered. "Everyone is so frightfully busy in the morning. But I think you can go with Latu's aunt who lives next door. She goes to the temple every morning. If you want to do so, I can take you to her house."

Kalyani agreed and went out with the cook.

Saroj was sleeping in the patient's room. He suddenly started up at the groans of the patient. He sat up on his camp bed in consternation and exclaimed, "Where is Kalyani ? She forced me to lie down saying she was going to look after the patient. And just look at the state of things ! She has not even given him his medicine ! These hysteric women should never undertake any responsible work." He began trying to rectify Kalyani's defects as much as he could.

It was already ten when Kalyani returned. The patient's condition had not improved, if anything, it was worse. But Kalyani's expression looked more hopeful. There seemed to be new strength in her. Someone had shown



her the way out of this valley of the shadow of death.

She seemed reluctant to go inside her husband's room after this. The small room in which the family idol was kept drew her with a curious power. She spent most of her time there. She flung herself prostrate before the image of stone and muttered supplications, which the God alone heard. Saroj was pleased at Kalyani's withdrawal from the sick room and never asked for her. With the help of some of the neighbours he managed the nursing far more efficiently. Kalyani had been going about like a somnambulist recently and was not at all fit for any responsible post of duty.

Saroj went to look for Kalyani once, just to see what she was doing. She was there in that small room. Seeing Kalyani's sister-in-law, Saroj said, "Why don't you ask Kalyani to have some sleep since she is not attending to the patient now? She needs rest very badly."

The lady looked at him with great displeasure. "Is this the time for her to sleep?" she asked. "She alone knows what is happening in her heart. She won't come even if I ask her. She is praying now."

Saroj went back. He could hardly blame Kalyani. Since nobody else thought a Bengali woman's life to be of any consequence, why should she herself think so?

Kalyani never came out from that small room. The patient's condition became more and more alarming. The doctor came in the evening. He potted about in the room for a while, touching this and that, then said, "If you want to have some other doctor, you can do so. I cannot help him any further. If there is any relative you want him to see, you must wire at once."

Whenever the doctor came, Bhabatosh's mother and sister accompanied him to the door of the patient's room. As they heard the doctor's words, both gave such a shriek of grief that even the unconscious patient started. Saroj ran to them and dragged them away from before the sickroom. The doctor, too, had come out, he tried to comfort the weeping women, "Why do you behave like this? You should have patience. He is not

wholly unconscious, it would pain him very much, if he heard you."

But the women continued their wailing. The children, too, ran up and joined them. Saroj ran into the patient's room and closed the door. He spoke to one of the young men who were helping him and sent him off in a taxi for the leading homœopath of the city.

Kalyani suddenly came out, opening the door of the small room. A neighbour sat by Bhabatosh's mother, trying in vain to comfort her. "What's the matter?" Kalyani asked her, in a hoarse voice. "Has my doom come upon me?"

The woman bit her tongue in dismay. "Don't say such a thing," she said, "While there is breath, there is hope."

Kalyani hastened to the patient's room. She flung the door wide open. Saroj sprang up from his chair and whispered excitedly, "You go away from here, go to your children. We don't want you here."

Kalyani went, but not to her children. Bela sat weeping by her grandmother, the boy Kalyan stood in the lane. The youngest child was playing on the wet floor of the bathroom. But her mother did not even notice her. She went and shut herself in inside the room that contained the stone image.

It was the cook's shriek of fear that brought the whole neighbourhood to the door of that small room. The door was still locked from inside, and a terrible smell of burning flesh, came from within.

Shouts and blows on the door had no effect. At last the door was broken open. Saroj covered his face with his hands and fled. The neighbours dragged away the weeping children. Kalyani's fears had been laid to rest for ever. She had managed to evade widowhood.

Quite a big crowd collected for the funeral procession. Kalyani lay on the bier, covered with a big white sheet, only two small feet, painted with lac, could be seen. The big white sheet was sprinkled all over with vermilion powder. Here was a true suttee! She seemed to have kicked death on the face and gone away with her good fortune triumphantly. Though the Government had abolished Suttee, the women of Bengal still preserve it in their hearts. At the cremation ground

a crowd of women fought for a particle of that auspicious vermilion. Everyone talked loudly of Kalyani, for the first and for the last time.

Strange to relate, Bhabatosh did not die! After the tragic death of Kalyani, he suddenly took a turn for the better and went on improving till he became well once again. Kalyani became a heroine in that quarter. Her name was taken in awed whispers. Here was a modern Savitri, who had brought her husband back from the kingdom of death. But Death was not as generous as he had been in the case of Savitri. He had enacted payment for letting Bhabatosh go. He had taken Kalyani and another, who could not even see the light of day.

Seven or eight months had passed away. Bhabatosh's youngest daughter lay on the floor of his room on a torn, dirty bed. Her limbs looked like dried twigs, her face was ashen, only her belly was swollen to twice its normal size. She was too weak to move hands or feet.

Bhabatosh returned from his office in the evening. The house was extremely untidy and dirty, one could scarcely breathe inside it. You could not get your tea or your meals unless you shouted yourself hoarse for it. Everything seemed topsy-turvy.

Bhabatosh changed his clothes, then sat down and began to fan himself. Were all the inmates of the house dead, he wondered. The house was strangely silent. He had come home after slaving the whole day, but there did not seem to be anybody about who could give him a glass of water. Where were they all? Bhabatosh's displeasure found vent in a shout.

Bela ran up to him after a while. "The cook is bringing your tea, father," she panted. "There was no tea in the house, so Kati had to go to the shop for it and so she was late—"

"That will do," said her father, interrupting her; "I am hearing the same story for about a week."

Before Bela could answer, Bhabatosh's old mother limped in. "Why are you so angry, my dear boy?" She asked. "I am an old woman, and I cannot remember everything. You must make allowances for me. Besides I cannot sleep a wink the whole night,

on account of your daughter's crying. I have never seen such a child!"

Bhabatosh looked at the sick child and asked, "How is she today?"

"The same as before," answered his mother. "You must engage an attendant for her, it is impossible to carry on like this. I and your sister are totally tired out sitting up at night for her. And we have caught chronic colds too, washing your daughter's soiled clothing all the while. I am too old now to take charge of such a girl."

Bela went up to the child and bent down to examine her. "She is wet again," she said.

Her grandmother turned up her nose, "I am mighty pleased to hear it," she said sarcastically. "But I have just finished my evening bath and am not going to touch all that dirt again," and she limped off to her room.

Bhabatosh felt like bursting, so enraged he was. He must slave day and night to provide for these good-for-nothings and they would repay him like this. Such is the world. "How long has she been lying like this?" he asked Bela. "Can't your aunt look after her a bit?"

"She is at her evening prayers," Bela said, "she won't get up before an hour."

Bhabatosh got up from his seat to change the baby's clothes. "Why has she been put down on the floor?" he asked Bela. "Cannot she lie on the bed?"

"Aunt says she makes the bed too dirty and she cannot wash the bedstead everyday," Bela answered.

"Very wise of her," said Bhabatosh angrily. "Why does not she throw the child in the street?" Then the house would remain perfectly clean. Now give me a clean sheet and bring me my blanket."

"All the sheets are wet," the girl said; "they have just been washed."

Bhabatosh sprang up and dragged down one of his fine *dhotis* from the clothes-horse. He spread his blanket on the floor and then put the improvised sheet on top of it. Then he laid the child on it carefully. This one will go very soon. A child cannot survive such neglect," he said.

Bhabatosh's sister came up the stairs. She heard her brother's remark and said in

an offended tone, "I cannot look after everything. After all, I, too, am a human being. But why did you give that good blanket to the child? She will soil it at once."

"Let her," said Bhabatosh; "but human eyes cannot bear to see the state she is in."

"Do whatever you like," said his sister. "Try to get a nurse maid for her. I cannot be here always, looking after your household. I have my own hearth and home, too."

A bitter retort rose to Bhabatosh's lips, but he suppressed it somehow. "All right," he said, "I shall look out for a suitable person. Bela, you sit here, for a while, I shall go and have my tea."

A few days passed off. The poor child looked as if she could not bear the loss of her mother. She wanted to go to her mother. She no longer looked like a child of flesh and blood, but resembled a wooden doll far more.

One Sunday Bhabatosh went out after his breakfast and returned very late. "Where have you been so long?" his mother asked. "Your boy fell down and cut his forehead badly. I am too old to be left in charge of such rowdy children."

"I was looking for a suitable person to take charge of them," her son answered shortly. "Where is the boy?"

"Oh, he is lying down in his aunt's room," the old lady said. "Have you engaged a maid servant?"

"It is not a maid servant," her son said. "I am marrying again. Try to train up the new bride as quickly as you can. The household is going to rack and ruin." Saying this he left the room.

The new bride stepped into the house after a few days. All the neighbours crowded round to have a look at her. The iron bangle, the treasure of a Bengali Hindu wife, which had been taken off from Kalyani's dead body, was brought out and put round the wrist of the new bride. "This is the bangle of a *suttee*," said an old lady. "You must be careful, daughter, to preserve its worth. The woman who wore it before you paid with her own life to save her husband from death."

"Oh, she was a veritable Savitri!" said the other women in a chorus.

The new bride frowned darkly behind her veil.

Bhabatosh's mother dragged her grandchildren to the new bride and said, "Here is your new mother. Get acquainted."

But the small ailing child did not want a new mother. She left her tortured sick body behind and went away in search of her own mother.

## AN AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL HOUSE

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

**T**HE International House, the new nine million-rupees home for foreign students in Chicago, was dedicated recently. It was given by John D. Rockefeller as the third house of its kind in the United States. It provides living accommodations for 500 men and women from all parts of the world, including the United States. The International House is to be the centre in the Middle-West for international student activities, giving Americans as well as peoples from every land the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the best

thought and traditions each race has to offer.

During the last ten years the number of foreign students in America has increased from 5,000 in 1922 to 12,000 in 1932. One-tenth of the number of foreign students in America study in the city of Chicago, while other large groups are found in New York, Berkeley, Philadelphia, and Boston. They come from all walks of life in over sixty countries, ranging in heritage from the wild tribes of Africa to the sons and daughters of wealthy merchants, educators and statesmen



of Asia and Europe. They come to utilize the facilities for advanced study in America, and to understand and appreciate world problems at first hand.

#### GIFT OF ROCKEFELLER

The Chicago International House is the newest of three with which Mr. Rockefeller has enriched American university life. Operating under the auspices of Columbia University, New York, is the one that cost seven million rupees, and another functions in connection with the University of California at Berkeley. It cost six millions. Still another is planned by Mr. Rockefeller for foreign students in Paris.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who sponsors the International House movement, says he gets more satisfaction from his gifts for International Houses than from any other gifts he makes. That figures out at about twenty-two million rupees' worth of satisfaction. "My pleasure in building these university adjuncts for foreign students," he adds, "has its source not in the comfort they provide, but in the better understandings they engender and the potential leaders they create."

Many of the foreign students who come to America are among the most gifted citizens of their countries. In most cases their work is of such a level of attainment that they receive proportionately large share of the awards for scholarship. It has been discovered recently that, although foreign students comprise only one-twentieth of the enrolment of the University of Chicago they were awarded one-fourth the elections to membership in an honorary scientific society. When their studies are completed, foreign students return to their native countries to become leaders and moulders of public opinion. Americans, therefore, feel that it is well worth cultivating their friendship while they are in their midst.

Foreign students meet many new problems when they come to this country. Those who are of white complexion fare a little better perhaps than the rest. But those who happen to be brown, yellow or black, face the prejudice which some Americans have against the pigments in a man's skin. Students from

the Orient unexpectedly find themselves discriminated against in restaurants, boarding houses, theatres, barber shops, street cars, and even in Christian churches. Some of the young men and women, weary and bewildered after long journeys by sea and land, encounter the ordeals of the Immigration Office or find the exchange rate more unfavourable than they had anticipated. They are at a loss to secure satisfactory places to live and eat. They need a friend to iron out their difficulties, and to help them to adjust themselves to new faces, new ways, new environment. To aid these newcomers from foreign lands is one of the prime object of the International Houses.

The International House is open not only to foreign students, but also to a number of Americans studying or working in connection with the universities, colleges, and professional schools of Chicago and environment. In making his gift Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., expressed the hope that the building may provide living accommodations and facilities contributing to the social and educational welfare of students, and that it may be used to promote international understanding and friendship of the people of Chicago and the Middle-West toward nations and cultures other than their own. In order that these peoples from many lands may become better acquainted with the ideals, customs and cultures of one another, the International House provides living and club facilities for two hundred women and three hundred men. About half the rooms in the House are open to Americans. However, others besides those residing in the House may also enjoy the social facilities afforded. The chief thought of the donor is that the House should never mean anything so unfeeling as the segregation of foreign students.

The International House at Chicago has been well designed to further the purpose for which it was constructed. The large Social Hall provides a common meeting place for students who live in the House to mingle together informally and to meet their friends. The well-chosen library, stocked with thirty thousand rupees worth of books, adjoins the Social Hall and adds

much to its value and charm. The refectory and coffee shop provide convenient places where members of the House and their guests may eat, and incidentally furnish another opportunity for the formation of friendships. The Assembly Room, with pianos, moving picture projection machines is used for lectures, music, social dancing, and other entertainments. In this room the English students may stage a Shakespearean play, the Chinese may present some of their classic dramas such as *The Thrice Promised Bride*, and Indians may enact *The Little Toy Cart* or Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*.

The activities made possible by the many facilities of the House extend, however, beyond the residential membership. Personal contacts with the community life are made in a number of ways. Associate or non-resident members and, occasionally, interested persons throughout the country are invited to activities in the House. Foreign students prepared to give addresses on social, economic, political or cultural

subjects are sent to clubs, conferences, schools, churches, and other organizations. From them Americans receive a liberal education in foreign affairs on the give and take basis. Thus the presence of students from beyond the borders of America is making a contribution to international good-will and sympathetic understanding.

The International House at Chicago is like a gorgeous palace, a stately structure of collegiate Gothic. It combines the elegance of a club with the complete equipment of a luxurious American hotel, and all for less than a fourth of the price charged at modern hotels. A staff of one hundred executives and attendants awaits the young collegians from abroad. But the International House is not a hostelry. In spite of its material splendours, the essential spirit of the House is humanizing and cultural. It is so furnished and equipped as to fill the minds of the foreign youths under its roof with the best ideals of American home life. "Home" is indeed its keyword.

## THE PROBLEM OF CO-EDUCATION IN BENGAL

By USHA BISWAS, M. A., B. T.

**I**N Bengal, co-educational institutions seem to be gaining in popularity everyday, whatever opposition they may meet with from a certain section of the people. Co-education constitutes a vital problem of the day which is pressing for its solution, and, as such, it has set us seriously thinking. Of late, this system of mixed education has provoked a storm of protest from a large number of people who are opposing and decrying it as vehemently as they can. They apprehend that the free mixing of boys and girls of tender age and immature judgment will lead to their moral degeneration. They seem to take their stand on the presupposition that co-education, which will facilitate a free and intimate relationship between the sexes, will be subversive of the morals of our youth. But an apprehension of this type does not

seem to be very just, inasmuch as it presupposes a tendency towards the evil inherent in our very nature, which is likely to assert itself, unless some artificial restraints are imposed upon us from outside. On the other hand, the advocates of co-education are stressing only the good that accrues from it, and are trying to attack the problem from a different standpoint. There are some elements of truth in both the views. It will not do to be blinded by mere prejudice, or to be carried away by enthusiastic zeal. We must take a rational view of things, and discuss the problem from the practical point of view. Co-education has long been in vogue in Bombay and other parts of India, where it has been attended with a fair amount of success. It is not quite new to Bengal, even, although it is of late, being looked upon as an

innovation here. Tagore's "Visva-Bharati" is a co-educational institution of long standing. The post-graduate classes of Calcutta and Dacca Universities, also, afford other instances of this system of mixed education. Now that co-education is being experimented upon on a much wider scale in Bengal than before, the problem is claiming our attention more seriously than ever. A few years back, nobody could perhaps even dream that boys and girls would ever be educated together in the village *Pathshalas* of Bengal. Now-a-days, many people who are otherwise orthodox have no objection to sending their daughters to boy's schools and colleges if they are unable to provide for their education in any other way. Peoples' ideas seem to be fast changing. That the guardians have been able to shake off their idle prejudice and to get the better of public opposition is a hopeful symptom. Lately, many of the Calcutta colleges for boys admitted girl pupils. Some of the mofussil colleges, too, have followed suit. In some cases, special arrangements have been made for girl's hostels and conveyances. Time alone will prove how far these co-educational institutions will turn out successful. Perhaps it is too early now to gauge the results of the experiment. In many of these cases, however, the guardians and the authorities of the institutions have been compelled to fall back upon co-education, there being no other alternative for them. In my opinion, under certain circumstances, co-education is desirable, and girls should not be debarred from joining boy's schools and colleges.

There is no denying the fact that co-education will meet a real need of the country and will solve an important problem of the day, as the number of girl's schools and colleges is exceptionally small in Bengal. If girls are shut out of boy's schools and colleges, sometimes, no other provision can be made for the education of the former. Boarding schools and colleges for girls which are quite limited in number provide only a limited accommodation. Besides, these prove rather expensive for the average parent who often grudges such extra expenses on account of his daughters' education. Even the education of sons is a great strain on the purse of middle-class people, who are generally

hard put to it to balance their budget. No wonder, there is a general tendency in Bengal to look upon female education as a luxury to be indulged in if parents happen to have plenty of money. Sometimes, various domestic reasons, too, preclude the possibility of Bengali girls being sent away from their homes for the purpose of their education. So, very often, there is no other means of meeting the educational needs of girls, unless they are allowed to read in some boy's schools and colleges. Very few guardians can afford private tutors for their daughters. Besides, suitable tutors are not always available for the purpose in the mofussil areas of Bengal. In view of these circumstances, if wider facilities are to be provided for the education of the womenfolk of our country, co-education needs to be popularized by all means. To my mind, female education will suffer a serious setback in Bengal, if co-education is banned. Very often, it so happens that girls after going through the primary course are compelled to give up their studies, unless they are allowed to join some boy's schools. Not to speak of the facilities for the higher education of girls, they are often deprived even of an elementary education up to the Middle English standard, in case they are refused admission into some boy's schools. It is a pity that, sometimes, primary scholarship winners have to discontinue their studies, and thus to forfeit their scholarships, simply because there is no girl's M. E. school in a village. So the parents, desirous of giving their daughters higher education, have to have recourse to co-education for the girls in such circumstances. The problem of the illiteracy of the women of Bengal will remain unsolved, until and unless the ban on co-education is removed. The only other alternative is that the number of girl's schools and colleges should be adequately increased. But in these times of economic distress, sufficient funds for the purpose are hardly expected to be forthcoming either from public or from private sources. So the problem cannot be solved that way. From the point of view of economy, too, co-education seems to be desirable, as the maintenance of separate institutions for boys and girls is likely to involve an enormous expenditure, and, consequently, a



heavy drain upon the financial resources of the country. Thus the introduction of co-education into schools and colleges will solve an economic problem of considerable importance, and seems to be in the best interests of the country. At least, there ought not to be any bar to girls being admitted into boys' schools and colleges, in case no other course is open to them, or if co-education proves more economical.

To take a sentimental view of things, co-education seems to be an essential condition of female emancipation. Now that we, women, are claiming "rational fellowship" with men—claiming to be treated as their friends and equals—a perfectly sane relationship needs to be established between the sexes. There should be a perfect understanding of each other's nature as well as mutual sympathy among the members of the two sexes. Havelock Ellis has very aptly remarked—"The lack of early fellowship fosters an unnatural divergence of aims and ideals and a consequent lack of sympathy." If men and women are to understand each other, and to become capable of genuine comradeship, "the foundation must be laid in youth." "The intimate association of the sexes destroys what remnant may linger of the unhealthy ideal of chivalry." Co-education will thus beget a saner attitude of one sex towards the other, by doing away with the "artificial barriers" which stand in the way of a sympathetic understanding and friendship between a man and woman. It will enable boys and girls to come into close contact with each other, and to understand each other's points of view more sympathetically than ever. A free interchange of thoughts and ideas among the members of the two sexes will result in broadening their outlook on life and widening their mental horizon. Co-education will thus pave the way for a more natural and a healthier relationship between the sexes, founded on a juster basis of equality. The vogue of co-education thus seems to be quite in keeping with the spirit of the age. A modern woman does not desire to be worshipped by people of the opposite sex, as a semi-divine being, shrouded in a veil of mystery and romance. Neither does she want to be relegated to the background as an inferior creature and a mere domestic drudge.

Like Norah, the heroine of Ibsen's *Doll's House*, she refuses to be treated like a doll—to be looked upon only as an instrument of pleasure—by the members of the opposite sex. She wants that the attitude of the opposite sex towards her should be perfectly sane and just. So her claim to the right of co-education seems to be quite of a piece with her striving after freedom and equality with man in other spheres of life.

That co-education is full of risks and has sometimes been attended with unhappy results is an admitted fact. So if it is introduced into schools and colleges, a good deal of caution needs to be exercised in the matter by the teachers, as well as the authorities of the institutions. In an orthodox community where a free social intercourse among the members of the two sexes is taboo,—where the *purdah* system is not yet out of vogue—boys and girls are seldom accustomed to mixing freely with each other. So when they are allowed the freedom, all of a sudden in co-educational institutions, they cannot always behave discreetly and are often inclined to override the restrictions they were so long labouring under. The new consciousness of the freedom not tasted of before makes them all the more intolerant of the artificial restraints imposed upon them by society. Some people object to co-education on the ground that some undesirable unions are likely to take place, due to such close and intimate association of the sexes as is possible in co-educational institutions. Some of these unions may not, at all, receive the sanction of society where very strict and rigid caste distinctions still obtain. It is quite true that freedom may be and is actually being abused in some cases. In the case of co-education being popularized on a wide scale, a few moral slips, on the part of boys and girls, are likely to take place. But as these cannot be prevented, even if they are educated in separate institutions, these need not alarm us. Neither are we justified in arriving at a general conclusion against co-education from a few isolated instances in which the privilege may have been abused. Our practical experience, too, does not always bear out the view that a free relationship between the sexes is likely to undermine their morals.

Very often, the contrary is found to be the case. So reasons like this should not militate against the introduction of co-education into any institution. To my mind, some of the evils apprehended may be guarded against and avoided, if proper precautions are taken, and if boys and girls are educated together from their early childhood, before they attain the age of adolescence. If they are thus afforded the opportunity of coming into close contact with each other so early in their life—before their sex-consciousness gets the upper hand—their mutual relationship will naturally tend to be quite healthy and free from all sentimental affectations. In that case, they are less likely to take undue advantage of the freedom allowed to them in the matter of association with each other. After the period of adolescence is over, boys and girls are expected to be more capable of taking care of themselves, and choosing between the right and the wrong. So co-education may, with greater safety, be recommended for the post-graduates. It is not desirable that boys and girls should be allowed co-education during the period of adolescence except under the strict supervision of the teachers and authorities of the institutions, and unless they are used to it from their childhood. But the number of girl's colleges in Bengal being only limited, very often a difficulty arises when girls finish the school course after passing the matriculation examination. If there happens to be a local boy's college in a particular town, co-education affords an easy solution of the problem. In such circumstances, the guardians are often inclined to have their daughters educated at the local boy's college, as in that case they are saved a good deal of expense as well as inconvenience. The paucity of girl's high schools and colleges in the mofussil as of Bengal constitutes a serious stumbling-block to the higher education of girls. Some have tried to effect a partial

solution of the problem by arranging for morning classes for girls. Teachers are allowed some extra remuneration for holding these coaching classes for girls in the morning. But this sort of arrangement, also, means some extra expenditure. Besides the teachers are mostly overworked. So it will be a great tax upon their time as well as energy, if they are called upon to undertake these extra classes for the girl pupils. Even when co-education is not a question of an absolute necessity, sometimes, it needs to be encouraged in the interests of female education which has not yet made much headway in this province. In some cases, girls seek admission to boy's schools and colleges, because they want to avail themselves of superior educational facilities, such as better teaching, better laboratory arrangements, better libraries and the like. Supposing there is a first-rate boy's college in a particular town where there is a third-rate girl's college too, it is quite possible that a few girls will prefer the former institution to the latter. It may also so happen that some of the subjects that some girls are specially keen on studying are not, at all, taught at any of the girl's colleges. Until recently, no facilities for the study of scientific subjects were provided at the girl's colleges in Calcutta. So the girls, desirous of taking up the science course, had to join some boy's college for the purpose. In my opinion, if circumstances turn out thus, co-education should on no account be discouraged. Besides, now that the number of girls seeking higher education is on the increase every year, shortage of accommodation is sure to take place both at the girl's schools and colleges as well as in the hostels. Until and unless provision for ampler accommodation is made, and the number of such institutions is sufficiently added to, so as to cope with the demand, co-education will have to be resorted to, if the cause of female education is to be furthered in Bengal.



## MORE LIGHT ON RADHANATH SIKDAR

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

**I**N the April number of *The Modern Review* I attempted a resumé of the life and work of Radhanath Sikdar. Since then I have come across some fresh materials which throw a clearer light on his career.

It has been already mentioned that Radhanath Sikdar sought the recommendation of Sir George Everest, the Surveyor General of India and his superior, for the post of Deputy Collector late in 1837. The Survey Department could ill spare the services of Radhanath. So Everest refused to give him the recommendation. He, however, wrote to the Government to the effect that Radhanath should be given higher emoluments for his valuable work. We do not know how far Everest's letter proved effective. But it is apparent that, on receipt of this letter, the Governor-General in Council framed a rule prohibiting employment of persons of one department in another and submitted it for approval to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company. We come to know about the rule from a letter from the Court of Directors included in the proceedings of the Governor-General of India in Council.

"EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL IN THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT, UNDER DATE THE 9TH SEPTEMBER, 1840.

"*Extract of a Military Letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors, No. 33, dated 10th June, 1840. 14.* As it is of much importance that natives, who have been trained to the duties of an office, more especially to duties of a scientific nature, such as those performed by Radhanath Sikdar, should not be incited to quit their stations with a view to their own advantage in

another branch of Government employ, we fully approve of the intimation given by you to the Revenue Board that 'it was wrong for one department of the state to bid against another for the services of competent officers.' We are of opinion that all departments



Radhanath Sikdar

should be apprised that they must not only not invite, but must positively refuse to entertain, an application for employment from any native who is, at the time of making the application, in the public employ of a Government office or department, unless they shall have previously received the full acquiescence of the head of such office or department.

"ORDERED,

"That the preceding extract of the Honorable



Court's letter, be transmitted to the several departments mentioned in the margin [Secret and Political Department. Judicial Department. Revenue Department. General Department. Legislative Department.] for information, and for such communication to the heads of offices and other authorities in correspondence with those departments respectively, as may appear to be necessary."\*

Radhanath Sikdar was not only a computer; he also actively participated in the survey. A copy of "*An Account of the Measurement of two Sections of the Meridional Arc of India, Engravings*" by Lieutenant-Colonel Everest was presented to Radhanath Sikdar in 1847. On the front page of the book was written "Babu Radhanath—Presented by the Court of Directors of the East India Company in acknowledgment of his active participation in the survey."

Some letters of Radhanath have been preserved by his nephew, Mr. Kedarnath Sikdar, an old man of eighty. He has kindly permitted me to make use of these letters. The first of these was written by Everest to Tituram Sikdar, father of Radhanath. This letter shows how loved and respected Radhanath was in his time by his superiors and colleagues. Radhanath's assistance not only in the preparation but also in the publication of *Manual of Surveying* in 1851 will be evident from the others. H. L. Thuillier, the writer of these last letters, later rose to be the Surveyor-General of India.

1

Dehra Dun  
3rd July 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your son Radhanath Sikdar has applied to me for leave to proceed to Meerut to meet you, and I have consented though in truth he can be but ill spared at the present moment as the Government business in my office is very urgent and he is one of the persons whose aid is most important.

I wish I could have persuaded you to come to Dehra Dun for not only would it have given me the greatest pleasure to show you personally how much I honour you for having such a son

\* The Circular Orders of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, communicated to the Civil Judges and other Civil Authorities. From 1795 to 1852 Inclusive. By J. Carrau. 1853, p. 202.

Mr. J. M. Datta, M.Sc., B.L., has drawn my attention to the passage in this book.

as Radhanath, but you would yourself have, I am sure, been infinitely gratified at witnessing the high esteem in which he is held by his superiors and equals.

Perhaps you will yet be induced to come having already journeyed so far on your way to the holy Badrinath which is visible from my house in the hills together with the whole ranges of the mighty Himalaya rendered classical by the repeated references made to them in your sacred writings.

I am

My Dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,  
Geo. Everest

Srijuth Tituram Sikdar  
Mahasai

2

MY DEAR RADHANATH,

Excuse my not having answered your note yesterday when it was put into my hands. I was called out to the tax offices. I agree with you about the Stars, but I have sent it to Smyth. I fancy he merely wants about a dozen entered, such as he uses for azimuth obstus. [observations.] When I receive his answer I will let you know. Here is proof of Latde. [Latitude] Chapter. The slip has been correctly inserted.

Yours sincerely,  
H. THUILLIER

Wednesday

3

MY DEAR RADHANATH,

I am afraid we must send the Longde. [Longitude] paper to the press. All the proofs are now wellnigh out of hand. The two now sent are ready for press I think. They have made a mess with those signs=on one page.

Yours sincerely,  
H. L. THUILLIER

3rd April

4

MY DEAR RADHANATH

Capt. Hill has returned to Calcutta and wants to know where Clarkson is at present. Can you tell me if he is at Midnapoor yet or intends returning there for the Recess? Hill wants to take charge I believe—but must go away again. Can you also give any information as [to] what has been done this season? I have promised to call on Hill this morning and let him know these particulars.

Yours sincerely,  
H. L. THUILLIER

14th

5

MY DEAR RADHANATH

Can you let me have the proof of the last chapter on Latde. [Latitude] which I sent you? It appeared to me all right.



Here is the proof on the Longde. [Longitude] Chapter which you can keep until you have leisure to introduce the remarks. There is a paper just come from S....ly about the mode of his drawing out the data for his Punjab route. This may assist you on the subject but I cannot get hold of it until the office opens.

Friday

Yours sincerely  
H. L. THUILLIER

6  
MY DEAR RADHANATH

If you are venturing out in the daytime during the Holidays we shall be very glad to see you at tiffin any day at 2 o'clock we are always at home at that hour.

Yours sincerely,  
H. L. THUILLIER  
P. S. No letters from Waugh of any sort.

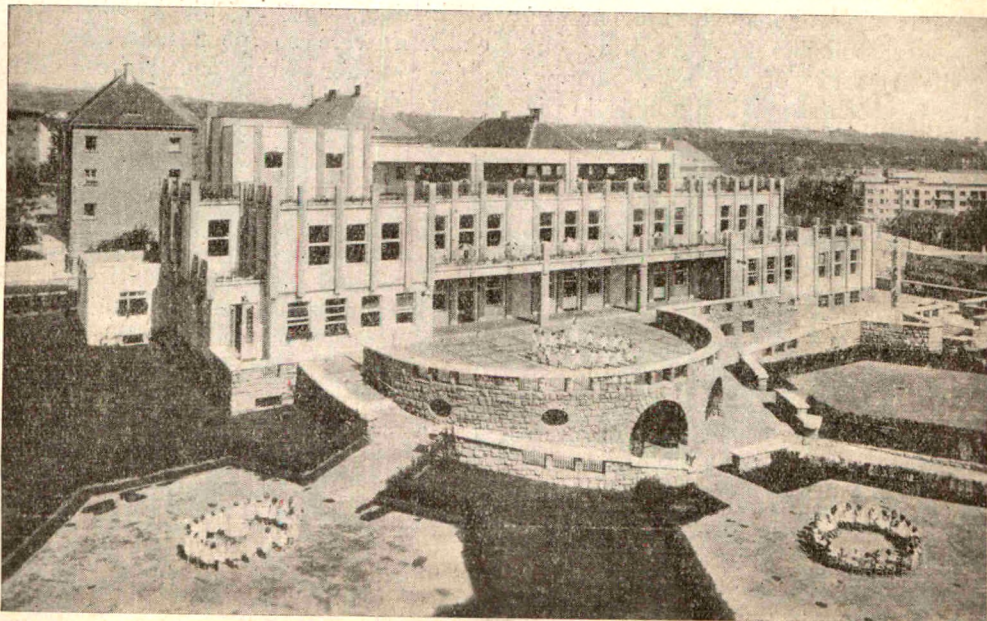
## NURSERY SCHOOLS

By G. F. LAKHANI, B. A., DIPL. IN ED. (*Edin.*)

**R**ECENT researches in the psychology of early childhood have conclusively shown that the foundations of one's character are for good or evil laid down in one's early childhood. Freudians perhaps exaggerate when they sometimes talk as if one's character were irrevocably fixed by the time one is three years old. But if they err, it is on the right side. The

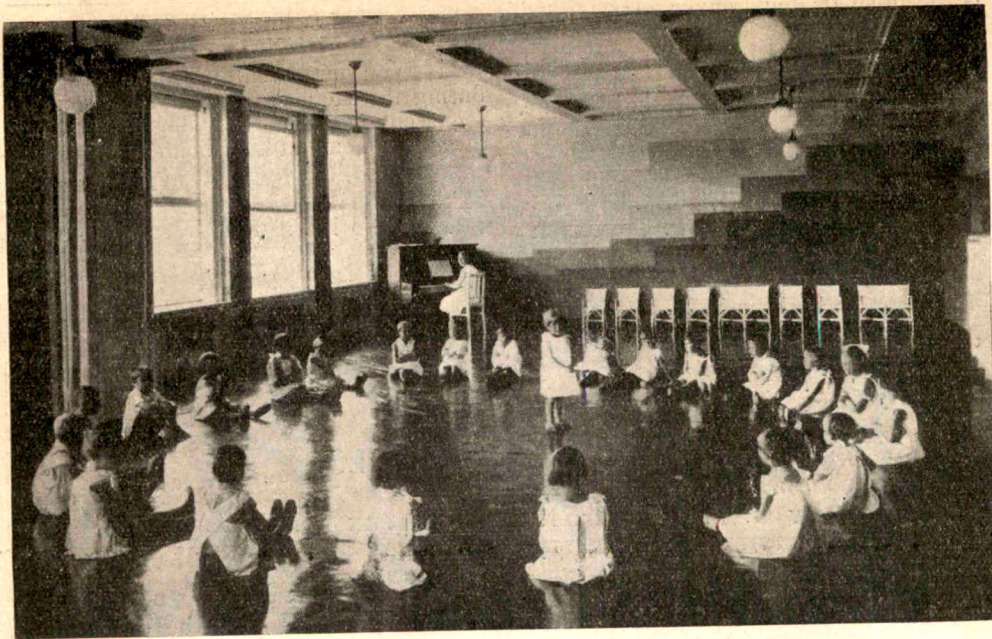
individual psychologists under Dr. Alfred Adler of Vienna, on the other hand, also emphasize the supreme importance of the mother fostering the social instincts of the baby from the cradle.

The difficulties of the problem of children and the fears, the inhibitions and the restraints under which everyone of us so-called normal individuals painfully drags his existence, can



A General View of Sandaiten Kindergarten





A Musical Game

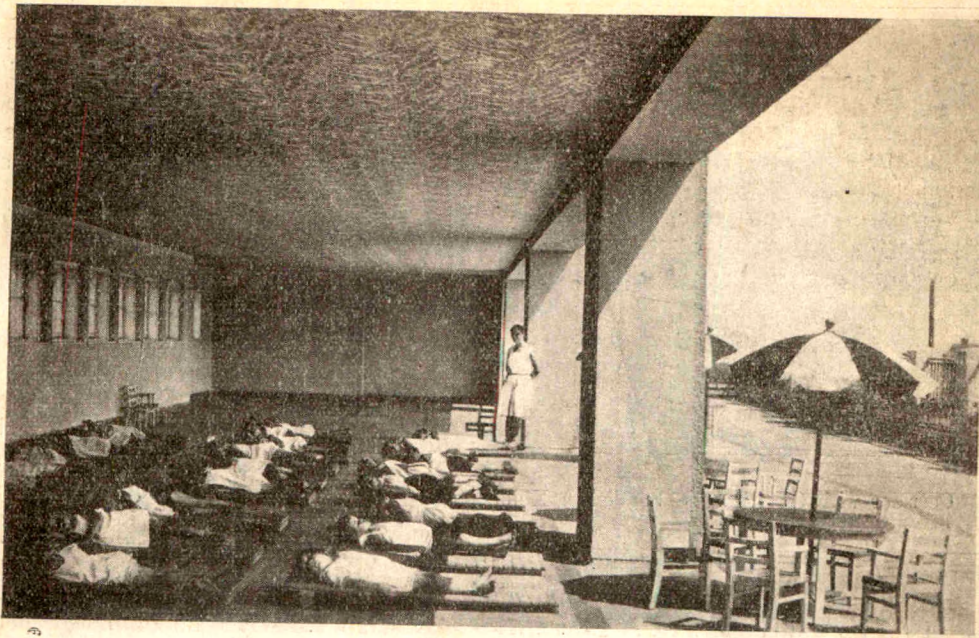
also be traced to wrong training during our infancy. The majority of our children either suffer from being too much pampered in their homes, or utterly neglected by their busy parents. In both cases, it is the utter ignorance of the elements of psychology on the parents' part that is responsible for throwing out maladjusted, instead of healthy, happy, courageous and contented individuals in the world.

To avoid this social waste of human beings the European countries have started kindergarten, nursery schools, cribs, crèches and child guidance clinics where children of different ages are looked after by people trained in the fundamentals of child psychology, etc. In this article, we shall confine our attention only to kindergartens and nursery schools.

The argument is sometimes brought forward that a poor country like India cannot afford luxuries like kindergartens. But it is more our ignorance of the relative value of things than our poverty that prevents us from spending any money on such institutes. Austria is considered as one of the bankrupt countries of Europe, but still the city of Vienna possesses some kindergartens, which

are by far the best in the whole of Europe. Walking through the corridors, rooms, terraces and gardens of the "Sandeleiten" kindergarten in Vienna, for example, one felt that one was walking through a palace rather than a kindergarten in which 50 p. c. of the children were so poor that they were not able to afford the small fees charged to other children. This school has accommodation for two hundred children who come between 7 and 8 in the morning and leave between 5 and 6 in the evening. The programme for the day is most varied. The only times fixed are for meals, afternoon rest and for coming in and leaving the school. For the remaining parts of the day, children have adequate material to keep themselves busy. They would go and paint on the big pieces of paper anything that they like, they can draw anything on the black-board that runs right across every room; they can make nice little cherry baskets from old cheese boxes and pieces of coloured paper; they can give free play to their imaginative powers, by making trains, castles, hills, houses and what not from the innumerable plastic material that is at their disposal. There is sand, there are small and big blocks of wood,





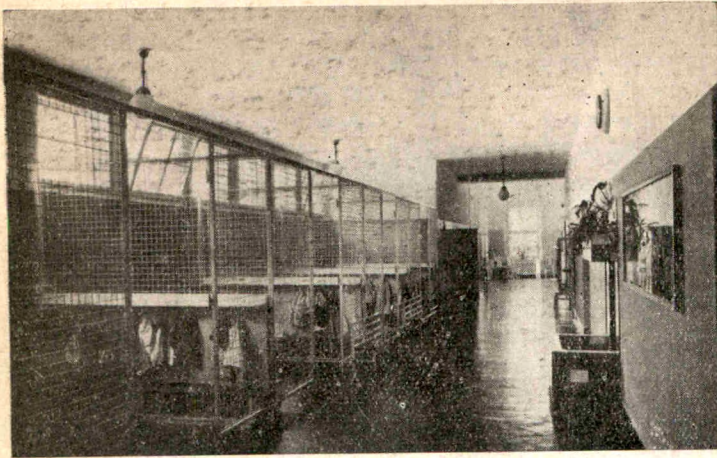
Midday Rest On the Terrace

there are coloured buttons and heads, splinters, walnut skins with black marks to serve as faces for making human beings, plasticine, "matador" or *mechanno* with wooden instead of metal material, etc. All this material is kept in low cupboards from which children themselves can take anything that they like. Some kindergartens again have pet animals, like rabbits, dogs, birds, hens, etc., whom they can look after and feel; there are also gardens and bathing pools in which on hot days, half-naked, these youngsters will splash the water about and float their little boats, ships, swans, and balloons.

So far we have spoken about the material environment of a kindergarten. A word might be said now on the social environment—the interaction of one child with others. It has been wrongly thought that these kindergartens are for poor children only, while their parents are working in factories. But the principles of psychology tell us that nursery schools are essential for all classes of children. Every child suffers from an inferiority complex, for, being conscious of his weakness, he knows that he cannot do certain things which, for example, his elders are doing. Left to itself, this inferiority may cling to him throughout his life causing untold

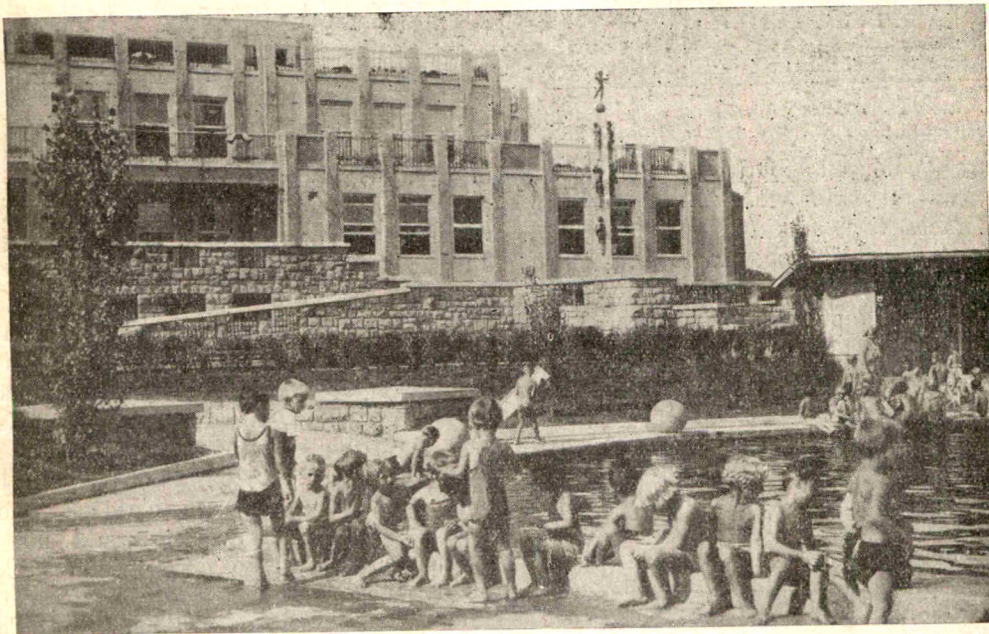
misery. But on the other hand, with proper environment, this inferiority may be a great incentive to him for further achievements. Just as a vine does not jump from one stage to another, but gradually extends itself to the next support that it can find, so also a child finds it easier to imitate his companions who are only slightly superior to him. To imitate the achievements of grown-ups, he considers hopeless from the very beginning. In a neighbourhood, every child considers it below his dignity to play with children who are younger to him—any way he would not give them much chance to do anything. Consequently it happens that children of same age generally group themselves together. This is impossible in a family, for there are not enough children and they are not of the same age. In a nursery school, however, twenty to thirty children from two to six years old are grouped together for mutual activities in one room. This vertical classification of children according to their age, is much better than the horizontal, for it gives younger children a chance to imitate the activities of children who are only slightly older to them. It also gives each child a chance to mix with other children of his own age and also it affords opportunity to older children to look





Corridor with Cloak-rooms—Sandteiten Kindergarten

Thus it is that children from these kindergartens come out in the world with the foundations of their character firmly laid. Their senses have been properly trained so that they will derive better advantage from their environment; they have learnt the qualities of initiative, creativeness, originality and self-reliance on the one hand, and social adaptability on the other. They are not self-centred or suppressed, but find their true position in society. They are not dwarfed in their

Children Bathing  
The School in the Background

after and be "big brother" or "big sister" or "mother" to the youngsters. These schools are specially necessary for the first-borns and only children who are generally to be found in well-to-do classes. They are essential for everybody in order to develop the social interests in the child and make him adapted to the social world. Besides in a nursery school, a child finds his true position and learns his duties and obligations to others.

personalities by a sense of inferiority or any fears or "phobias."

A nursery school will be failing in its duty, if it only looked after the children. The ignorance of our parents regarding training their children is monstrous. Every nursery school, therefore, ought to have a mothers' club attached to it, where they could be educated in the principles of child-psychology by lectures, etc. Also children

who have been used to the environment of a nursery school, cannot but influence their homes too.

It has been truly said that he who helps the child, helps humanity with an immediate-

ness which help at no other time can equal. Thousands of our children are offering Matthew Arnold's prayer, "Nor let me die, before I have begun to live." Can we afford to ignore their prayers?

## THE MOSLEMS' EDUCATIONAL 'DISABILITIES' AND THE RESUMPTION PROCEEDINGS OF 1828

By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

*Reuter's Agency* has wired the following from London (August 2, 1933) :

"One of the greatest obstacles to an inter-communal agreement in India, namely, the predominance of Hindus in higher administrative posts, is the theme of a letter by Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi in the *Morning Post*.

"Citing Sir William Hunter's book "Indian Mussalmans," in support of his contention that Moslems' educational disabilities date from the 'resumption proceedings of 1828,' Mr. Ghuznavi asks that a definite proportion of appointments, open to Indians, should be statutorily guaranteed to Moslems.

"The resumption proceedings were resorted to in 1828 in order to increase the revenue of Bengal. A large number of rent-free estates, chiefly held by Moslems who were unable definitely to prove the centuries old title, were 'resumed' or confiscated by Government and were acquired by Hindus. The revenue was thereby enriched from £800,000 to £3,000,000."

It would appear from the above that Mr. Ghuznavi would attribute the educational 'disabilities' of his co-religionists in Bengal, not to their disinclination to take advantage of Western education, but to the "Resumption proceedings." As a matter of fact this is one of those half-truths which are more deplorable and dangerous than untruths. Mr. Ghuznavi's object is to put forward a plea for the Moslem demand to guarantee to Muslims a definite proportion of appointments in India open to Indians. And with a view to get an inch from the British he has been trying to show cause for an ell.

But were the British Government wrong in introducing "Resumption proceedings?" Let me quote Sir William Wilson Hunter in explaining them :

"When we took over charge of Bengal, the ablest Revenue Officer of the time (Mr. James Grant) estimated that one-fourth of the whole Province had been transferred from the State. In 1772 Warren Hastings discerned the gigantic fraud, but the feeling against resuming such tenures was then too strong to allow of any active steps being taken. In 1793 Lord Cornwallis again asserted in the strongest and broadest manner the inalienable right of Government to all rent-free grants which had not obtained the sanction of the Ruling Power. But even the powerful Government of that day did not venture to carry out the principle. The subject rested for another quarter of a century, until 1819, when the Government again asserted its rights but again shrank from enforcing them. It was not until 1828 that the Legislature and the Executive combined to make one great effort. Special Courts were created, and during the next eighteen years the whole Province was overrun with informers, false witnesses and stern pale-faced Resumption Officers."

The result was that "at an outlay of £800,000 upon Resumption proceedings, an additional revenue of £3,000,000 a year was permanently gained by the State."

Sir William has admitted that the "Mohammedan foundations suffered most," but he has added that "there can be little doubt that our Resumptions fell short of what had been stolen from us," for during seventy-five years the Government had "submitted under protest to a gigantic system of fraud."

If the Muslims suffered most, it was because they had been criminally careless about title-deeds and had also enjoyed broad acres without any right or title. No one can expect that such a state of affairs should be left undisturbed for ever so that the Muslims may enjoy what they have no right to enjoy.



If, therefore, it is a fact that "from these Resumptions the decay of the Mohammedan system of education dates," the Muslims have only themselves to make responsible for it.

Mr. Ghuznavi is reported to have asserted that the revenue was enriched from £800,000 to £ 3,000,000. But, as we have shown, the outlay upon Resumption proceedings was £ 800,000 and the additional revenue secured £ 3,000,000 a year. The lands resumed were, says Mr. Ghuznavi, acquired by Hindus. But where were the Muslims who for a very long time, and for seventy-five years under British rule, had enjoyed this income of £ 3,000,000 a year without right or title to it? Why could not they acquire the estates? To explain this we quote Hunter, who says :

"The truth is that, under the Mohammedans, Government was an engine for enriching the few, not for protecting the many. It never seems to have touched the hearts or moved the conscience of the rulers, that a vast population of husbandmen was toiling bare-backed in the heat of summer and in the rain of autumn in order that a few families in each District might lead lives of luxurious ease !"

The corruption that characterized the Mussalman aristocracy of Lower Bengal has been thus described by the same author :

"They can no longer sack the stronghold of a neighbouring Hindu nobleman ; send out a score of troopers to pillage the peasantry ; levy tolls upon travelling merchants ; purchase exemption through a friend at Court from their land tax ; raise a revenue by local cesses on marriages, births, harvest-homes, and every other incident of rural life ; collect excise on their own behalf, with further qualifications for winking at the sale of forbidden liquors during the sacred months of Ramzan."

The fat maggots and creeping parasites that breed in the warm comfort of a corrupt system of administration ate up the noble instincts of the Muslims to the core, and made them not only extravagant but also neglectful of intellectual attainments and of education.

The resumption proceedings again were not the only nor the chief cause of the educational 'disabilities' of the Muslims of Bengal. Sir John Strachey in his *India* has made the following pertinent remarks on the subject :

"The success of the measures for the promotion of higher education has been more marked among the Hindus than among the Mohammedans. In many parts of India, Mohammedans, especially

those of the upper classes, have always been disinclined to accept the education offered in our schools and colleges, and frequent complaint has been made that they are consequently unable to compete upon equal terms with Hindus for employment under Government. Feelings of religious intolerance sometimes tend to make the Mohammedans refuse to admit the necessity of western knowledge, but there are other reasons which affect them."

These "other reasons" were thus described by the Indian Education Commission :

"Apart from the social and historical conditions of the Mohammedan community in India, there are causes of a strictly educational character which heavily weight in the race of life. The teaching of the mosque must precede the lessons of the school. The one object of a young Hindu is to obtain an education which will fit him for an official or professional career. But before the young Mohammedan is allowed to turn his thoughts to secular instructions, he must commonly pass some years in going through a course of sacred learning. The Mohammedan boy, therefore, enters school later than the Hindu. In the second place, he very often leaves school at an earlier age..... In the third place, irrespectively of his worldly means, the Mohammedan parent often chooses for his son while at school an education which will secure for him an honoured place among the learned of his own community, rather than one which will command success in the modern professions or in official life. The years which the young Hindu gives to English and mathematics in a public school, the young Mohammedan devotes in a Madrasa to Arabic and the law and theology of Islam. When such an education is completed, it is to the vocation of a man of learning rather than to the more profitable professions that the thoughts of a promising Mohammedan youth naturally turn."

That consummate erudite, the late Sayed Mahmood, son of the late Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, expressed the same opinion in his *History of English Education in India* and he was certainly more competent to express an opinion on the subject than Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi. After referring to the eagerness of the Hindus to avail themselves of English education in the first quarter of the nineteenth century Syed Mahmood remarked : "Far different were the feelings of the Mahomedans, whose attitude towards English education was anything but friendly." They attributed the encouragement of English by the Government to the latter's desire to induce Indians "to become Christians." Said Mr. Mahmood :

"Such feelings of aversion towards English education entertained by the Mohammedans and evinced so early as 1835, stand in strong contrast to the attitude of the Hindu community, who... had zealously proved their desire to acquire a

knowledge of the English language, literature and sciences, by founding the Anglo-Indian College,\* so far back as 1816, and by the Memorial which had been presented on their behalf by Raja Rammohun Roy to Lord Amherst, then Governor-General of India. This difference between the sentiments of the two communities towards English education is the real key to the reasons of the vast disparity of progress in English education which the two nationalities have respectively made. The effects of this disparity have been most baneful to the interests of British India in general, and to the Mohammedan community in particular."

Such have been the reasons of the backwardness of the Muslims in education all over India, and not only in Bengal where the Resumption proceedings were resorted to with a view to end "a gigantic system of fraud" which Muslim rule in India had connived at, if not created.

And now Mr. Ghuznavi and the other Muslims are demanding that a definite proportion of appointments open to Indians should be statutorily guaranteed to Muslims. From personal experience Mr. Ghuznavi ought to know how the Muslims of Bengal are still behindhand in taking advantage of the edu-

\* The Hindu College.

cation our schools, colleges and Universities offer. Neither the Calcutta nor the Dacca University can boast of endowments made by Muslims. And while the Government of Bengal spends over fifteen lakhs of rupees every year specially for Muslim education, in addition to other means adopted by it for the promotion of Muhammadan education, the Sanskrit College at Calcutta is the one institution maintained by the Government to promote or preserve Hindu culture—a differential treatment which cannot but be resented by the Hindus.

What the Muslims demand actually means that the Hindus should be penalized and the standard of efficiency in the public services lowered by insisting on the minimum qualification for Muslims, because the Muslims have been extravagant, had enjoyed vast estates rent-free without right or title, had taken up a hostile attitude towards English education and the English, and because now when a new India is dawning, they would stand against the dawn—challenging the new day—a figure emblematic of a night that is past.

## THE CHETTIARS OF INDO-CHINA—AN ECONOMIC APPRAISAL

By LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

**T**HE expulsion of the Chettiars from Indo-China has now become a settled fact. At least five Chettiars have been forcibly sent out from Saigon and elsewhere in Cochin-China and clear eleven months have run along without any appreciable change in the position of our Chetti nationals in that French colony. We are told that diplomatic negotiations are being pursued between Delhi, London and Paris. We are also aware of the fact that a "plenipotentiary" of the Chettiars has been doing a tremendous amount of work on their behalf at Paris itself. It has so happened that I have myself spent four weeks in Indo-China very recently and here

I am trying to approach this Chettiar question in its true economic and non-political or sentimental implications.

### THE CHETTIAR INVESTMENTS

Following the French occupation of Indo-China about seventy years ago two Chettiars from Karaikudi proceeded thither with a modest capital of about 40,000 dollars or Rs. 60,000 and commenced money-lending business among the indigenous inhabitants generically known as the Annamites. Seventy years ago Indo-China was unknown. A country which was extremely backward in the economic sphere, a country which was first obtained as direct sequel to the closure of

Boxer Rebellion in China, as well as acquired in part from the kingdom of Siam about twenty-eight years ago, just at the time when the Bengal Partition became a settled fact, has now come under the aegis of the French Metropolitan Government. Ex-Chinese Tonkin in the north-east and Ex-Siamese Cambodia in the north-west are now linked together with French Cochin-China and the semi-independent empire of Annam and the quasi-vassal principality of Laos.

This federation or confederation of originally disconnected and certainly unconnectable units, steeped in a state of semi-feudal and partially primitive economic organization has now demanded, as a direct result of the French occupation and control, a tremendous amount of assistance from Paris towards building up an economic system, which is to be at once beneficial to the inhabitants and progressive in its implications. But France, may be as a result of the Franco-German war of last century, may be as a sequel to delicate international developments at the beginning of the present century, was unable to bring forth capital towards the exploitation of the natural resources of Indo-China. That is to say, France was unequal to the task so suddenly thrust upon her as a direct result of developments in south-east Asia.

So much so that the "Jewish community of India" were welcomed by the people and the administration of Indo-China when they first proceeded to that country towards establishing banking and money-lending business. The Chettians of Indo-China were never the spoilt children of the administration. They were never given any special privileges. They were never pampered by the French colonial administration. In my opinion the utmost that was done to foster and retain the Chetti investments in Indo-China was in the shape of passive acquiescence of the administration in the Chettian's monetary transactions. Our nationals in Indo-China were able to benefit remarkably from these still-to-be-exploited regions. And as a direct consequence of this the Chetti investments grew up by leaps and bounds. Not two Chettians but a hundred and twenty Chetti firms are now to be found scattered all over

Cochin-China and partly in Cambodia. Annam seems to be immune to this Chetti penetration. As for Tonkin, we have got today just one single Chetti firm at Hanoi. It is very difficult to arrive at a scientific appreciation of the actual amount of Chetti investments in Indo-China. But I was able, by means of a series of calculations based on the information given to me by Chetties and non-Chetties in Indo-China, to estimate that the total amount of Chetti investments today which are located in that country ranges somewhere about eight crores of rupees.

#### THEIR RAMIFICATIONS

It is very seldom realized in India that the Chetties in Indo-China, as in Malaya, Siam and Burma, are not usually principals. That is to say, a vast number of the Chetti firms in all these countries is operated from Chettinad in South India through the medium of agencies or mandatories who are given full powers to deal with the investments concerned. So much so, the impression is clear that the Chetti investments in south-east Asia today resemble a type of financial absentee landlordism. It is not unusual for the mandatories to fatten on the ignorance and want of direct touch with them by the principals in South India. Again, it is a very common factor that inexperienced and sometimes juvenile Chetti agents in these countries fully jeopardize not only the interests of the principals of South India but also invite suspicion, obloquy and at times abuse being heaped on their heads by the indigenous inhabitants and administrations. So much for an account of the stature and character of the edifice of Chetti investments in Indo-China.

There are one or two special characteristics of Chetti finance in Indo-China which must be understood by the Home country. The Chetti usually prefers to give short-term credits. He would prefer pro-notes to mortgages. Perhaps the predominating consideration for the phenomenal development of this type of banking by the Chetties is to be found in the fact that these two points devolve upon the possibility of a quick and exorbitant profit. That is to say, the vast



majority of Chetti loans in Indo-China today are what economic scientists call "distress loans." It cannot be denied that in numerous cases the transactions between the Annamite debtor and his Chetti creditor in Indo-China are unconscionable. In other words, the debtor is not in a position to bargain for an equitable loan. As such the Chetti accounts do not contain a clear and legal statement of the true position of his credits. Falsification of accounts has now become the usual practice of the Chetties in order to flout the known and unknown provisions of the French Administrative and Civil Law. I am taking full responsibility for this statement after careful examination of all the relevant data on this point.

#### FRENCH ECONOMIC POLICY

After the close of the World War of 1914-18, a situation of unprecedented dimensions has arisen in Indo-China. The colonial as well as the Metropolitan French administrations were infected with economic jaundice. They could not possibly allow the Chetti to exploit the country entirely to his own benefit. The foreign national must not be allowed to usurp, according to the French logic of the post-war era, a predominating position in the agricultural, industrial and commercial spheres of activity in the colony. Further, the new economic imperialism of the great Powers after the World War insisted upon the necessity for throwing an all-pervading economic ring fence round their colonial possessions. So much so that the Metropolitan French administration thought it necessary to improvise countervailing checks upon the Chetti activities in Indo-China.

As such, numerous French banks, agricultural societies and others sprang up in the colony with great rapidity. The *Banque de l'Indochine*, *Sociétés des Crédit Foncières*, *Magasins généraux* and numerous other credit organizations were built up with great rapidity. The *Banque de l'Indochine*, is so to speak, a state bank incorporated in Paris and has the monopoly of note-issue in Indo-China. Almost invariably every type of credit society is a filiation of this Indo-China Bank. Not infrequently, on the directorates of these societies and banks members of the

French Civil Service in Indo-China are to be found. In every manner it is becoming more and more evident that unlike the classical practice of banking, credit organization, commercial development and foreign trade in Indo-China are now subject to very tight administrative control. Freedom which is the life blood of all limited companies in India is wanting today in this colony of the French Republic. The administration feels the necessity, as it does feel the pinch of Chetty exploitation, for taking into its own hands in the most unobtrusive, legal and, above all, clever manner all the avenues for private enterprise and profit. As late as 1931 a colonial law passed by the Metropolitan Government fully endorsed this policy of the local colonial administration in Indo-China.

From the above statement of facts it will become obvious that in their anxiety to prevent foreigners from making unreasonable profits, of which Chetti investments in Indo-China are an example, the administration wants deliberately to pursue a policy of economic spoon-feeding to this congeries of credit institutions in Indo-China. But at the same time it must be remembered that even today, with all this calculated economic and administrative assistance given by the French Government, the above banks and credit institutions are not in a position fully to replace the Chetti's rôle in the economic life of Indo-China.

There is no doubt that the Chetties are imprudent in their behaviour, economic and personal. As I have already remarked, there is no ethics in their transactions. Legally speaking, they falsify their accounts. And from the point of personal contact they behave in such a crude and barbarous manner that not all their money is able to bring them consideration if not respect from the local inhabitants of the colony. There is no doubt that they have now come to be treated with contempt. All these things are known to the French administration, local as well as Parisian.

The economic depression in the world has hit Indo-China equally hard. Predominantly an agricultural country, the collapse of the world prices meant effectual economic

bankruptcy in the land. On the top of this the colonial administration put up the tariffs, took recourse to additional taxation, bloated the expenditure on the military establishments of the state for the alleged reason that without such increase in military forces Communism would not be stamped out in the country, and linked up the piastre (Saigon dollar) to the French franc. All these measures have deepened the crisis and reduced the position of the people to that of semi-starvation.

The real tragedy of the economic situation in Indo-China lies in the fact that the world-famous logic of the French nation has led it into a very false and insecure position. The Governor-General, M. Pasquier, and the Director of Finance, M. Diethelm, and numerous other functionaries in the colonial administration of Saigon refuse to believe the undesirable character of the present economic dispensation, which they have forced upon the people. Government servants apart, wherever I went in Indo-China, I was given unmistakable proof of the unanimity of public opinion, Annamite, Chinese, British Indian, French Indian and even French that the country has been deliberately ruined on account of the false and ruthless logic of the colonial administration. The entire press in Indo-China is ranged against the Government. Everywhere the impression is gaining ground that unless the present insensate policy of economic exploitation of Indo-China for the benefit of the Metropolitan administration at Paris is reversed, it would be impossible for the country to regain its former prosperity. Another facet of public opinion in Indo-China is indicated by the feeling that the local administration is wrong in more than one respect when it has tried to explain away the economic ills of the country by equating them with the world economic depression and with the vagaries of the Chetti investments.

Still, M. Pasquier wants to move on and queer the pitch by drawing before the public some bogey or other which would for the moment relieve the tension created by his own imprudent economic policy. Any stick would be sufficient to smother a dirty dog,

and the Chetti supplied the administration with the necessary grist to its financial mill.

#### THE EXPULSIONS AND THEIR SEQUEL

As I have already mentioned five Chetties have so far been forcibly sent out of Indo-China on the alleged ground that they have created political disturbances in the country. The administration well knows that legally it would be impossible for them to book the Chetties but it knows at the same time that the sledge-hammer process when applied to a timid, ignorant and possibly crude community like the Chetties would prove eminently successful. Chetti-baiting has now become a slogan, the political value of which the administration does not hesitate to recognize. The administration does not care to know whether or not adequate time was given to these unfortunate individuals to arrange their business and to liquidate their investments before they were asked to submit themselves to an *ex parte* and certainly high-handed measure of expulsion under a law which is some eighty years old and which is specifically applicable to Asiatic foreigners. I am not here concerned with the individual hardships suffered by the Chetties, which are obviously considerable. I am at the moment concentrating upon the effect produced by these expulsions both on the Chetti community and the people of Indo-China.

The Chetties are thoroughly demoralized. Today not a cent would be lent out by the Chetties to any individual in Indo-China. On the contrary, the debtors are given a tremendous amount of Government assistance in the shape of incentive to become recalcitrant and refuse to pay their dues to the Chetti creditors.

Meanwhile, the local administration, in concurrence with the Metropolitan Government and with the financial assistance of the colonial administration in Paris, started a very curious institution called the *Credit à Long Terme* (Long Term Credit Office). We are told that nearly two years ago, that is to say, before the regime of Chetti-baiting was introduced into Indo-China, about ten million French francs were gathered together on the Parisian bourse towards financing

the operations of this, as I have said, curious office in Saigon. The first Director of this Long Term Credit Office was M. de Feyssal, a civil servant of the colonial administration. But I was profoundly shocked to learn that this gentleman and his co-adjutors have been so deliberately dormant in their activities that not only five million francs representing a clear half of the original capital of the Long Term Credit Office has evaporated but that the institution itself refused to work till as late as June this year. It was M. de Feyssal who was at the bottom of all the Chetti troubles in Indo-China. The local administration realizing the utter unsuitability of this gentleman to control the finances of the Long Term Credit Office have superseded him and appointed one M. Vallette who is the present Director of the institution.

The Long Term Credit Office has two or three important objects in view. It ostensibly wants to take over the debts of the Annamite agriculturists, and "manage" them. As can be easily seen, with about five million francs at its disposal, the operations of the Long Term Credit Office cannot be compared even to a tiny ripple in the ocean of financial re-adjustment which is facing the colonial administration in Indo-China today. Towards managing the present situation, this office wants to distribute, again ostensibly, equally the sacrifice which is to be shouldered by various types of creditors. As a final step in this procedure it wants to give a quittance to the debtor and come to grips with each individual creditor who can be brought on its anvil.

If the incidence of the sacrifice demanded from the various types of creditors in Indo-China is just or is at least proportionate, there would not have been any quarrel at all, from our point of view, with the French Government. As we have seen above, the Chetti is very seldom a first-rate creditor, simply because he cannot rise to the privileged position which the French banks and other credit institutions are now in a position to usurp themselves. We are told that the administration is endeavouring to distribute the sacrifice demanded from the creditors on the basis of a rational apportionment, but

the most ignominious part of this regime of the Long Term Credit Office is indicated by the following set of facts :

Nobody cares to know,—and my enquiries from the Governor-General right down to the Director of the Long Term Office have been futile in this regard, whether, and if so, how far the French banks and other credit institutions as distinguished from Chetti creditors in Indo-China were subject to any sacrifice at all. Simply we are asked to believe in the morality of the French administration when it says that such sacrifices were also demanded from the other banks and other credit institutions. Perhaps an undue insistence on my part, when I faced these functionaries with uncomfortable and specific questions, produced an admission of doubtful character that these banks and credit institutions would be asked to waive the proceeds of interest which might have accrued during the past two years. To that extent a certain amount of sacrifice has been demanded, as was argued with me in Indo-China, from the above-mentioned institutions.

Now let us take the Chetti. The "offer" made by the Long Term Credit Office,—and an offer of the French administration cannot be any thing less than an ultimatum—that if at all a Chetti possesses a first rank credit, he must subject himself to an abatement of 22 per cent of the principal and interest, accept nine-tenths of the residue down and wait for fifteen years to realize the remainder in the hope that the price of paddy in Indo-China would improve. In the case of transactions belonging to the second to the sixth or seventh ranks, the Chetti was asked to sacrifice 35 per cent of the principal and interest put together, accept one-tenth of the remainder and sign a blank chit to the Government for fifteen years towards the doubtful realization of the residue. I have constructed numerous tables with varying types of interest, simple, compound and otherwise, to arrive at a statistical appreciation of the "offer" of the Long Term Office to the Chetties. In the case of first rank credits, the Chetti would perhaps get about 60 or 61 per cent of his capital and interest which, on an ultimate analysis, yields something like



95 or 97 of the principal lent. In the case of other credits he would get just above six per cent of the mulcted whole.

Here is a proposal, which is the most dangerous implication of the Long Term Credit management. The administration knows fully well that the Chetti does not possess a first rank mortgage, and if at all he possesses one or two, the fellow can be easily patted on the back and sent home in comparative ease. If a couple of Chetties can be got hold of and treated in this manner, as was actually done in my presence about the first week of June last when I was talking to M. Vallette in Saigon, the entire Chetti community may be inveigled into acceptance of the further arrangements of the Long Term Credit Office. I want emphatically to declare that despite all the known business immorality of the Chetti this kind of fiscal expropriation—expropriation is the only word to be used in this connection—cannot be justified either from the point of view of administrative expediency or political justice.

#### CONCLUSIONS

I do not propose to complicate this economic approach to the Chetti question in Indo-China by dragging in numerous other issues of a complicated character. But I want to make the following propositions in order to review clearly the recent history of Indo-China in relation to the fortunes of our nationals in that country. The Chetti is usually a small lender. He does not compete with the powerful French banks. The functions of the Chetti community and French credit institutions in Indo-China are not contradictory but complementary. The French banks and other credit societies do not care to lend small loans and uncovered debts, as the Chetti does to the Annamite agriculturists. Their function is more and more to be of a proprietary character. What they want is to float big loans, to appropriate Annamite properties on a grand scale if their debtors are unable to meet their obligations, annex to themselves the functions of planters in the case of rubber, and *Colons* (Agricultural proprietors) in the case of paddy fields. The greater proportion of the judicial executions in respect of debtor properties

are now forfeit to these French banks than in the case of Chetti creditors. The present policy of the French colonial administration in Saigon is to spoon-feed and ultimately to fatten these French banks and other credit societies at the expense of foreign investors like the Chinese and the Chetties. A few years ago the Chinese also came under the fire of the French administration and the internal trade which they had practically monopolized for a period of over fifty to sixty years was paralysed as a consequence. Now that the Chinese bogey has been lifted and the administration is in a very awkward financial position, Chetti-baiting has been taken recourse to. I have collected data from the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation and the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China in Saigon with which our Chetti nationals keep their funds and I am now in a position to establish the point that during the past eight months in particular clear 65 per cent of the Chetti capital has been repatriated to safer British territory, to Malaya and perhaps to Burma and certainly back to India. There is no doubt that in the immediate future the French colonial administration would certainly come to see the grievous error it has committed by trying to bamboozle the Chetti. Foreign capital—and here I mean non-French capital—is an indispensable necessity for the continued prosperity of Indo-China, simply because even the Parisian *bourse* is unable and certainly unwilling to invest funds in a distant land where everything depends upon the season and crop reports of the administration, and where the western financial methods, stock exchange regulations and other technical financial operations are not understood by the community of the people who are truly ignorant of modern developments.

I have promised to dispense with politics in this connection but one final word is necessary in order to conclude our thesis. There is no doubt that diplomatic representations have been overdone and ineffectually done in Paris and elsewhere. It must not be forgotten that everything depends upon the detailed re-opening of all Chetti accounts by the Long Term Office. What is required today is assistance by the Government of

India at Saigon which can competently investigate and examine individual Chetti credits and effect a settlement between the French administration on the one hand and Annamite debtor and Chetti creditor on the other, which would be of lasting value to us and to Indo-China. The Government of

India must see their way to create a special committee, obtain the permission of Saigon to send it out there and effect a settlement of the type mentioned above. Otherwise it is as good as leaving the Chetti community in Indo-China to the whims of the French administration.

## THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA : WHY NOT A STATE BANK ?

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### I. HISTORY OF THE PROPOSAL

**T**HE Indian Reserve Bank Committee has now finally declared in favour of a shareholders' bank on the lines of the Blackett bill of 1928. The Bill has been announced for the autumn session of the Assembly. And Sir George Schuster is reported to be back with a draft bill ready in his pocket. But the issue of the State bank *vs.* shareholders' bank is one of profound importance. It is, therefore, urgent that the question should be thoroughly examined once again. But let us, first, refresh our memory of the history of the proposal.

The Royal Currency Commission of 1926 recommended a shareholders' bank. Sir Basil Blackett's first bill of January, 1927, incorporated that principle. Strong opposition in the Assembly led to the compromise bill of August, 1927, under which the capital of the bank was to be raised by the issue of 5 per cent Government of India stock to be distributed province-wise and the government of the bank was to be entrusted to a mixed board of stockholders' representatives, nominees of important commercial bodies, and one official and four non-official appointees of the Government of India. This Bill provided for the widest possible representation of important sectional interests as well as public interest combined with the necessary minimum degree of control and supervision by the

Government. It contained the largest measure of agreement between the Assembly and the Government and would certainly have been acceptable to the former. But Lord Birkenhead thought that it would be absurd to depart from the orthodox principle of the shareholders' bank even for the sake of conciliating Indian opinion and he vetoed the proposal. Sir Basil resigned in protest but was persuaded to withdraw the resignation, and was invited to take lessons from the Secretary of State on the principles of sound banking. On his return, he introduced once again a Bill for a shareholders' bank, with some modifications in detail. The Assembly was of course opposed to it and would not pass it. But the Bill was actually killed by Mr. V. J. Patel's disallowance of the introduction of the new Bill on a technical point of procedure. The proposal was not officially revived till the first Round Table Conference of 1930, where His Majesty's Government had expressed the view that this matter was one of those which "will have to be provided for somehow in the new Constitution," but the Conference did not actually decide anything except uttering the platitude that the bank should be established on sure foundations and be free from political influence. The next important stage in the history of the Reserve Bank proposal was marked by the unanimous opinion definitely expressed by the Central Banking

Enquiry Committee in 1931 that the capital of the bank should be provided by the State, that is, the bank should be a State bank. And at the end of this long history of the Reserve Bank scheme, we are once again confronted with the dictum that the Bank should be a shareholders' bank, and presumably it is on the basis of this dictum that the bill has been drafted.

What is the reason for this official tenacity for a shareholders' bank? Is there some Divine or Natural law that the Central bank, in order to be a stable and efficient institution, must be a shareholders' bank? And again, is there something intrinsically wrong and essentially vicious in the principle of State control that the Government would rather not have the bank than permit the setting up of a State bank? Reading through the whole mass of literature on the subject, one is struck by the fact that while the official view has been based far too much upon an unanalysed dogma as laid down by the International Financial Conference of 1920, the non-official standpoint in its turn has blindly adhered to the hypothesis that State control is always good as such. The result is that while the case for a shareholders' bank has been reinforced by various plausible arguments drawn from the reports of expert committees, the case for a State bank has never been analysed in a scientific manner. We attempt to present below, plainly, fairly, and directly, the case for and against a State bank, and our analysis would tend to show that so far as India is concerned, there would be a large, definite, balance of advantage on the side of a State bank.

## II. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE CENTRAL BANK

It is recognized on all hands that the most important thing about the currency and credit system of a country is that the purchasing power of money must be kept fairly stable under all circumstances. For fluctuations in the value of money, specially when they are wide and frequent, introduce insecurity into every contract, wipe out the capital values accumulated in the past, create a general feeling of uncertainty, and produce economic and social disorder. Both rising as well as

falling prices arbitrarily and automatically lead to the confiscation of the wealth of some classes and augmentation of the wealth of others, quite irrespective of the merits and demerits of the classes affected. This makes for utter confusion in the economic relations and functions of the society, chokes the channels of production, consumption, distribution, and income, spending, saving, investment, and ultimately ends by derailing and putting out of action the entire economic machine.

Now, it is the principal business of the Central Bank to ensure the maintenance of the stability of the value of money. And in order that it may be enabled to discharge this all-important function, it is generally equipped with special powers and charged with special responsibilities, *viz.*, monopoly of note-issue, control over member banks through the Bank Rate, custody of the gold reserves, all government banking business, and powers of external lending and borrowing.

Now, it is clear that the stability of the currency standard established by law is a matter of fundamental importance to the public and of chief concern to the State. Moreover, whether required by law or not, the Government is bound to interfere to prevent the failure of the bank, because such a failure would spell a widespread and intolerable crisis, injure the credit of the Government, and paralyse the entire financial machinery of the country. The bank is a large public trust and the Government must see to it that it is kept in a thoroughly sound and efficient condition. The State, therefore, cannot divest itself of all responsibility regarding the Central Bank any more than it can remain indifferent to the running of a great public utility concern like, say, a railway system. It is for this reason that we find varying degrees of supervision or control exercised by the State over the administration of a Central Bank. The only two examples of nearly completely independent Central Banks are the Bank of England and the new Reichsbank of Germany (1924). But there are special reasons for their exceptional position. The English Bank Act of 1844 was passed at a time when the doctrine of individualism was the guiding theory in politics and economics. Moreover, the bank has always recognized.



its special responsibilities to the nation and built up a tradition of voluntary public service. The result is that close and constant co-operation between the bank and the State has become the normal practice even without any legal provisions to that effect. The German Reichsbank was part and parcel of a scheme of reparation payment and was devised by foreign experts, to whom the financial policy of the State was suspect. Hence the insistence on complete freedom from State control. But even in the case of these two independent banks, it must be remembered that in times of extreme crisis, the bank must to a large extent find itself under the influence of the State. Otherwise the independence is unassailable. At the other end of the scale, we have the Bank of U. S. S. R., which is directly subordinate to the People's Commissariat of Finances for purposes of policy and supervision; and the Bank of Finland, which carries on business under the direction of the Diet. In between these extremes we have a large number of intermediate cases, where the State, either through part-ownership of share capital or official representation on the Board or through powers of veto, exercises varying degrees of control and supervision. At the present moment there are 32 Central Banks, 17 of them shareholders' banks, 8 mixed, and 7 purely State banks. Of the 14 pre-war banks, 12 are shareholders' banks; and of the 18 post-war Banks, 5 are shareholders' banks, 8 mixed, and 5 State banks.

There are thus both kinds of banks, State as well as shareholders'. Nevertheless, since the last war there has set in a rising tide of expert and financial opinion against the State bank, and this has been due, among other things, to the following factors:

(i) The Bank of England has functioned efficiently since 1844 and is the only European bank that could keep the currency standard in a tolerably sound condition.

(ii) The example of the American Federal Reserve System, which is largely independent of Governmental control.

(iii) The breakdown of currency mechanism in most European countries, where, as in Germany and France, for example, the Government controlled the currency policy of the bank.

(iv) Distrust of the European State in the post-war period due to political instability and economic and social disorder.

(v) The fact that the currency reforms in some countries had to be carried through under the supervision of the League of Nations or with the help of foreign banks, *e. g.*, in the case of Austria, naturally led to the national aspect of the question being neglected.

(vi) The dominant influence exercised by U. S. A. and England in the post-war monetary reconstruction of the world.

It would be clear that the present tide of academic and financial opinion against the State bank is the product of special circumstances. It is not the outcome of any universal agreement in theory or practice, nor was it based upon any thoroughgoing process of scientific analysis. Let us, therefore, proceed to an examination of the principal grounds on which this opposition to the State bank is based, and also enquire if there are not equal, and sometimes even weightier, arguments, on the other side.

### III. ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST A STATE BANK.

#### A. DANGER OF POLITICAL INTERFERENCE.

It is said that under a State bank, continuity of policy under changing governments cannot be ensured, nor freedom from political bias in its administration guaranteed. It is indeed conceded that in a time of extreme emergency the State must take the control of the currency system into its own hands, and in case of need, may suspend the specie payment and expand the note issue. But it may happen, so the argument runs, that the various changing governments may, even in normal times, manipulate the currency mechanism to suit their political needs or to cover their financial incompetence. And thus departures from sound principles of currency, permissible only under grave emergencies, may become a normal feature of currency management. On the other hand, it is urged that if the bank is independent, such violation would not be easily permitted and when emergency occurs the matter would appear as a great public question outside the range of party politics.

Such a grave charge against State-controlled banks is hardly justified by history. Kisch in his book on Central Banks adduces only two instances of the grave injury done by undue State interference: First, that of the Bank of Spain, which was usually made to grant excessive advances to the Government of Spain in order to meet many of its ordinary engagements. Second, that of the Bank of France, which was made to exceed the legally permissible limits of advances to the State, and also to exceed the maximum issue fixed by law. But the case of Spain is not a first class example. Nor is the case of France a conclusive one, because France was suffering from an abnormal legacy left by the war. Moreover, such a thing is impossible in a system of convertible paper money based on gold.

Again, the fear that the monetary policy of a State bank may be manipulated to suit the exigencies of party politics may come true only in rare cases. History does not show any notable example of this tendency. If a party in power were to play fast and loose with the currency standard of a country, it could not remain long in power in a well-organized democracy. Such a contingency can arise only where democracy is submerged and dictatorship established. Furthermore, a government following such a policy would lose all international credit and would be financially isolated. No government, unless reduced to extremities, would ever dare to run such a risk. Moreover, in the case of a State bank, the danger of State interference in the bank's normal administration may be shut out by the following safe-guards:

(i) The suspension of specie payments should require legislative sanction. (ii) There should be a legal maximum limit for advances that can be made to the State. The period of advance also may be limited. (iii) Under the Charter, effective restrictions may be imposed on the Legislature and the Government in respect of the administration of the bank. This is done in the case of the Banks of Latvia and Australia. (iv) A tradition or convention of non-interference may be built up as in the case of the Bank of Sweden. Although such legislative or

conventional safe-guards may conceivably be violated by the Government, in practice it is improbable in normal times. It is unthinkable that in a modern well-organized State, the Government should be liable to become a habitual law-breaker.

#### B. RISK OF UNDUE INFLUENCE BY VESTED INTERESTS

A second point that is urged against a State bank is the risk of influence by private interests. The rate of discount or an inflationary policy, for example, does not affect all interests equally. Some stand to gain and some to lose. It is, therefore, suggested that powerful private interests may employ various means to enforce their wishes upon the Government.

But such an argument presupposes that the Government in its normal functioning is open to corruption and bribery. The charge cannot be ordinarily true. Moreover, even if such a thing were to take place, so many and diverse would be the interests adversely affected thereby that the jobbery would be exposed in no time. Such a charge has never been made against the American Federal Reserve Banks, where moneyed interests are all powerful; or against the Bank of France or against the pre-war Reichsbank of Germany. Furthermore, if it is possible for private interests to influence the policy of the State bank, what guarantee is there that an independent Central Bank would be proof against such a danger? The controlling body of an independent Central Bank would consist, to a small extent, of Government representatives, who could be presumably influenced like the Government as a whole; and, to a large extent, of elective representatives of shareholders or chambers of commerce, etc.; and these latter would be big business men, whose private interests would often run counter to the common interests of the nation, and over whom the shareholders would hardly be able to exercise any control. If it is assumed that the Government is liable to be influenced by intrigues and pressure from vested interests, it would be highly probable that the elective representatives of shareholders would be open to such influences to a far greater

degree. To suspect the Government of greater corruptibility than the representatives of shareholders would indeed be an unfair attitude altogether, which does not find any support in the experience of modern times. On the contrary, the fear of danger from undue influence by vested interests is writ large in the constitutions of all the so-called independent Central Banks, where either the Government is represented on the Board of Directors in a supervisory capacity as in U. S. A., Japan, and Denmark, or has a temporary veto as in Poland.

#### C. THE FEAR OF UNSOUND FINANCE

It is also claimed that a really independent Central Bank can offer wise counsels to the Government to follow a policy of sound finance. But such financial policy may be as well effectively ensured by legal restrictions on advances to the Government, and also by requiring legislative sanction to suspension of specie payments. Moreover, as Mr. Hawtry points out, the Government would not ordinarily either care to take or to follow the advice of an independent bank. It is only when the Government has blundered on from deficit to deficit that it will approach the Central Bank for advances, and thus lay itself open to be influenced by the counsels of the bank. When the situation has reached such a pass, the evil has already assumed serious proportions. Excessive advances or excessive note issue must be made. So an independent Central Bank cannot prevent the Government from slipping into a state of financial instability. On the other hand, if the bank were a State bank, the officials of the bank would be in constant contact with the Government and would thus have a greater chance of offering wise counsels in good time so as to prevent a financial disaster.

#### D. THE QUESTION OF EFFICIENCY

Another argument that was urged by Sir Basil Blackett is that in a shareholders' bank, the shareholders would exercise the necessary influence in order to keep the Directors in the paths of financial virtue. On the other hand, it is argued that in a State bank it would be difficult to devise

a scheme of control by which the Directors could be spurred on to a high standard of efficiency. This, again, is a superficial argument. In a Central Bank, with its ordinary profitable functions, the legally limited dividends for the shareholders would be ensured in any case. The shareholders would have no interest beyond the receipt of the small dividends (6 or 7 p. c.) limited by law. This would be specially true in a stockholders' bank as was proposed by Sir Basil. Furthermore, it is a very big assumption to hold that the shareholders as a body would comprehend the principles of sound currency and credit. The inner working of the bank would be as free from the influence of the shareholders as that of a big trust or corporation. With regard to the second objection, the instance of the Railway Board in India shows that a big commercial undertaking can be wisely and efficiently managed by the Government. The Board of Directors of the Central Bank would presumably consist of Government officials, representatives of commerce, industry and agriculture, and expert governors. A constitution like that of the Federal Reserve Board would ensure a harmonious combination of State supervision and business experience together with a high standard of efficiency.

There is, therefore, hardly any good reason for holding a dogmatic opinion one way or the other. In every country the constitution must be devised so as to suit the needs of the case—to agree with experience and traditions, and to harmonize various interests.

#### IV. SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF INDIA : TRADITION AND PUBLIC OPINION

Apart from the general arguments for a State bank as set forth above, there are special reasons in India why the bank should be a State bank :

(i) *Long-established tradition of State control over currency.* Tradition is an important factor in currency and banking. In all matters of national importance, *e.g.* railways, the people have implicit faith in State management and look on with suspicion upon private capitalistic ownership and



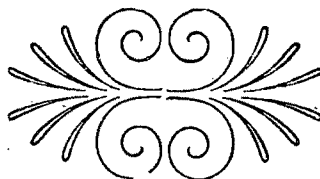
control. In this connection the history of Indian railways is highly instructive. The Acworth Committee definitely held that company management had been an economic failure, and they recommended that all the great railways should be taken over for direct management by the State. Since the great East Indian Railway came under State management in 1924, the railway system has been thoroughly commercialized, and has been run largely as a purely economic proposition. And although the Executive and the Legislature have occasionally exercised powers in broad matters of public policy, the essential details of commercial organization and administration have been left entirely in the hands of railway experts, who sit on the Railway Board. And this is as it should be. It is exactly the principle that is now being widely accepted as the right principle of organization for a great commercial undertaking of national importance. While it enforces conformity with the dictates of public policy, it also ensures observance of the principles of commercial management.

(ii) *Conflict of aims and cleavage of interests between the European and Indian business communities.* There is a lurking suspicion in the public mind that a shareholders' bank would come under the predominant control of European business men,

and that the Indians would not get a fair and square deal at the hands of the bank. This notion is deep-rooted and has been inspired partly by political sentiment and partly by the bitter experience of the difficulties met with by many Indian business men in securing credit facilities from non-Indian banks.

#### V. CONCLUSION

Our conclusion, therefore, is that a State bank as well as a shareholders' bank has each its peculiar merits and demerits: none of them is intrinsically perfect or essentially vicious. In both there must be a harmonious blending of State control with adequate safeguards against undue State interference or political influence or predominance of sectional interests. And either of them may be made to conform to the soundest principles of Central Banking by various legal restrictions as well as by the gradual evolution of conventional safe-guards. The actual external form, whether it is to be a State or a shareholders' bank, must ultimately be decided in conformity with the special conditions and the state of public opinion in each different country. And so far as India is concerned, it is almost certain that there would be a clear and preponderating balance of advantage on the side of a State bank.



# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**PUBLIC SPIRIT, IDEAL AND PRACTICAL:** By Annie Besant. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This is a lecture by Dr. Annie Besant delivered in 1903. It is now published as a booklet. Its chief topic is respect for law and order. The author illustrates her theme by reference to the life of Bradlaugh.

**EASTERN MAGIC AND WESTERN SPIRITUALISM:** By H. S. Olcott. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This also is a lecture by H. S. Olcott delivered as far back as 1875. It is now published as a pamphlet. The subject-matter of the lecture is aptly described by its title. It contains several accounts of very interesting and illustrative cases of magic and spiritualism. After a comparison of the two, the author inclines in favour of Eastern magic in preference to Western spiritualism.

**THE MEANING AND THE USE OF PAIN:** By Annie Besant. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

In this lecture Dr. Besant deals with the problem of pain. It is a perennial question in philosophy and students of philosophy will find its treatment by Dr. Besant a very useful and interesting introduction to the subject.

**THE USE OF EVIL:** By Annie Besant. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This is another illuminative lecture by Dr. Besant on a subject which is of great importance to the philosopher as well as the man in the street. The author's conclusion that 'Brahman is bliss' and the goal of human life is the attainment of this knowledge, and that evil is useful in leading man to that goal,—is a compliment to the teachings of the Vedanta.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**A THESIS ON THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN UNDER DIFFERENT COMMUNAL LAWS IN VOGUE IN INDIA:** By Ramanlal V. Mehta, B. Sc., LL. B., Pleader, Rajpipla. Price Rs. 1. pp. 94.

This small book is the prize essay of the Civil Marriage Association of Bombay. It tries to deal exhaustively with the rights of women to enter into contracts, to the restitution of conjugal rights, to divorce, to re-marriage, to maintenance, and to her rights of succession, and the various legislation in the Indian States and British India affecting them. It will prove useful to social reformers who are not lawyers, showing the extent of social reform that they have got to carry out, though some of the statements on law are not accurate.

**THE RAIYATS OF BENGAL:** By Sachin Sen, M. A., B. L., Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, Price Re. 1.

One may not agree with all the author's conclusions, but it must be admitted that this little book on a great subject is really thought-provoking. The author has tried to distinguish the genuine needs from the fancied grievances of the raiyats of Bengal, to which additional importance is now-a-days attached on account of the political and the communal situation in the country.

J. M. DATTA

**ELEMENTS OF CIVICS:** By U. N. Ball and S. N. Banerjee. (Atma Ram and Sons, Lahore. Pp. 271, Price Rs. 2).

This book deals with the rights and duties of the people living in Great Britain and in British India and describes the machinery of administration in the two countries. It gives the students an idea not only as to the organization of the central government but acquaints them also with the outlines of local government in the two states. The book is written in simple and lucid English. The printing and the get-up are quite satisfactory.

THE DALHOUSIE-PHAYRE CORRESPONDENCE (1852-56). Edited by D. G. E. Hall. (Oxford University Press).

In 1824 broke out the First Burmese War and it was concluded in 1826 by a treaty which brought Arakan and Tenasserim under British authority. The treaty also provided for the establishment of a British Residency at the Burmese capital. But the Court of Ava did not take kindly to the arrangement thus inaugurated. The Residents, one after another, were rendered weary, hopeless and disgusted by the arrogance of the Burmese Ministers. At last in 1840 the last of them packed up and the Residency itself was withdrawn from Burma. The official relations between Great Britain and Burma were thus broken off. During the eleven years which passed between 1840 and 1851, the attitude of the Burmese Government became more and more threatening to British interests and at last the situation became such as to make the declaration of war inevitable. So in 1852 the Second Burmese War was entered upon. As a result of this war which was short and sharp in comparison with the first war, the province of Pegu came under British occupation. The question arose as to who would be the Commissioner in charge of these territories. Lord Dalhousie passed over the claims of Lt.-Col. Archibald Bogle, the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces and appointed a younger man and a junior officer, A. P. Phayre, then Commissioner of Arakan to the charge. Most of the letters which comprise this book passed between the new Commissioner and the Governor-General in private correspondence. These letters were supplementary to and explanatory of the regular official despatches.

In the book is also embodied a batch of letters written by one Thomas Spears to Phayre and intended for the Governor-General in Council. The war indeed had been brought to a close in the middle of 1853. But all the same there was no treaty between Calcutta and Ava. The Burmese Court could not be reconciled to the loss of the province of Pegu and consequently was not in a mood to conclude a treaty on that basis. And in the absence of a treaty, it was not possible to set up an official agent of the British Government at the Burmese capital. But all the same it was necessary that there should be some reliable man at that court who might keep the British Government well posted as to the attitude and intentions of the Burmese Government. Accordingly a Scotch merchant, Thomas Spears by name, with about fifteen years' experience of the Burmese men and things was appointed the Government Correspondent at Ava. He was to carry on his own business there and at the same time to write a fortnightly letter to the Commissioner of Pegu. These letters throw a flood of light on the state of things at the Burmese capital in 1852-55, and the importance of the book has been enhanced by their inclusion. The book will be of great help to those interested in the long and epoch-making administration of Lord Dalhousie as the Governor-General of India.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

GĀTHĀ OR THE HYMNS OF ATHARVAN ZARATHUSTRA: By Jatindra Mohan Chatterjee, M. A., with a Gujarati translation by Ardeshtir N. Bilimoria. The Cherag Office, Navsari, 1933. Pp. 400.

The Avesta is derived by some scholars (Andreas, Geldüer) from *Upastha* (उपास्थि मन्त्रकरणे Panini 1-3-25).

It therefore means *Mantra* in Sanskrit. It is written in the Avestan (Zend) language which is the mother, through Pahlavi, of modern Persian. The Zend script is written from right to left like Kharosthi and Arabic, and has no compound letter. In other respects its alphabet is the same as the Brahmi (Devanagari) alphabet except that it has no ढ ण.

There are several translations of the Gāthā, e.g., Mills' in the S. B. E. S., but as Bishop Moulton says, it is scarcely intelligible, owing to the copiousness of the various meanings given by the author. It must however be admitted that western scholars have done much to elucidate and clear up the obscure passages.

Kanga's translation of the Gāthā, and Madan's rendering of the Yasna, of which the Gāthā forms the most important part, from the French translation of Prof. Harlez, are both in Gujarati.

In Guthrie's English translation the text of the Gāthā is printed in Roman script. The great Moslem scholar, Pouré-Davoud, who has been deputed by the Shah to Santiniketan has translated the Gāthā in modern Persian and dedicated it to the 'Most Holy Ahur Mazda with the words "I am indeed glad and proud that after a thousand years and more, I find myself the first Persian to render the holy songs of the Prophet of Iran in the present-day language of that land."

Though the language of the Gāthā has closer affinity to the Veda than even classical Sanskrit, it has hitherto occurred to none among the scholars to publish an edition of the same using the Devanagari character for the text. The author, Mr. Chatterjee, has not only done this, but much more. He has added a prose order अथर्व in Sanskrit in which the words of the Gāthā, which in the text are placed at random as in Sanskrit poetry, have been syntactically arranged according to the rules of Panini, bringing out more clearly the mutual relation of the words; the Zend words in the text, and their Sanskrit equivalents in the prose order, have been marked with the same numerals in order to show their identity, and this identity or phonological affinity has been further established by quotations from the aphorisms of Panini in the shape of notes, where the root-conceptions of the Gāthā have also been explained where necessary. The cultural similarity between ancient Iranian and ancient Indian civilizations, both of which are branches of the Aryan civilization, will thus be apparent to every reader of the book and remind him of the inscription of Darius दरीयश्वाह of the 6th century B. C., where he calls himself an

अथर्व and a क्षत्रिय of क्षत्रियस. The amount of labour, erudition, and research which have gone to the making of the book will also be evident. His Sanskrit derivation, prose-order and excellent English translation fully bear out the author's claim that a stanza which would otherwise take an hour to understand will now be intelligible in five minutes. For the benefit of the Indian followers of Zoroastrianism, the Parsis, whose mother tongue is Gujarati, a Gujarati translation has been appended.

The Gāthā is the oldest portion of the Yasna of: यज्ञ section of the Avestā and being the composition of Zarathustra himself, is also the most sacred portion. The Gāthā represents a most important phase of Aryan culture, viz., non-idolatry in religion and in this respect its affinity to Islam deserves attention. The so-called dualism of the Avesta is based on a mistaken notion, as Mr.



Chatterjea is, we believe, the first to point out. Ahura Mazda is the supreme and only Lord of creation (Gāthā, 45. 10-11). Zoroastrianism is thus strictly monotheistic. The mistake of charging it with dualism proceeds from its enunciation of the two *Manyus* (spirits, forces), e.g., *Spenta Manyu* (good spirit, to which we owe self-control दृष्टम् and conscience दृष्ट-मनस् Gāthā, 43. 6) and *Angra Manyu* (evil spirit, Ahriman), akin to the *Gunās* (Sattwa and Tamas) of Kapila.

The purity and nobility of the ethical conceptions of the Gāthā (see Mr. Chatterjea's volume on *The Ethical Conception of the Gāthā*, Cherag Office, Navsari, 1932) places it among the best religious books of the world like the *Dhammapada* and the *Gita*. Rabindranath in his Hibbert lecture on the *Religion of Man* has pointed out the high rank it takes among the scriptures of the world. The Gāthā was hitherto caviare to the general, for few could follow the Zend script or understand the meaning of Zend words without their Sanskritic equivalents. By making the Gāthā available in Devanagari script with Sanskrit prose rendering and English translation the author has placed it within the reach not only of scholars of the East and West, but also of the lay reader who wants to dip into it for the sake of its noble ethical ideas.

The text and the translations are clearly printed on good paper, and the book is sold at the remarkably cheap price of Re. 1 per copy. We have no doubt it will have a large sale and the joint authors, will have the satisfaction of knowing that their efforts in the cause of the Zoroastrianism have met with the success they deserve. Mr. Chatterjea is a pioneer in the field he has chosen, and scholars all over the world will appreciate the thoroughness with which he has performed his task.

#### POLITICS

**SHIVAJI—THE FOUNDER OF MARATHA SWARAJYA:** By C. V. Vaidya, 314 *Sadashiv Peth*, Poona City. Price Rs. 3. Pages 420.

Slowly but surely the life of the great founder of the Maratha empire is being evolved owing to the labours of many a scholar all over the country. But the recent production by the reputed Maratha scholar, C. V. Vaidya, cannot be said to mark a distinct stage in that evolution. In this respect Maharashtra has long failed to put forth any constructive effort in English and make a distinct contribution to the substantial research by which that great hero's life is being authentically and unassailably built up. Mere panegyric, however rhetorically or plausibly set forth, can only appeal to popular sentiment, but it cannot satisfy the inexorable tests of historical criticism. There is as yet only one production in English acceptable to impartial minds, viz., that of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, to whom even at this late date belongs the credit of putting together all the available facts of the life of that remarkable personality, facts scattered over a huge mass of materials both in Indian and European languages. As yet we hardly know anything definite of Shivaji's early career down to the Afzal Khan incident in 1659, which first marked him out as a person to be reckoned with. All history has two distinct functions to perform, first to ascertain and bring together all available facts, and secondly to arrange and interpret them for popular readers.

As regards the first of these functions the credit of having sifted all the evidence and put down with

painstaking accuracy all the important and unimportant details of the life story of Shivaji, even now belongs exclusively to Sarkar, however much a certain section of Maharashtrians would like to ignore or carp at that book. When Mr. C. V. Vaidya published his "Shivaji, the founder of Maratha Swarajya," it was expected that at last Sir Jadunath would be superseded. But a perusal of this latest attempt leaves the reader sadly disappointed. It is painful not to notice in this performance any trace of true historical scholarship. He is too much obsessed by his love for his hero to bring an impartial and scientific attitude of mind to bear on the subject. The Shiva-Charitra Karyalaya has now been working for years but they have not yet been able to put forth a full and authentic life of their hero, although they have printed endless discussions of many minor episodes. The fact of the matter is they have plenty of love and respect for Shivaji but no true perspective or a critical attitude of mind. The limitations of a really accurate life of Shivaji are obvious. Merely printing and publishing a mass of useful and useless papers will not help much. No valuable State papers of first-rate importance exist in Marathi or elsewhere and consequently a worker has to rely too much upon his own imagination, sifting merely hearsay evidence of Muhammadan and European writers. On this account there is bound to be a very wide difference in the correct interpretation of such extraneous evidence.

Moreover the author in this book displays methods and a turn of mind which can be explained only by increasing age. He has a wonderful stock of energy but no discrimination, no critical and independent judgment, as most of his later writings prove. He does not know the difference between myth and history. He is too full of Ramayan and Mahabharat to allow him to judge historically the personality of Shivaji. He swallows as truth every sentence of a rhetorical eulogy in verse named Shiva-Bharat written about 1670. Such a lack of the critical faculty and disregard of probability reveal the author's blind love for his hero but does injustice to history.

When one is obsessed by the supernatural character (*avatar*) of a popular hero, all historical sense is lost. Such a life can give no guidance in practical politics.

Vaidya's treatment of Shivaji is equally vitiated. Just as in the case of Shivaji he reads in 1640 what actually took place thirty years later, so does he read in Shivaji's early career much of what he came to be later. Shivaji was a petty insignificant trooper in his early career like many of his contemporaries, a small jagirdar serving now the Sultan of Ahmednagar, and at another time the Sultan of Bijapur and holding a fief in the Poona quarter of the Nizamshahi Raj. Similarly in 1646 Shivaji was a petty rebel landholder and not a sovereign Raja for what was the actual value of the Poona jagir in 1646 of which fragments were held first by Shahji and then by Shivaji, as compared with any established principality? Every jagirdar was trying to extend his estate by seizing neighbouring mahals during those times of unrest and dissolution of old monarchies, but none of them could claim at that time to be the founder of a Hindu Swarajya.

A biography must above all be human. To try to make it superhuman and divine is to lose all touch with the world as it is and consequently it becomes entirely unhistorical. The impartial attitude which Mr. Vaidya claims to

maintain in his preface is sadly lacking in all his performance. For instance, the reader may refer to page 348 where he argues out the charge that Shivaji had no concubines. Examples of similar sophistry are abundant throughout the book. His dishonest garbling of texts in order to impose upon readers who are not specialists is equally astounding. The *Sabhasad Bahkar* written in 1694, reads "Chandrarao Moryas mariya virahit rajya sadhat nabin," a sentence which he skilfully twists into "Javli mariyavina rajya sadhat nahim," explaining the phrase as *swarajya* (foot-note p. 70). No new or more authentic text of *Sabhasad* has been discovered giving Mr. Vaidya's reading and no reason has been adduced by him to prove that the old reading was a copyist's error. These arts are bound to discredit their author and we regret that Mr. Vaidya's labours in his mature age should take such a deplorable turn. He carefully avoids mentioning Sir Jadunath Sarkar on any page whatever, while most of the important facts and even many phrases of his book are taken from that historian's earliest discoveries. This may deceive ordinary readers but certainly no critical student. An impartial mind should always be prepared to give every man his due.

Although Mr. Vaidya's reasoning is full of faults, one good point of his performance is that it brings together in small compass most of the available facts embedded in extensive discussions printed in Marathi; and consequently the book will serve as an index to raw materials good, bad or indifferent. In pages 43-48 Mr. Vaidya has well explained the land system of Shivaji's days and the terms in use in connection with it, *viz.*, Mokasa, Jagir, Saranjam and Inam.

P.

**TEARDROPS:** By Nalapat Narayana Menon. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London. Pp. 31, 2s net.

It is an English rendering in free verse of a poem in Malayalam by Nalapat Narayana Menon, who is described by the translator, Vadaikara Madhavan Nair, as "an eminent poet and philosopher of Malabar." The occasion of the poem was the death of the poet's wife in his youth. It is composed of twelve short topics and one catches in them all a touching note of poignant grief. Although the work under review is a translation we can easily discern through it the grace and charm of the original. It is a fine little elegy with fresh and spontaneous sentiments, cast in a genuinely poetic mould. The get-up is excellent, although marred by some typographical errors: on p. 6 'globe' appears as 'glove' and on p. 9 'granary' as 'granery' and 'transient' as 'transcient'.

P. K. GUHA

**RABINDRANATH TAGORE: HIS RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEALS:** By Dr. Tarak Nath Das, M. A., Ph. D., Saraswati Library, Calcutta. 1932. Price Re. 1.

This is an essay read at the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, on the poet's religious, social and political ideas by his sympathetic countryman who combines academic distinction with wide knowledge of the human heart. Dr. Das addresses himself specially to those who have no time to spare for more comprehensive treatises on the subject and he brings forth here, within the short compass of 55 pages, Tagore's fundamental ideas.

An introduction by Prof. Winternitz dwells on the fact that in spite of differences of opinion and action, Mahatma Gandhi and the Poet are at one in much that affects the Indian nation. Dr. Das also tries to show that Tagore's stand is manly, he is a *Rishi* because he is "in perfect harmony with man and nature," that he has been carrying on his campaign against untouchability for the last 50 years, believing firmly that only spiritual awakening can bring about true social reform. If he is not a politician, he is a prophet, a nationalist covering many departments of life, a citizen of the world who works for the unity of human spirit. The appendix contains half a dozen passages from Tagore illustrating the statements made in the essay.

The book is substantially true and will serve admirably as an introduction to the Poet. It bears however unmistakable signs of hurry, which show it to have been hastily composed and rushed through the press. Apart from that, it is an error to style Dwarkanath Tagore as a "Raja" rather than a "Prince," and to say that Rabindranath like Christ believes in realizing self through action, love and beauty, because Christ did so through suffering and sacrifice as well, which occupy a much lower position in the poet's scale of values, while in the philosophy of the Cross they are of supreme importance.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**THE CRUX OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM:** By Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, M. A. Published by Watts & Co., London. Cloth 3s 6d.

Dr. Paranjpye is a thoroughgoing rationalist and a thoroughgoing nationalist also. He has his country's good at his heart and has no time to show respect to persons or institutions if they seem to stand in the way of India's welfare. He has examined the problems with the probe of reason and gone straight to their heart. He has made the current views and practices of religions mostly responsible for our national ills. As to the communal strife he has rightly pointed out that "it is only by lessening the hold of religion and increasing the hold of reason and common sense that the problem of communal strife in India can be effectively solved," (p. 48.) We should only add that not religion as such but communal religions as practised are the stumbling-block in the way of our progress. The author is not unaware of the fact that "the present Government cannot be entirely exonerated from the charge of having done little to assuage communal strife" because "the division among Indians is useful in retaining foreign rule," (p. 55). The author is also true when he asserts that "many persons, not in India alone, while holding thoroughly rationalist views, often conceal them and lead their fellows to think that they share the prevailing opinions on religious matters," (p. 114). This crime of hypocrisy, however unwittingly committed, does more mischief than the popularity of the leader or the false national glorification of the followers is expected to make good.

It is not without reason that Dr. Paranjpye has laid all the blame, at least a major portion of it, at the door of the other-worldly outlook of popular religions for our worldly setback. So the author has advised his countrymen to cultivate an "attitude which looks to the present and the future rather than to the past (which is a besetting sin of our character) which cares for the bodies and minds of the people in this life rather than for the salvation of their souls after death, and



which sets the good of mankind before any fancied commands of supernatural beings, that India can permanently attain the place that is her due," (p. 56.) We recommend the book to our countrymen. One need not agree with all the details of the book, but its standpoint must be thoroughly understood and taken into consideration because that way lies the salvation of the country.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

### PALI

DHAMMAPADAM, with the Pali text, Sanskrit *Chhaya* and Hindi translation. Translated by Mahapandita Tripitakacharya Rahula Samkṛityayana. Mahabodhi Granthamala No. I. Published by Brahmachari Derapriya, B. A., Chief Secretary, Mahabodhi Sabha, Rishipatan, Sarnath, Benares. Crown 8vo. i-x+1-200. Price Ten annas only.

Extreme paucity of translations of Pali texts in Indian vernaculars and even of editions of these texts

in Indian scripts—specially in Devanagari—is a keenly felt general complaint of Indian students taking up the study of Pali. It will therefore be a great relief to find that the Mahabodhi Sabha of Benares is going to start a series in which Hindi translations of Pali works presumably along with the original texts in Devanagari will be published. The first number of the series which has come out recently is the Dhammapada—the *Bhagavadgita* of the Buddhists. Besides the text in Devanagari and its translation in Hindi, the edition contains also what is called a Sanskrit *Chhaya* which will go a great way in making the thing intelligible to Sanskritists who are innocent of Hindi. The glossary of philosophical terms appended to the volume is highly useful as it clears up the sense of many a technical word of Buddhist philosophy. But there are still some words left in the text which require elucidation before they can be fully understood. The printing and get-up of the volume is handsome.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## CHINA'S TROUBLES





## ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

AT Nineveh there is nothing to see except the vast mounds extending in all directions. Of "ruins" or "remains" there is now nothing visible to the eye. Besides the main site there are the mounds on which are the mosques dedicated to the Prophets, "Nebi Yunus" and "Nebi Sheet." These are probably equally old sites and will some day perhaps reveal more chapters of Assyrian

continuance of such vandalism and the work that is going on now in about thirty sites, is being done on modern lines.

At Khorsabad we saw portions of Sargon's palace being unearthed, including the "Bathroom," described as such in view of the ashes and signs of scorching of the walls—probably done by the destroyers of the ancient city. Many fragments, human-bull portals and a tall pillar of cedar wood covered with bronze

plaques have been discovered. The publication of the bronze plaques may throw a new light on the career of the Assyrian, Sargon.

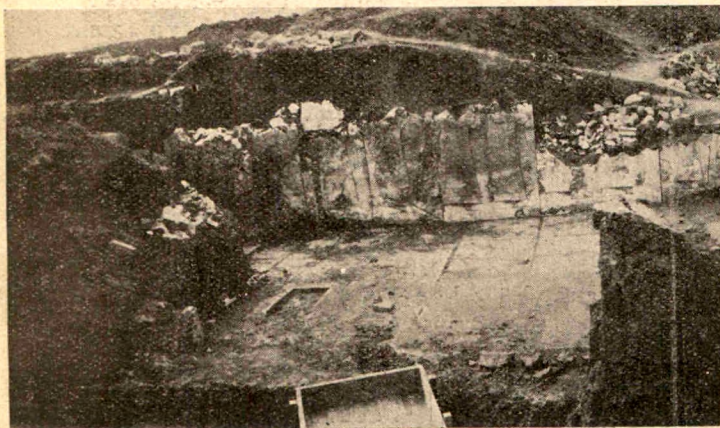
\* \* \*

We left Mosul before dawn. The drive out of the town and into the hills surrounding the city, under the star-lit sky of the desert, was uneventful excepting for a feeling that now the return journey had really begun. The bright lights of the trans-continental railway station enhanced the feeling. But for a sudden change in the programme, our tour would

have been extended into Asia Minor and European Turkey through the gates of that self-same station.

Dawn found us at a small wayside inn. After a short halt for tea etc., we went on. Soon a large inn with a settlement of some kind was reached. This place was called Kala Shergat. From the profusion of sign-boards in English and Arabic, tables laden with tea and refreshments, the raucous music from an ancient gramophone etc., we made out that we had reached a place of some importance. Here we had some more tea and then again proceeded on the journey.

Very soon we found the car making a slow ascent of a hill-side path, more fit for

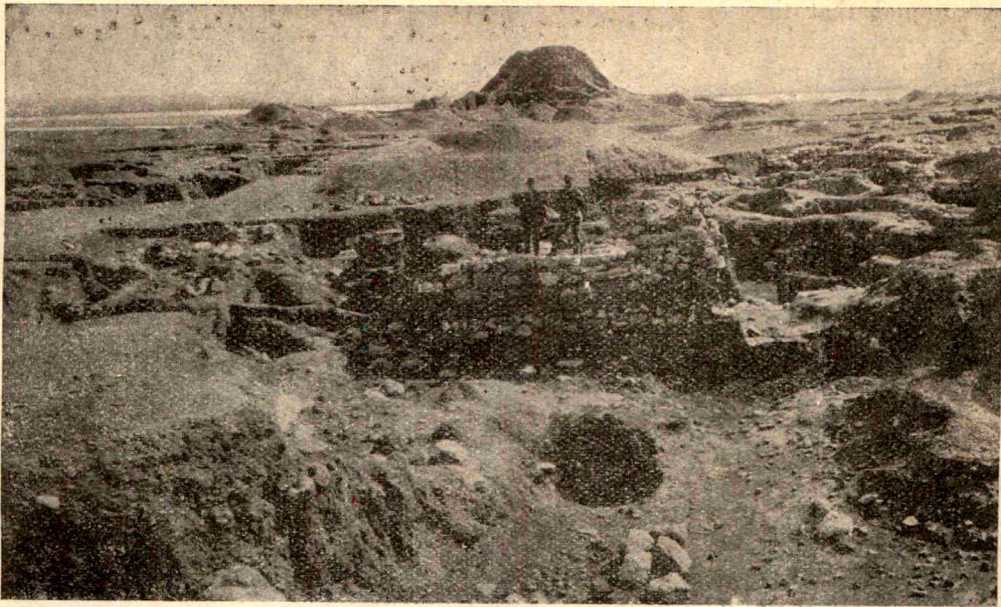


Khorsabad. Sargon's Bath

*By courtesy Samlirya*

history, when the country has progressed far enough to permit excavation in soil sacred in the eye of the people. Meanwhile, it is as well that religious considerations have prevented such attempts so far, for at Nineveh and many other such sites, the methods used by the hunters of archaeological treasures can only be described as robbery with violence. There has been no consideration for the frail remains, no attempt at restoration, nor any to prevent wanton destruction. All the work done was in the nature of tunnelling and quarrying for loot—sanctified by the term archaeology—to be carried off and hoarded in foreign museums. Luckily present conditions have enforced dis-





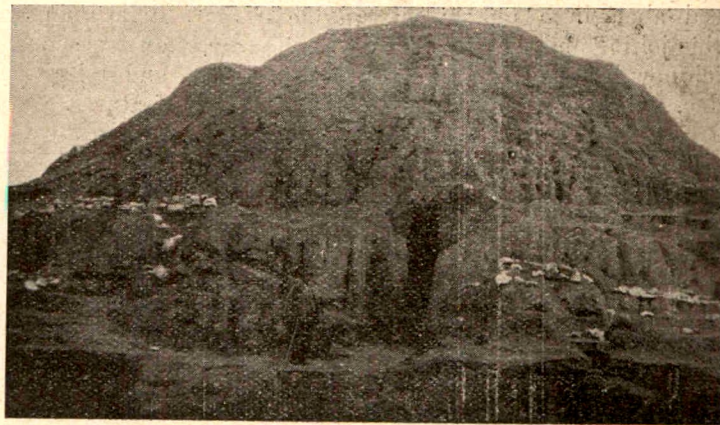
Assur. General view

*By courtesy Samhiry*

the passage of goats and mules than that of a large six-cylinder Fiat. After the climb we reached the broad shoulder of a hill covered with excavations and a Ziggurat at the further end. The further end overlooks the river, which assumes the proportions of a lake at this spot due to the dam thrown across the bend by the Assyrian engineers.

This is no place to describe the glories of ancient Assur. The excavations show clearly enough what a mighty fortress-city she was and how wealthy and great. It further illustrates how little change there has been in the planning of cities during the passage of three milleniums and what little average progress has been made in the building of human habitations. Needless to say, whatever was transportable has been removed, still one is thankful that at least the rifled grave of the city remains more or less intact.

The remains show that the houses were mostly of rectangular shape with drains visi-



Assur. The Ziggurat

*By courtesy Samhiry*

ble in some instances, as well as pits for the kitchen and other rubbish. The main road traversed the town in almost a straight line, the Ziggurat being at the other end. The material used in construction was mostly sun-baked bricks. Fired bricks were used in the case of the dwellings of the wealthy etc. Stone was also used in outer walls.

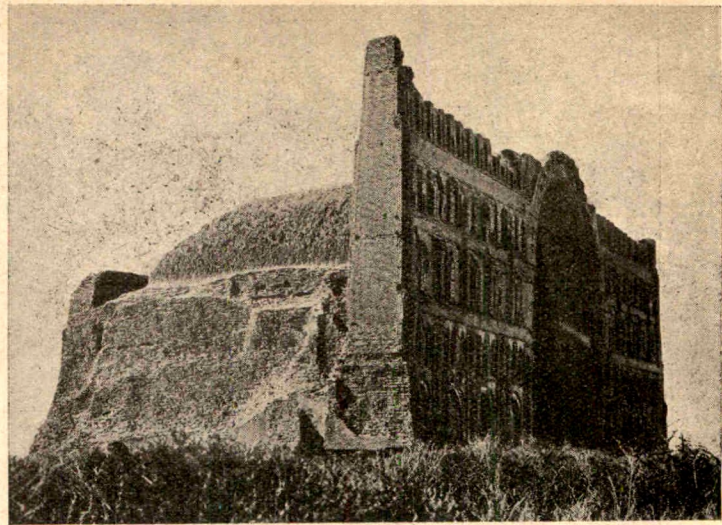
We had to leave our inspection in a hurry as the driver pointed to the sun and his wrist watch repeatedly—meaning that it was



getting late and that the sun of the Mesopotamian desert was not to be trifled with

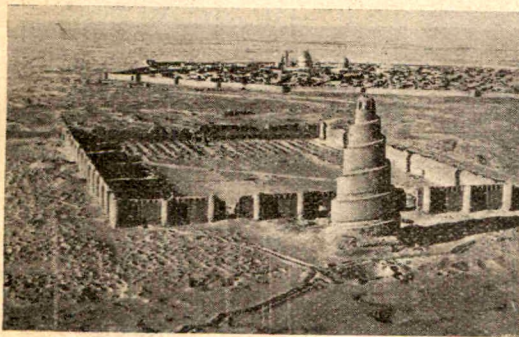
\* \* \*

The pace was fast and furious soon after we left Assur. The speedometer indicated 95-100 kilometers most of the time. The road itself was impassable for the simple reason that all the top dressing and filling had come out leaving only the skeleton in the shape of huge jagged rocks jutting out of the bed in the form of a vast chevaux-de-frise. Only near bridges and culverts some sort of repair had been done to the approaches. But our driver, nothing daunted, drove along the fields by the side, keeping up the speed by sheer quickness of hand and eye. Needless to say the passengers and the luggage were flung and tossed about in a unholy mix-up due to the terrific jolting and twisting about of the car, which now behaved like a mad broncho at a Rodeo. Once the driver overlooked a sudden



Ctesiphon forty years ago

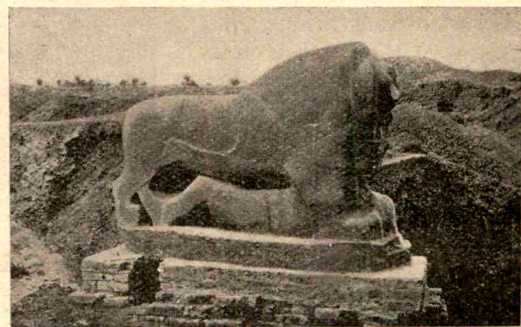
heat was now intense and gusts of wind laden with scorching hot sand, gave us a taste of what 'lashing with scorpions' meant. Leaving Beije Point we plunged into the desert proper, an occasional glimpse of the railway track and telegraph posts being the only relieving features.



Samara

descent into a valley with the result that we shot down at a terrific speed, disaster being avoided by the desperate expedient of de-clutching, clutching and throwing into gear—the car shrieking as if its vitals were being torn out.

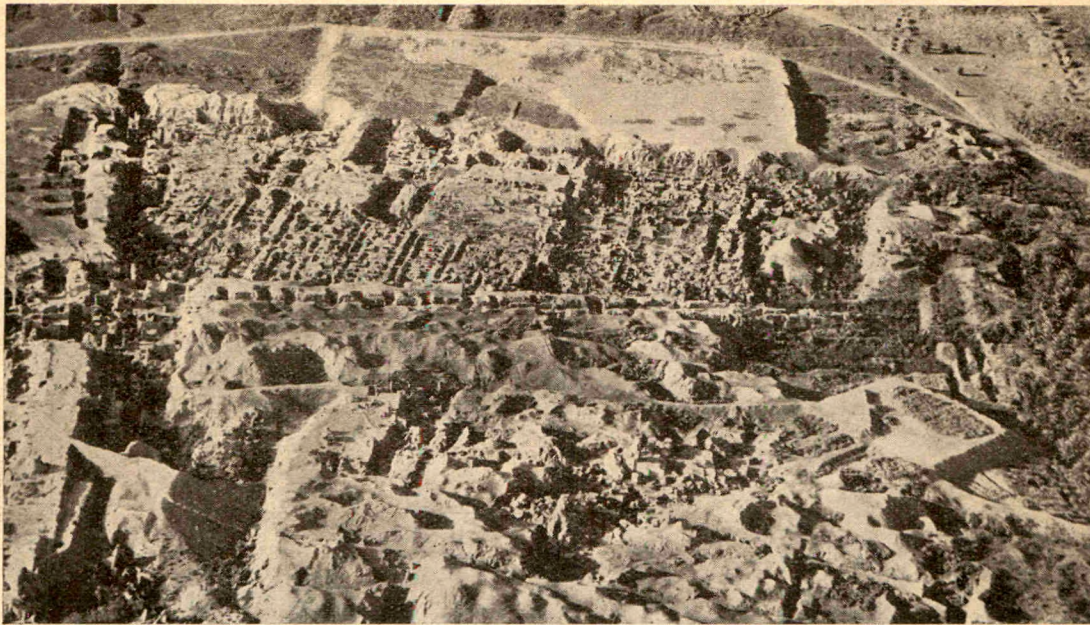
We stopped at the desert railway terminus of Beije Point for a hurried meal and terrific draughts of tea, soda, lemonade, etc. The



Babylon. The Lion of Babylon

Towards noon the heat became terrible. We were being roasted alive, attempts at fending off the attack by wet towels, etc., were futile. Gusts and blasts of scorching hot wind assailed us from every quarter and soon these developed into a regular sand-storm in all its magnificent fury. The Lord of Storms was in a sportive mood and the desert became His play-ground. Whirling





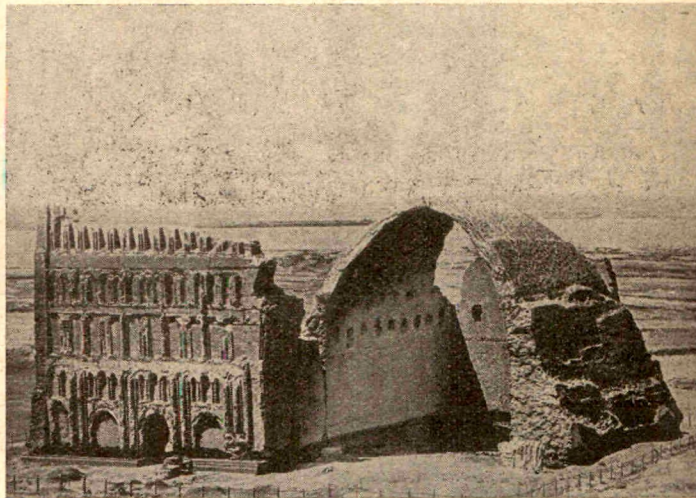
Babylon. Aerial view

*By courtesy R. A. F.*

pillars of sand soaring up to the skies, raced across the terrain, the sky was covered with a grey canopy pierced by shafts of golden light.

The car raced on through all this. The driver only slackening when visibility became nil, and in this manner we reached Samara. The Ziggurat Tomb and the flashing domes and minarets of the Holy City looked an inviting sight across the river, but we had neither the time nor the energy to go across. After about half-an-hour's rest we proceeded on our way and reached Baghdad shortly after 1-30 P. M. We had left Mosul at 3-30 A. M. and had spent about four hours in halts at various places, thus covering over 300 miles in less than seven hours' actual running time.

We spent the afternoon and the night at Baghdad. Next morning after taking leave of all our friends we left for Babylon by car. Ctesiphon we had already seen—this once magnificent pile being now a grim skeleton

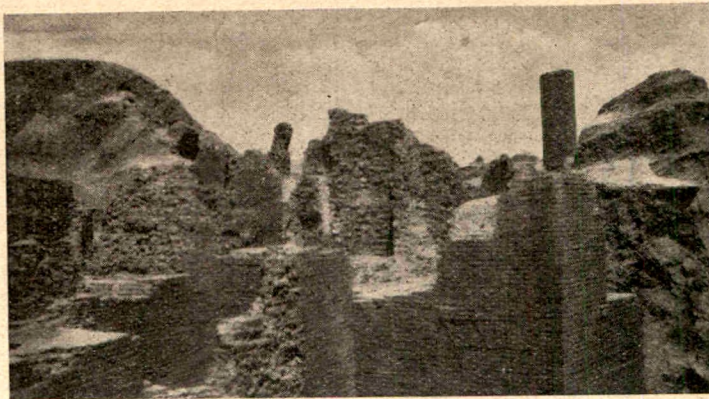


Ctesiphon. Present condition

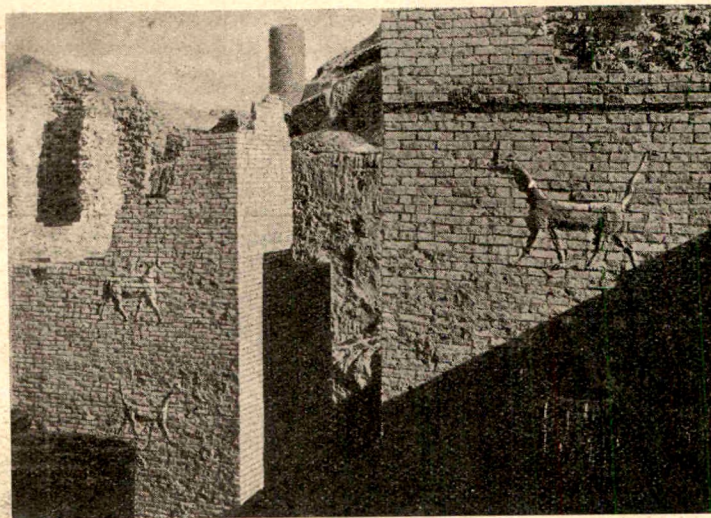
only. The actual damage in recent years being caused by brick pilferage and the consequent undermining of the structure. Now the arch and one portion of the facade is all that is left of this world-famed palace of the Sassanian kings.

We visited Babylon in a broiling hot day. The vast ruins with temples and palaces

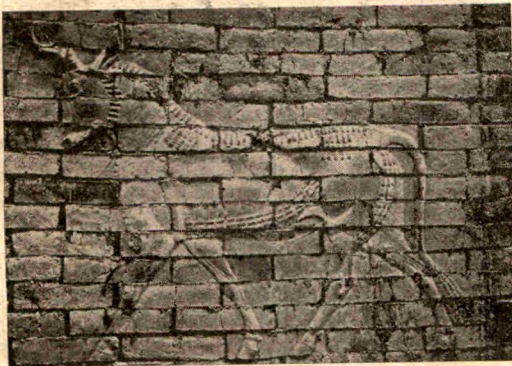




Babylon. Part of palace ruins



Babylon. The temple of Marduk



Babylon. The Ishtar Gate

have had most movables removed, but yet there is sufficient material *in situ* to impress one with the grandeur of this city that once stood as a synonym for opulence and splendour. The larger brick structures were mainly cemented together with bitumen and the size of the bricks were that of large tiles, which are the only items that struck one as being different from modern practice. Otherwise, this city of four milleniums past gives one the same impression as any Eastern city of today in its older portions.

An adequate description of Babylon is impossible within the scope of this itinerary,





Babylon. The excavations

besides being presumptuous on the part of the writer considering the short period of the visit. The temple of Marduk, Ishtar Gate, the "Hanging Gardens," the "Lion of Babylon," and all the other show places were seen in a hurry and then we left in the car

to make an attempt to catch the train to Basra at Dewaniyeh, 70 miles away. Arriving there we were told that the train had left about 10 minutes before and that there was no prospect of another train for the next twenty-four hours.

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

1933  
Miss PADMAVATI of Karnatak passed the Prayakar (Hindi Honours) Examination of the Panjab University from the Kanya Gurukul at Derha Dun, being placed third in the first class in order of merit. She is the first lady of Southern India to obtain this distinction.

As a young widow of twelve MRS. SITABAI Annigeri began her alphabet in Prof. Karve's Widows' Home, Poona in 1905. She took her G. A. degree of the Indian Women's University in 1922. Immediately after her graduation she resolved to dedicate her life in the cause of women's education and became a life-worker of the Hindu Widows' Home Association, Poona. In 1925, her services were lent to the Women's University and she was placed in charge of the University's school in Bombay, which she succeeded in developing into a High School with 275 girls.

While she was yet a student at the College in Poona, she got the opportunity of going round the world with the family party of the late Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey as lady Thackersey's companion. During their short sojourn in America Mrs. Annigeri first got a strong desire to return to America as a student. Her desire came to be singularly fulfilled when the Mills College, California, U.S.A., offered her



Miss Padmavati





Mrs. Sitabai Annigeri

a scholarship in response to a request from Prof. Karve to offer opportunities to a student of the Women's University to study at Mills. Mrs. Annigeri was admitted at Mills as a senior



Miss Manorama Mehta

student being given two years' credit for her studies in India. She got her B.A. degree in Home Economics as a major subject, being required to study human physiology, dietetics, nutrition, etc.

MISS MANORAMA MEHTA, the daughter of Pandit Krishnaram Mehta, the Managing Editor of *The Leader*, passed the B.A. examination of Allahabad University. She is now studying for the M.A. degree in English in the same University.

MISS KARUNAKANA GUPTA and Miss ASOKA SEN have passed the M.A. Examination of Dacca University in History and Sanskrit respectively, both standing first in order of merit.



Miss Karunakana Gupta

MISS BHADRA MEHTA, G.A., is the first Gujarati lady to pass the P.A. examination with painting as the special subject from the Indian Women's University of Poona. The photograph shows her with some examples of her works.

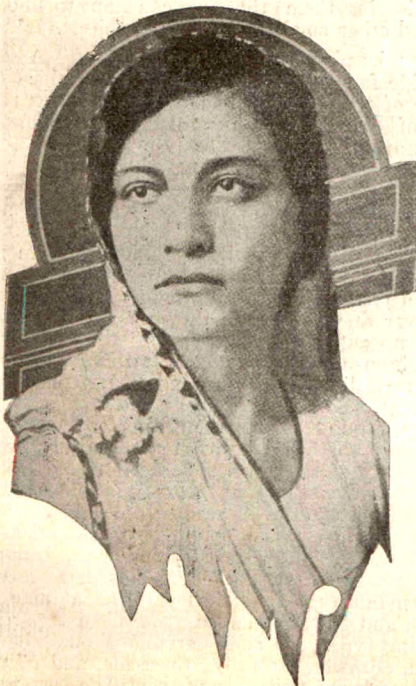




Miss Bhadra Mehta

Miss GULBAI KUYERJI KERAMWALA, a Parsi lady of Bombay, has obtained the Government Diploma in Auditing and Accountancy.

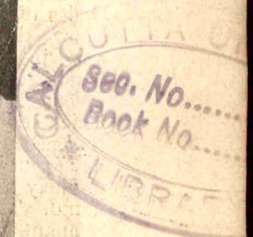
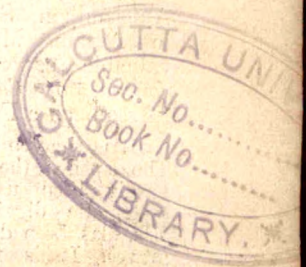
Miss ZEBUNNISA KHAN has passed the B.A. examination with Sanskrit as the second language.



Miss Gulbai Kuverji Keramwala



Miss Zebunnisa Khan







## INDIAN PERIODICALS



### Assam as a Field for Research

A Research Society (The Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti) has recently been started in Assam. Mr. J. P. Mills has contributed a valuable paper in the Society's journal, *The Journal of the Assam Research Society*, on "Assam as a Field for Research." He writes :

It is time to turn for a moment to dumb records. The spade, the chief tool of the archaeologist has hardly been used in research in Assam. What systematic digging there has been on ancient sites has, alas, been done with the object of looting ancient graves. It is rumoured that rich treasure has, in the past, been stolen from the tombs of the Ahom kings at Charaideo, an irreparable loss to Assam. It is time systematic excavations were undertaken. This does not mean the employment of costly armies of diggers ; they would be impossible to supervise, the objects they exposed could not all be noted, and the money and labour would be wasted. A keen man with two labourers whose every spadeful he watched could accomplish much during a short stay on a site. Fortunately excavation in Assam is not as complicated as it is in the Middle East. There is no evidence here of the building of successive towns on the same sites throughout the ages. There is, therefore, no question of distinguishing and interpreting different culture strata. Nor is there any evidence that potsherds, far the most valuable archaeological evidence in many parts of the world, will tell us anything here. It is probable that pottery in Assam has always been plain and uniform, with no distinctive types belonging to different periods. This might be conveniently tested by sinking trial pits through a thick deposit of broken pottery that lies near the salt wells situated near Serispur in Hailakandi subdivision. This deposit has probably taken an immense time to accumulate.

Both the traditions and physical characteristics of some of the hill tribes make it pretty certain that the earliest inhabitants of Assam were of Negrito stock. The spade is not likely to reveal anything of these wandering folk, but they have left behind them an immense number of stone celts, probably the blades of digging sticks. These are found on or just below the surface and differ in a most interesting way in different areas of the Province. Were the Samiti to let it be known that any found would be welcome, a series would gradually be built up from which it would be possible to work out links with Burma and elsewhere. Though Negritos seem to have survived till comparatively recent times it is unlikely that any of their physical remains will be found. There is a strong tradition, however, that the remnants of the race were blocked into a cave near Haflong by a Kachari king. The site has never been revealed, but if it could be found it would be worth investigating.

### Assam—a Field of Archæological Interest

Mr. J. P. Mills then proceeds :

In dealing with more recent times the spade is an essential aid to research. There are tantalizing stories current of great walled towns buried deep in trackless jungle. Any clue of this kind should be followed up. Even the wonderful monuments of Dimapur lay forgotten for centuries. But apart from unknown sites Assam is rich in ruins which have never been properly cleared. There are, for example, the Kachari sites of Maibong and Khaspur. With spade and axe they could be cleared to enable a survey to be made. Not only should we thus learn how the towns were laid out, but the casual finds already made show that statues, tiles, coins and possibly inscriptions would be found. This work is urgent. Not only is jungle destroying walls and buildings every year and erosion levelling out embankments, but the surviving oral tradition of the nature and use of the various enclosures will not last much longer. Many sites in Assam consist of earth works only, but they are none the less interesting on that account. For instance, there is a chain of immense forts on the Jaintia edge of the high plateau N. E. of Haflong. Who built them we do not know. All sites of towns and forts have rubbish heaps. It is these that should be most eagerly sought for it is in them that we can hope to find coins, beads and other small imperishable objects.

An archaeological characteristic of Assam of world-wide fame is its wealth of megaliths. Indeed it is one of the few places in the world where monuments of this type are still erected. Some of the old ones are of great age and interest. So covered with them is the high, sparsely populated plateau N. E. of Haflong that one dreams of a day when some of it may be turned into a National Park for the preservation for all time of the monuments and the wild animals that now roam near them at will. Among the monuments are groups of huge sandstone cists of a type unknown elsewhere. It fell to my lot to discover them... Though they were visible for miles sticking up out of the short grass they never seem to have been noticed before—a striking example of how much lies ready to hand for anyone interested in the past. Both on megaliths and rocks in Assam are often found most interesting drawings. The recording of these has been almost entirely neglected. Yet they are of the utmost interest. Not only do we find here contemporary representations of weapons etc., but from a series of records gathered from all over the province types could be distinguished and the evolution of pattern studied. For an example, I quote a cliff near Maibong. This has carved on it human figures, geometrical pattern, animals, birds, reptiles and double-handed "daos" of a particular interesting type. All such carvings should be photographed, drawn carefully to scale, and if possible have paper "squeezes" taken of them. The cost would be negligible and all records could be filed by the Sami



### Art Interests in Assam

He then goes on :

There is another task for which the aid of the camera and pencil is essential. There must exist in private hands in Assam a very large number of antiques of artistic interest,—brassware, silverware, ivory carvings, etc. There is good reason to believe, for instance, that only within the last fifteen years some of the insignia of the Ahom kings were melted down by the person into whose possession they had come. Such a crime can claim no forgiveness, but the loss would not have been so irreparable had a record first been made of these precious relics. I would suggest that the Samiti beg all private owners to allow any antiques of artistic merit in their possession to be photographed and described. There would be no loss to anyone and no expense involved, but a pictorial record of Assamese art would be built up. From time to time it might even be possible to arrange loan exhibitions of the kind so popular in England.

It is time now to turn from the dead past to the living present, not only because the present throws light on the past, but for its own intrinsic interest. For some years now the Government of Assam has financed a series of Monographs on the hill tribes of Assam known wherever ethnology is studied. Much remains to be done and will, I trust, be done, till a series of unique value has been built up. But quite apart from research among the wilder tribes there is work of the utmost importance to which I would like to draw the attention of the Kamrupa Anusandhan Samiti. Throughout the plains of Assam Hindu ceremonies are performed which differ in greater or less degree from those of other provinces. Kamakshya, for example, is a site regarded as sacred throughout the length and breadth of India. Can we not have a full description of the temple, with the date of the building of each part, and a picture of the ceremonial both past and present? Or again there are the great Gossains of the Majuli. Their disciples number thousands, but nowhere have we a picture of their mode of life, the beliefs they hold, the buildings they inhabit, or the ceremonial connected with them. Offerings have poured in for countless years and one's mouth waters at the thought of the relics of past ages they must have brought. Could not some keen, skilled researchers portray and describe the precious things in their possession? It is not good enough to say "It will do later." Ceremonial changes, and antiques are destroyed or lost. Now is the time for study. Similarly with the village festivals throughout Assam. Years go by and they remain undescribed. For such research clear descriptions, photographs and drawings are required to be placed in the safe keeping of the Samiti. It is fatal to wait till there is money available for publication. The first step is to collect and preserve the material. Money for publication will come all in good time.

### Folk-lore in Assam

As regards the importance of folk-lore, Mr. Mills writes :

Of this there is a priceless store in Assam. It is not often realized how far these tales have spread. Pliny, for example, clearly refers to Assam in one of his stories. Or again, part

of a tale current to-day in Assam was recorded in Egypt about 1,300 B. C. Yet again an identical story, save for necessary alterations in the animals taking part, is found among the Sema Nagas of Assam and the Lapps of N.-W. Europe. These examples show the interesting questions of distribution that arise in the study of folk-lore. I am aware that some work has been done on the folk tales of Assam, but efforts should be made to collect every tale and every variation of a tale. Delay will be fatal, for the modern schoolboys and University students have no ears for the lore handed down by former generations, and old tales will soon be forgotten. Once again, let them be recorded with full details of the sources from which they were obtained, and handed on to the Samiti to be filed. They will thus be saved from oblivion and the day will come when it will be possible to publish them.

### The New Ideal

*The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* publishes a thoughtful article by Walter Lippmann on "Social Revolution." The paper comments on it editorially as follows :

It is his contention that this is the first revolutionary age in which the masses of men have consciously participated in government directly or indirectly. Notwithstanding dictatorships in certain countries, it is Mr. Lippmann's contention that the opinion of the masses is having a greater effect upon politicians and officials than ever before in the world's history.

In the past men have felt that they were the victims of destiny. Today men are determined to see that they become masters of destiny. In the past we have depended upon slow and unconscious growth to bring about a change in the social order. Deliberate foresight and purposeful action has been almost negligible. This will not do any longer. Modern man will not wait for things to happen to him, he proposes to plan for the present and the future.

But will man plan wisely? Not unless passion and self-interest give way to benevolent intelligence. Mr. Lippmann points out that there is a wide discrepancy between our ideals and our actual accomplishment, we can see a better world than we are able to construct. Modern man, therefore, must make a special effort to bring the actual into line with the ideal.

The new ideal of the present generation is an ordered society. If an ordered society is to come into existence, the old ideal of rugged individualism must give way to the new ideal of the good of the whole. The welfare of the masses must henceforth be considered of greater value than individual freedom. It is Mr. Lippmann's contention that the appearance in our day of this ideal of an ordered society is but the re-birth of an old and deep instinct in man for the unity of society. Rugged individualism is of recent appearance, has had its day, and must now give way to something better—a planned social order.

### Triumph of Non-violence

In the same paper Mr. G. P. Wishard writes :

I am not yet persuaded that violence must ultimately be used to bring about a just social order.

It seems to be hopeless to sow the seeds of violence and expect to reap the fruits of social justice. I must admit that violence can bring about change, can turn society over, can take power from one small group and give it to another small group. But is this social justice? Has there ever been a case in history when a much-needed reform could not have been brought about except by the use of violence? The abolition of slavery in the United States seems at first sight to have been such a case, but there are many sound students who believe that the same end could have been attained without the bloody Civil War provided the abolitionists had been wiser in their strategy.

Here in India I am convinced beyond doubt that Gandhi has served his country far more wisely and effectively by advocating and himself using only non-violent measures than if he had advocated violence. It is the success of his methods which has deepened my conviction that from the practical, realistic point of view methods of producing social, political and economic change which deliberately stop short of the use of violence upon opponents are far more effective in producing justice in the long run than methods which deliberately include the use of guns and bloodshed.

I want to be a realist, that is, I want to face frankly the facts of life. And here is one of the facts I feel I must face—Gandhi has accomplished far, far more by his non-violent methods than any Indian patriot has by the use of violence. This is not guess work, not unrealistic dreaming; in India we know that non-violence has been a much more powerful weapon for bringing about a new day for India than violence would have been. In view of this present-day astounding actual achievement of love, sacrifice and non-violent resistance, how dare we say that by the use of violence only will a just society be established? It seems to me that the advocates of violence are the ones who are unrealistic, the ones who will not face the facts of life, namely, that violence always defeats itself.

### Girls' Education

India's slow progress is due to the scanty attention she is paying to girls' education. Mr. F. L. Brayne, I.C.S., makes the following observations on girls' education in India in *The Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal*:

No country in the world can afford two schools in every village, least of all poor India. In every village I visit I am asked in the same breath to lower the land revenue and open a second school. If you want double schools you must pay double taxes. It is unfair to put two schools into the same village when so many villages have no school at all.

Even if you could open girls' schools in the villages the supply of trained teachers is so small that it will take 25 years to staff them. Town girls will not go to village schools and if they did they would do no good as no one would understand them and their whole outlook is urban. Village girls will never be able to teach till there are schools in which they themselves can learn. Finally, inspection of girls' schools is so difficult that the standard of teaching is always far below that of boys' schools. Although however it is impossible to get trained teacheresses for village girls' schools, women can be found to teach the domestic arts and sciences and they

can in a course lasting a few months learn all that they should be able to teach the village girls about health, hygiene, infant welfare, sewing, knitting, and all the other domestic subjects, whereas the training of a certificated teacher will take many years in the present state of the village women.

We are forced to this conclusion then that the only possible way of spreading education among the women is to send the little girls with their little brothers to the village primary schools where they will learn the three R's from the schoolmaster and the domestic subjects from his wife or some other female relative. When the children are too big for the mixed school the girls will go to girls' middle schools and the boys to boys' middle schools in different villages. This is done in every other country in the world and in some parts of India as well and is the natural and normal arrangement for all villages.

To train teachers' female relatives domestic schools will have to be established in every district as soon as the demand is strong enough. These trained women will be centres of light and instruction for our village women and will start adult classes and will have regular meetings for grown-up women where they will read to them and teach them how to make and mend clothes and other such domestic arts and crafts and thereby lay the foundations of Women's Institutes, which are one of the most powerful agencies of rural uplift yet devised, and will soon spread among our villages when trained women begin to join our village schools. Another great advantage of mixed primary schools with mixed staff is that these women will soon begin to take the infants' classes, both boys and girls, and thereby relieve the male teachers of their most difficult and thankless task—and one for which very few men are endowed by nature with any capacity at all. Women are the natural teachers of the very young and the sooner they do so in our village schools the better both for the infants and the teachers and the older boys who now suffer from the extra attention the masters have to pay to the infants.

Boys' education has been going fifty years and the village is no better for it. It is probably dirtier and is certainly less moral and well behaved than it was fifty years ago. Give the women a chance now of putting right what the men have failed to do. Whenever I ask a man "Why do your children wear ornaments? Why are they not vaccinated? he always answers "My wife compels me to do these things." Then give your wives the chance of learning how to run their homes and bring up their children and see how soon they will put your villages right.

Taking four tests of civilization as cleanliness, the position given to women, intelligence applied to work and the use of spare time and money I do not see any very great improvement during the 27 years I have been in and out of the Panjab villages. I am certain, and I think everyone else who has studied it is also certain, that one of the biggest reasons for the slow progress we are making is our failure to educate the women. Let us then remedy this defect without any further delay.

### The New Point of View in Education

Mr. Haridas T. Mazumdar indicates the line of research to be carried on in the academical institutions in India in *The Educational Review* thus:

I have not the slightest doubt that there are in our country many scholars who could competently discuss the evolution of the English language from the days of the Anglo-Saxon Beowulf to Chaucer, and from the days of Chaucer to the Victorian period, and from the Victorian period to the days of Mr. George Bernard Shaw. I should like to know how many of these "distinguished"—distinguished is within quotation marks—distinguished scholars could tell us anything about the evolution of the Sanskrit language from its Vedic prototype to the Sanskrit of Kalidasa and Bana, or the evolution of Prakrit from Sanskrit—or is it *vice versa*?—or the evolution of the Indo-Aryan languages of the day from the Sanskrit with the interplay of the Arabic and Persian. Who could tell us the exact date when the Marathi literature began to grow up out of the Sanskrit? Has anyone of our countrymen made a study of the comparative—and parallel, if any—tendencies in Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and Hindi languages and literature? What was the state of the Indian language when Muhammad Ghori invaded India? Did Megasthenes know Sanskrit? Through what language did the Moors transact their business with the Indian merchants before our land was visited by the Westerners? What was the state of the theatre in the pre-Muslim period? What was its state during the Mughal period?

The number of such pertinent questions is legion. I have merely suggested these few by way of illustration. If you would understand your own country you must properly understand and appreciate its linguistic problems. The rôle of the religious teacher, especially in South India, in the reformation of the language of the region, is most interesting. And nowadays the rôle of the political leader in the coining of new phrases and idioms and enriching the indigenous literature demands the earnest attention of students.

These should be the subjects for research in our institutions of higher learning, not the outlandish problems of the evolution of the English language. Speaking of subjects for research, I wonder if anyone has ever seriously thought of assigning as a topic for doctoral dissertation "The Present Methods of Teaching Indian History and its effects."

The study of Indian history in India is in a most deplorable state of affairs. Into the Indian boy or girl is instilled a sub-conscious inferiority complex by our English teachers and their parrot-like Indian subordinates. In surveying the entire field of education throughout the world, I can find no problem that needs more radical changes than the teaching of Indian history in India. The study of history in India is tantamount to an acceptance of the partial and specialized point of view of our rulers with reference to the objective facts of the past. This is not the only vitiating limitation: history is supposed to have nothing to do with the present realities of the Indian scene or of the world scene. Here in America and over in Europe the students are asked to study present trends and events in the social, political, economic and international fields of human activities and endeavours. Divorced from the realities of the present, the Indian student is expected to grow up into a worthy citizen of the morrow.

#### France and India

Cultural relationship between India and France can be traced back from the days of

Montaigne. Dr. Kalidas Nag makes an estimate of the French-Indian cultural *entente* in *India and the World*:

As early as 1687, a Frenchman, La Loubere, carried from Siam to Europe a set of Hindu astronomical tables which passed from hand to hand as a sort of astronomical curiosity until they were explained by Cassini, the most eminent astronomer of his age. In 1769, M. Le Gentil visited India for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus and communicated an account of the astronomy of the Hindus to the French Academy in 1773. In 1775 was published that memorable book on the "History of astronomy from its origin to the establishment of the Alexandrine school" in which the author, M. Bailly, a contemporary of Laplace, Lagrange and D'Alembert, stoutly maintained the excellence and antiquity of Hindu astronomy. In 1787, just two years before the out-break of the great French Revolution and a year before the publication of the first number of the *Asiatic Researches* of Sir William Jones, M. Bailly published a systematic history of Hindu astronomy.

A little before, and several years before the discovery of the Sanskrit language by Wilkins and Sir William Jones, an intrepid French explorer, Anquetil du Perron, was busy collecting and carrying to Europe some of the earliest scriptures of the Hindus and the Iranians: authentic fragments of the Vedic and the Avestan literature. He translated the Avesta in 1771 and published in 1803, the Persian translation of the Upanishads (*Opnikhat*) made under the supervision of Prince Dara Shuko, the great-grand son of Akbar. France was the first of the European nations to establish *Chairs* on Oriental languages and culture: Silvestre de Sacy (1806-38), an authority on Sassanid inscriptions and Greco-Pehlevi texts, was the chief of Orientalism in France who lived to see the foundation of the Chair of *Sanskrit*, under Chézy (1814-32) and *Chinese* under Remusat (1814-32) and the Chair of *Oriental archaeology* under the immortal Champollion (1831-32) in the Collège de France whose 400th anniversary was recently celebrated. Prof. Sylvain Levi has recounted in detail the history of this cultural contact between India and France in his brilliant communication: *L'Entrée du Sanskrit au Collège de France*.

#### Fords' Plan for the Next Age

Dr. J. M. Kumarappa writes in *The Indian Review*:

This great problem of the millions of persons now suffering for lack of employment, Mr. Ford thinks, can be met by his new scheme. "The use of the land," he asserts, "is the best form of unemployment insurance. It insures against unemployment and that is sound protection. The farmer and the land are what I mean by fundamentals. The land supports life; industry helps the man to make the land support him. When it ceases to do that and supplants the land, and the land is forgotten and man turns to the machine for sustenance, we find out that we do not live off the work of our hands but off the fruits of the soil. The soil is the source of wealth, not the banks." Mr. Ford has all along been the pioneer in advocating high wages in order to increase the consuming power of the worker. But now, one may ask, would not his new scheme of part-time work on the farm and the industry bring in less money and, consequently,



lessen the purchasing power of the worker? How then are the factory products to be sold?

Mr. Ford himself is not clear as to the direction in which society is moving, but he sees in the present crisis an unmistakable warning to industry. He professes not to be interested in how our system of living can be arranged and continued to support the automobile industry or any other industry, for that matter, but rather in how industry as a whole can be adjusted to life without crushing it. "We have reached a point," declares Henry Ford, "where living is the big thing to millions and a living does not include an automobile. You ask what will be the effect on industry of a condition in which people will only make a living; the effect will be simply that people will live without business or industry. They are partly doing that now. Anything will serve instead of money wages to purchase the products of industry, or life can go on without the products of factories. Life can live without business. A system which exalts moving pictures and motor cars to the chief place and also the command of capital, cannot be righted without changing this ascendancy...."

While this back-to-the-land movement in some of the States, emphasizes Ford's idea of getting a living from the soil, it has not as yet put into effect his idea of uniting agriculture and industry which, he maintains, this movement must do. Mr. Henry Ford has no use for the city. To him a city is a bloated mammoth which makes an unnecessary problem out of its unnecessary size. He only envisages an industrialized countryside with electrically operated factories surrounded by electrified farms. Though his plan intends bringing people back to the farm, yet there is no idea of making them compete with those who are already on the farm. This redistribution will, of course, reduce the city markets in point of buyers, but it will increase the purchasing power of the remaining buyers. Further, since there is no profit to-day in producing wheat, potatoes or live stock, the shifting of workers away from the city will result in no immediate hardship to the large scale farmer. Many of these city workers on the farm will join only the increasing number of general farmers who will be content to grow enough for their own needs plus a minimum surplus to provide funds for the limited number of items of cash expenditure. "In fact," says Mr. Ford, "the established farmers, instead of suffering from new competition, would be aided through a reduction of the welfare taxes they are now obliged to pay to help in the maintenance of the unemployed."

### Is All-India Federation At All Necessary?

Mr. G. Janikiramayya sums up his arguments in his valuable paper on "All-India Federation and Problem of Indian States" in *The Calcutta Review* as follows:

The process of weakening the Federal Government of India may be said to begin with the separation of capacities of Viceroy and Governor-General in Council. The White Paper says, "Except to the extent to which the Ruler of a State has transferred powers and jurisdiction whether by his instrument of accession or otherwise and in the case of a State which has not acceded to the Federation, in all respects the relations of the State will be with the Crown

represented by the Viceroy and not with the Crown represented by the Governor-General as executive head of the Federal Government. Accordingly all powers of the Crown in relation to the States which are at present exercised by the Governor-General in Council, other than those which fall with the Federal sphere, will after Federation be exercised by the Viceroy as the Crown's representative." Thus there will be always a third party besides the Federation and its component parts, *viz.*, the British Crown acting through the Agency of the Viceroy. That this constitution will give rise to great difficulties must be quite obvious to any politician or statesman. Under the pretext of controlling the relations of the Crown with the rulers of the States the Viceroy as a distinct functionary will be exercising in perpetuity subtle and potent powers in the constitution of India, thus driving a permanent wedge in the body politic and guaranteeing the effective sway of British Imperialism in India for all time. Thus this creation of triple authority in a Federation will be an anomaly in Federalism and it would negative the right of India to full Dominion Status. Moreover, the Princes demand the protection of the Crown in case of trouble from their subjects as though there were forces at the command of the Viceroy as distinguished from the Governor-General. The fantastic nature of this supposition will be apparent the moment one remembers that defence is a Federal subject though at present reserved to the Governor-General. Apart from the military aspect, the partial character of Indian Federation takes for granted the continuance of their dependence on the Crown for all non-federal matters, so that their allegiance will be divided between the Viceroy and the Federal Government of India. Constitutionally therefore, there will be hereafter two parallel sources of authority in India.

In view of all these difficulties I do not see any reason why the Federation should be forced. If Federation is to be a fact it must be recognized by all parties with a full realization of all its implications. A hasty attempt at a formal Federation may postpone actual Federation. "Federate in haste, repent at leisure." Therefore, unless the Indian States are willing to come in recognizing firstly that their representatives in the Federal Legislature must be elected representatives of the people of Indian States, secondly that the fundamental rights of citizenship should be granted to the people statutorily and thirdly that they must submit in the ultimate resort to the sovereignty of the Federal Parliament in all matters agreed to be federal and in these respects there can be no difference between Indian provinces and the Indian States, I prefer not to force a Federation but to seek for a Dominion Status Constitution for British India alone.

### Development of the Chest

The following occurs in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

The proper time for the development of the chest is in childhood and youth. The best of all means for increasing the chest capacity is running and active sports of all sorts. Climbing, going up and down stairs, and all kinds of exercises which produce strong breathing movements are effective means of chest development. Exercises of this nature are far superior to breathing exercises, so-called, of whatever

sort. Breathing exercises in which the lungs are forcibly compelled to take in more than the ordinary amount of air very soon become irksome. The effort is wholly voluntary, and the muscles soon weary. When however, a thirst for air is created by some active exercise which fills the blood with carbonic-acid gas, so that deeper and more rapid breathing is necessary to rid the body of this poisonous gas and to take in a supply of oxygen in its place, the act of breathing is no longer difficult, embarrassing, or tiresome, but is, on the other hand, a pleasure and a gratification. The impulse which comes from within, from the so-called respiratory centres, so excites the respiratory muscles that they cause the chest to execute the strongest breathing movements with the greatest ease.

Runners always have large and active chests, whereas sedentary persons have chests of limited capacity and rigid walls. When the chest is not stretched to its utmost capacity many times daily, it rapidly loses its flexibility. This is especially true after the age of thirty. In persons who have passed middle age, the rigidity of the chest is so great that there can be no considerable increase in size. By development of the respiratory muscles, the chest capacity may be to some degree increased, but the proper time for chest development is in childhood and youth.

Probably the best of all exercises for the development of the chest and breathing powers is swimming. The position of the body, the head well held back and the chest well forward, and the active movements of the arms and limbs render swimming a most efficient exercise. The contact of cold water with the skin also actively stimulates the movement of the chest.

Special breathing exercises, as well as those active muscular movements which induce a thirst for air, are beneficial to the lungs by maintaining the flexibility of the chest, strengthening the respiratory muscles, and ventilating the lungs. These movements also exercise a most extra-ordinary beneficial effect upon the stomach, liver, and other organs which lie below the diaphragm. Each time the diaphragm contracts, it gives the liver, stomach and adjacent organs a hearty squeeze, so to speak, emptying out the blood contained in these parts as one may by compression empty a moist sponge. All movements which increase the strength of the abdominal muscles are an important means of aiding and improving the breathing function.

#### Painter's Art of Ajanta

We have received and welcome the first number of the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* edited by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and Dr. Stella Kramrisch. Among the contributors to this fine issue are some of the highest authorities on Oriental Art. Below is quoted part of an article by Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy on "the painters' art in ancient India, Ajanta," which gives some idea of Hindu art criticism of those days:

Painters themselves, not only professional *citrakaras*, but also those expert royal amateurs and men about

town who prided themselves on their handling of a brush, must have discussed the arrangement of the groups of figures, the purity of the brush outlines, the different stances, the proper rendering of "loss and gain" (*ksaya-vridhhi*), and the use of shading and high lights in the suggestion of plastic relief. One can imagine that the parasite following in the train of his master sometimes allowed his eye to stumble over the hills and vales (*natonnata*) of the exuberant feminine forms. For "though the surface is flat (*animnonnata*) we see it in relief (*nimnonnata*)" (*Lankavatara Sutra*). The common people, neither expert nor exclusively pious, enjoyed the rich colours and the magnificent jewellery.

Of the monks, some averted their eyes from such representations, remembering the old proscription of "conversation pictures," or the case of Cittagutta, so called because he dwelt long years in a painted cave without ever noticing the paintings; other discussed the painters' adherence to the texts, or primarily interested in edification, were moved by the represented perfections of the Bodhisattvas, their generosity and patience. Some of the resident monks explained the meaning of the paintings to visiting laymen, like the *bhiksus* who was appointed to explain to passers by the significance of the painted "Wheel of Life" in the hall of the gate-house of Rajagirha (Divyavadana.) The hearer may even have been moved to renunciation by such representations, thinkings like Parsvanatha when he saw the painted life of Aristanemi that "I too will renounce the world."

We do not know positively who painted the pictures; the possibility of monkish workmanship is not absolutely excluded, but it is far more probable that painters permanently attached to the foundation were employed, or that a guild of painters (*citrakarasreni*) was called in, as in secular practice, the wall surface being divided into equal parts, and a share allotted to each painter. The custom of allotting equal shares to the several painters might possibly facilitate the recognition of different hands at Ajanta; but on the other hand, we have the case of an old painter who could not do as much as was expected of him. In any case we can visualize a party of expert painters at work, and with them a sprinkling of pupils acting as assistants. The wall surface has already been prepared (*parikarma*) by the application of clay and plaster, and primed (*dhavalita*). Dry pigments have been prepared in advance; now they are mixed in coconut shell cups with water. The painter first of all draws in outline, either with the hard style (*lekhani*) or with the brush (*partika*), and then applies a second wash, the outlines showing faintly through; then taking other brushes (there are several of different sizes for each colour) he fills in the colour, making the picture "bloom" (*romil*), the figures being at least partly completed before the background is coloured. When the essential colouring has been done, plastic relief is indicated by shading (*partana*) and the wiping out of high lights, and final outlines complete the work. Then certainly the painter received his remuneration including special presents: for the work is one of merit on the part of the donor, and were it done gratuitously, the merit would accrue to the painters themselves, whose proper merit consists not in gratuitous workmanship, but in honest workmanship (*sva-dharma*). Such was a living tradition!

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Is Afghanistan a Military Danger to India ?

In an article entitled "India and the Disarmament Conference," contributed to *The Asiatic Review*, Mr. F. G. Pratt, C. S. I. puts forward the view that Afghanistan is no longer a military danger to India :

When we turn to Afghanistan, the first and most important consideration is the complete change in the obligations and responsibilities of the Government of India, which has been brought about by the Afghan Treaty of 1921, establishing the complete internal and external independence of Afghanistan. Prior to that even Great Britain and the Government of India were bound by treaty engagements to protect Afghanistan from interference or attack. In a despatch of 1898, Lord George Hamilton reminded the Government of India that these engagements might possibly lay upon them the obligation of despatching a large army over their border for the defence of Afghan territory. Great Britain is no longer saddled by this obligation. The Afghan king and Government are solely responsible for their own defence and external relations, and so far have found no difficulty in meeting their responsibilities.

In 1925, when Russian and Afghan troops came into collision on the Oxus River, the dispute was quickly and easily settled, and did not, as in Mr. Gladstone's days, result in a colossal war scare and huge army credits and an addition of 10,000 British troops to the Army in India.

But the question to be examined here is the probability or danger of aggression by Afghanistan upon India.

The extract from Mr. Merk's paper on Afghanistan, which stands at the head of this article, was written in 1913, twelve years before his death, but, there have been no indications that the state of public opinion there described has materially altered in the post-War period.

Have we on our side any grounds for believing that the Afghan Government harbours any sort of aggressive design against India ? Amanullah's mad attack in 1919 was, in fact, a kind of backwash of the Great War, and its results were not such as to encourage any future ruler to repeat his attempt. At the present day *The Times* correspondent tells us that Kabul is an increasingly steadying factor in the politics of the frontier. It is on official record that during the frontier disturbance in 1930 the Afghan Government actively discouraged the unrest in our tribal areas, and its assistance is stated to have been of incalculable value. It is probable that the Afghan Government, on their side, were equally grateful for our active co-operation in 1933 in preventing our Waziris from taking part in the Afghan rebellion in Khost. A Constitution was promulgated in 1932, and the Government is concentrating all its efforts on trade and pacification with a cautious policy of internal development. Her army of 40,000 is of no serious military importance. It would be almost as preposterous

to speak of Switzerland as a dangerous neighbour to the French Republic as to represent Afghanistan as a serious menace to the security of India. There are no possible grounds of dispute which could not easily be settled with or without the intervention of Geneva.

### World's Coming Source of Power

The world's <sup>Atomic energy, hydro, wind, solar,</sup> fuel resources in coal and oil are fast being exhausted, and where to look for the future source of energy has become a serious practical problem for far-sighted scientists. Julian Huxley, one of the foremost young scientists of England, accordingly passes in review in *The Listener* (quoted in *The Living Age*) the existing and probable sources of power—winds, tides, rivers, sunlight, (atomic energy)—and concludes that alcohol derived from the vegetable growth of tropical countries has the greatest possibilities :

All these methods are likely to make some contribution to the world's stock of power during the coming century. But none of them can expect to make a large contribution, and even taken all together they are never likely to cover as much as half the total demand. Where, then, are we to look for our main expansion ? Where is the source of power by which we must eventually replace our failing stocks of coal and oil, if our civilization is not to go backward instead of forward ? The answer seems to be in plants. Long-dead plants supply us with our chief source of energy to-day. For our chief source of energy to-morrow we shall probably look to alcohol from living plants. Many people seem to be surprised at the idea of using alcohol for driving a car or an engine ; but that is only because of its associations with drinking. One of the chief ideas associated with alcohol for drinking purposes is high cost. But most of the cost is due to taxation, and a great deal of the rest to the need for maturing, bottling, advertising, and retail selling. As a matter of fact, pure alcohol is not only an excellent fuel, but can be produced extremely cheaply. It can be got from any sugary or starchy substance, but to-day is generally made out of the waste from paper factories, from potatoes, or from a very cheap form of molasses called black strap. Already there are special tank steamers that take huge volumes of black strap across the sea to be used in alcohol factories.

The fact that power alcohol can now be made cheaply is due to a quite recent scientific discovery concerning distillation, which makes it easy to get practically pure alcohol (99.9 per cent pure) out of molasses or potatoes, whereas less than ten years ago all that you could hope for commercially was alcohol with 4 per cent of water in it ; and as the chief use of power alcohol at present is to mix with petrol or benzole, this trifle of water made all the difference. The buses of Paris are at the present moment being



run on a half-and-half mixture of alcohol and petrol; commercial motor fuels with from 10 to 25 per cent of alcohol are on the market in Sweden, Germany, Australia, and elsewhere. As I said, power alcohol can be made from any starchy or sugary material. So it can often be got out of all kinds of agricultural products that in these days of so-called overproduction would otherwise be wasted. In the near future it is more than probable that many nations will save on their bill for imported fuel by making a good deal of alcohol out of home-grown crops. But, in the long run, it is likely that we shall use the tropics, where plant life is so luxuriant in its growth, as our great source of power alcohol. There we could easily grow enough vegetable material to supply all the alcohol needed by the world. A hundred or two hundred years from now, it is to be expected that the rich plant-growing regions near the Equator will be to the world what the coal-mining areas are now. Great factories will distill the alcohol, tank steamers will transport it to be stored in big tanks—in fact, it will be handled much as oil and petrol are now, only there will be ten times as much of it used. It will be the Alcohol Age. In that age the tropics will have become the centre of gravity for power production, and the world's economic geography will be drawn on quite different lines from those of to-day.

#### The Coming War and England

Apropos of the coming war, which is almost inevitable, *The Living Age* discusses where England will stand when it breaks out:

Where, then, will England stand when the next war emergency arises? The answer depends on what party is ruling the country at the time. The present Conservative leaders can be counted on to take the side of the weaker European coalition in order to prevent a strong group of powers from creating a stable, self-sufficient Europe from which British exports would be excluded, and such a group of powers may be formed the moment Italy becomes convinced that Germany is sufficiently rearméd to attack France. As Robert Dell, one of the keenest British students of European affairs, says:

"I was in Italy in March, and left it with the profound conviction that the whole nation is being systematically prepared and trained for war. But Mussolini does not want war until Germany is ready and, naturally, would prefer, if possible, to get Dalmatia and attain his other objectives without it. Hence his proposal of the Four-Power Pact. It was evident in March that the Italians were embarrassed by the naïf candor of their Nazi partners, and the embarrassment must have been increased by such incidents as Herr von Papen's speech at Munster on May 14."

And Mr. Dell looks for war in the not distant future:

"There is a good time coming for the armament manufacturers, for the (disarmament draft) convention restores the unrestricted private manufacture of arms in Germany and the other countries where it was abolished by the peace treaties and annuls the prohibition of the import and export of arms into and from those countries. It is said that Skoda and Schneider are working overtime so as to be first in the field before Krupp's starts again. This cancels all the trivial limitations of the draft convention and makes it positively pernicious. In the black

record of the British Government during the last sixteen months at Geneva there is nothing so black as its persistent opposition to the suppression of the private manufacture of armaments, which is the heart of the whole matter, as the head of the delegation of a Great Power said to me a few days ago."

But the British Government that has left this 'black record' is no more permanent than any other political institution in changing Europe and even a preventive war would present difficulties. The *Statist* comments as follows in this connection:

"Germany obviously has not the means of bringing about by force the territorial revisions she is understood to desire. The simple fact, for example, that Poland has a mobilizable force of nearly one and a quarter million men, compared with 100,000 in the *Reichswehr* (and the private armies cannot be counted as an effective offensive force) should put a stop to any ambitions in that direction. On the other hand, a preventive war undertaken by France and Poland would be almost as foolish. Germany could not and probably would not attempt to defend her frontiers against such a combination, but the invaders would find that a guerrilla war with about a million armed Nazis and the whole German nations at the fever point of Nationalist feeling would be a different proposition from the invasion of the Ruhr in 1923. Unless the political leaders of the countries concerned suddenly succumb to an attack of complete imbecility we may dismiss the possibility of war in the immediate future as absurd."

The danger, as *The Statist* goes on to say, 'lies rather a few years ahead,' and it is impossible to foretell at the present time what the situation will be even a year or two from now.

#### Communism and Christianity

A writer describes the Communist attitude towards religion in *Unity*:

The attack on Christianity has been marshalled on three fronts. Long-range artillery fires well-aimed shots at three main sections of Christian faith. The historicity of Jesus is denied; the claim that the early Christians were persecuted is said to be counterfeit; that Christianity was in origin and always will be utterly foreign to Communism.

At the present time, science with full irrefutability proves that Christ at no time and at no place ever existed, that the gospels were written considerably later. But, if Christ never was, then from where in that case appeared Christianity? Marxism says that every religion is a product of the social life of mankind; therefore, if we want to understand in a modern scientific sense the arising of Christianity, we must first of all find for ourselves an answer as to what kind of social relation existed at the time when Christianity appeared. (From "Religion and the Class Struggle" one of the series on what a worker should know who becomes a member of the Communist Party. Page 7.)

If Schweitzer denied the genuineness of the lives of Jesus written by Renan and other theologians of his day, the Communist denies historical verity to the lives of Jesus written by Luke, Mark, Matthew and John. They view them as good religious novels, fictions of religious minds, to be used by a priesthood with organizing powers. As evidence of false origin, they point to the errors of Luke's chronology, evidently a copy of Roman models;

to Mark's apparent lack of knowledge of Palestinian geography and customs; and to the evident philosophical and mystical interests of John.

The social strata whose members came into Christianity were made up of de-classed elements, slave masters and slaves, traders and petty artisans, and least of all were peasants. In the second century, Origin wrote, "Original Christianity was a religion primarily of slaves, freedmen and artisans." And Justin, also of the second century, directly proved in a letter of apology addressed to the government and in substance to all society, that Christianity was not an enemy of the government, with the characteristic assurance, that "Our hopes are not directed to the present." (From "Origin of Christianity," by Tobin, page 86-87). Basing his judgment on this and like evidence, the Communist comes to the conclusion that

The Christian religion is a religion of the oppressed who do not see any exit from their terrible situation here on the earth in a class society. Christianity is a religion of backward, downtrodden, politically unconscious elements not welded into the class of working people." (From "What the Worker Should Know Who Is Entering the Communist Party," page 10).

By a feat of dialectic reasoning, the Christian is described as an oppressed person who suffers no persecution. He was oppressed but endured his oppression, being comforted by the hopes of a future life. "Whatever comforts the slave, instead of raising him up to revolt against his slavery," wrote Lenin, "helps the slave owner." The alleged persecutions of early Christians are flatly declared counterfeited.

### Usurious Debts

*The Month* has the following note on usurious debts :

It is to be hoped that the incubus of debts, whether national or international, which is largely the result of having a varying standard of value, and is at the bottom of much of the world's financial distress may induce economic experts to recognize the difference between loans for reproductive enterprises, for which continued interest may rightly be required, and loans which are wholly consumed in meeting some immediate need, interest on which, prolonged after the amount has been returned, would seem to be of the nature of usury. Professor Keynes, by whose theories President Roosevelt is said to be much influenced, has not hesitated to say :

The medieval Church was wise to make a fundamental distinction between usury and a share in emergent profits. The war-debts are a case of pure usury. (*Daily Mail*, December 12, 1932.)

In practice, those who finance industry, take the risks of industry : unproductive ventures generally pay no dividends ; but those who finance the State are guaranteed their interest, however, their money is used. Now, the Pope, in commending the investing of superfluous income ("Quadragesimo Anno," p. 24), confines his approval to investments which secure "favourable opportunities for employment, provided the labour employed produces results which are really useful." It is to be hoped that, in helping the evolution of a "new order in industry" which may emerge from the present chaos, the theologians of the Church will define in greater detail what practices are really usurious and, therefore, unjust.

### The Real Defence of Religion

Wallace W. Willard describes in *World Unity* magazine the true nature of religion, in which lies its true defence :

These reflections of current thought point to the self-sufficiency of religion. Rising from a point beyond the concept it exists in its own right and is not dependent on any body of concepts. Rather it gives rise to conceptual systems which are imperfect and often erratic efforts to express in intellectual symbols that which in itself is non-rational. In other words religion so considered is autonomous. As Dean Inge has expressed it "Mysticism (which the Dean has characterized as 'pure religion') has given to the spiritual life the right to stand on its own feet and rest on its own evidence."

Too long has religion paid obeisance to the concept. The time has come when a defensive attitude must give way to an offensive. A religion that is ever anxious to make peace with science, philosophy and psychology is bankrupt. Religion is made to command and not to serve.

There are signs that the tide is turning and that religion, relieved of the incubus of misconceptions and doubts.

"Muffled from sight in formal robes of proof" is about to reassert itself as a simple and elemental power in human life.

This tendency is seen not only in the growing impatience with conceptual systems that often blind the souls of men to the deeper realities which they only succeed in obscuring, but in the positive spiritual interpretations that are piercing the intellectual wrappings of reality and discovering the simple and basic truths on which religion rests.

It would not be an over-bold assertion to say that science is to-day doing more to make religion real in the minds of thinking men than are the professional theologians. The professional theologian still too often speaks a language in bondage to the concept and in a dialect foreign to the modes of modern thought. On the other hand, science with its empirical approach to truth and its reliance on experience is paving the way, though unwittingly, for a new appreciation of religion as a vital reality in human life.

### Naval Building Race Between Japan and the U. S. A.

*The New Republic* has the following note on the new naval building race between Japan and the United States :

The United States and Japan are now engaged in a naval building race. The fact that it is proceeding within the limits of the treaties of Washington and London does not at all mitigate the seriousness of the situation. News dispatches from Japan indicate that our new appropriation of \$238 million for naval building has created the greatest consternation. The Japanese have contended for twelve years that the 5-5-3 ratio for Great Britain, the United States and themselves gave them a naval strength lower than is justified by their position in the world. As long as the United States, which they regard as their only serious potential enemy, indulged in a voluntary and one-sided "naval holiday," the agitation for an increase in the Japanese ratio was

shorn of its best argument. Now, however, it will be used again in full force. The naval limitation treaty is almost the only one of Japan's international contracts of recent years which she has not openly or tacitly repudiated; and in her present mood it would not take much to cause her to tear up this agreement with the others. Secretary Swanson and President Roosevelt may have set fire to a fuse attached to a much bigger bomb than either of them seems to realize.

### The Problem of Housing and Building in Modern Times

In the same paper, a writer describes the problems confronting the modern house-builder and architect:

The first successful attempts made recently in European cities to clear away slums and to build decent housing on a large scale were undertaken by modern architects. Modern architects rediscovered that man is the scale, that what counts is man and his activities, that man had been actively engaged in digging oil wells, developing railroads, automobiles, harvesting machines, electric lights, telephones, wireless, and that all these activities had modified his points of view, his requirements, his very life, while architects meanwhile had gone on playing with "picture" architecture. It is to the acceptance of man as the scale for architecture, instead of a king as at Versailles, God as at Mont St. Michel, or a tomb as in the Pyramids, that we owe the present tendency in housing. Modern architects had to investigate contemporary life until they found the real meaning, the real inspiration of their vocation. Step by step they followed the private activity of man. They realized that the wash basin must be at the most convenient height, that when a man works the light must be in the most convenient place. What should be the height and size of the tables and chairs when he eats breakfast? Can the room be so arranged that the morning sun will shine on the breakfast table? How much time does an individual spend going from his front door to the factory or the office? Must he take the subway, street car or a bus? All these diagrams, all these charts were drawn up for architecture and its ally, city planning. Half the space of an attic under the old-fashioned pitched roof had been a total waste. Couldn't roofs be made flat? Couldn't sun porches, recreation terraces, out-of-door games, be arranged there without additional cost? Then for almost the first time in the history of architecture, the vital question of money was analyzed. Why was this value attributed to this piece of land and that value to another? Why do sections of cities become slums? The modern architect tabulate, progress, write down the answers.

This is what modern architects—and sociologists—mean by housing today, not what real-estate promoters mean by it. This is what we hope the present government means by it. Among the goals to be reached are: rents to be strictly related to wages; houses to cover no more than 40 per cent of the ground so that every room may have its fair share of air, sun and view; rooms to be sufficiently large, though simple and plain in finish; every apartment to have cross ventilation; rooms to be laid out in such a manner that privacy is obtained although costly and dark corridors are reduced to a

minimum; decent hygienic standards with up-to-date plumbing. There is no longer any excuse for walled-in courts; I might even say that any project which featured inside courts should be condemned without further analysis.

### Industrial Education in The United States

*The International Labour Review* describes the system of industrial education in the United States:

The term "industrial education" in the United States includes not only apprenticeship and vocational training, but also the training or re-training of adults, vocational guidance for children, and teacher training. Progress in such education in 1928-1930 was marked by a large increase in occupations included in training programmes, by increased enrolments, expenditure, and courses, by the inclusion in programmes of more occupations of the highly specialized and semi-skilled types, by further co-operation between joint advisory training committees and the educational authorities, and by a more critical attitude towards the training of teachers.

Among factors contributing towards the spread of industrial training were: recognition of the responsibility of public schools to provide training for specialized and semi-skilled jobs, the needs for short courses which would assist workers to secure promotion, and an increased knowledge of the types of occupations for which training under public school auspices might be attempted. This last is the outcome of occupational studies on a National or State scale of the reports of joint advisory training committees, and of "foremen conferences" (lectures to foremen having the responsibility for the training of those under them). Unemployment is also thought to be a factor which has increased enrolment in full-time classes. This is ascribed to the laws which in certain States, require all young people up to a given age who are not at work to attend school, as well as to the voluntary attendance at such classes of unemployed youths who are over the compulsory school age...

In the domain of vocational guidance an increase in activity is noted. It is now generally recognized that vocational guidance should have a part in school programmes, but experiments are still being conducted to decide what that part should be. On certain broad principles, however, agreement has been reached, as, for example, the need that high school pupils should be given opportunities to study and analyze the major vocational groups, the need for giving advice as part of a vocational guidance programme; the need to include placement and follow-up work in such programmes, and for studying the aptitudes, interests, and social backgrounds of individuals to discover the possible bearing they may have upon the choice of a career. Nine States have guidance programmes under way, no less than seven of these having been started within the last two years dealt with in the report. The organization of vocational guidance programmes includes talks by specialists to groups of pupils, and the attendance at school of persons competent to advise pupils concerning the occupations they think they would like to follow. The complaint is made that the guidance programmes of high schools are still too heavily biased towards professional services needing college training; this, it is considered, should be remedied. The vexed question



of the application of mechanical aptitude tests vocational guidance is referred to. Though the attitude towards such tests is still critical, they are not condemned. Considerable progress along these lines has been made, and investigations continue with a view to determining the reliability of mechanical tests.

### The Revolt in Chinese Turkestan

The political and military troubles in Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan have drawn considerable attention in India but have not been fully explained. Mr. Wang Ching-wei, the President of the Executive Yuan, describes the situation from the Chinese point of view in *The People's Tribune* :

The trouble in Sinkiang broke out as far back as the middle of April. The causes were not quite clear at that time, what was known being barely the fact that there had been opposition against Chin Ju-Jen, the then Provincial Chairman, on the part of a portion of the people and that subsequently, Liu Wen-Lung, then Provincial Commissioner for Education and Sheng Shih-Tsai, then Chief-of-Staff to the Border Defence Commissioner, also rose in opposition to Chin with the result that the latter was compelled to leave the Provincial Capital with Liu Wen-Lung and Sheng Shih-Tsai assuming respectively the posts of Acting Provincial Chairman and Acting Border Defence Commissioner.

As a matter of general principle, it would have been improper for a Provincial Commissioner and a Chief-of-Staff to oppose their superior officials. However, realizing that there were a number of causes underlying the present trouble in Sinkiang, the Central Government did not wish to take any definite action before it was thoroughly acquainted with the facts. Accordingly, it appointed Chief-of-Staff Huang Mu-Sung as Pacification Commissioner for Sinkiang and sent him there to conduct a personal investigation of the situation.

Since his arrival in Sinkiang by airplane, General Huang has submitted from time to time telegraphic reports on the situation. It was not until then that the actual state of affairs in Sinkiang became known to the Government. It also became clear that the causes of the Sinkiang trouble were chiefly to be attributed to the improper measures taken by the former Chairman, Chin Ju-Jen.

The inhabitants of Sinkiang may be broadly divided into the natives and the Hans (i.e. the Chinese proper). The natives are mostly Mohammedans. There are among the Hans, persons who also profess Mohammedanism; these are known as "Han-Mohammedans." Apart from these, there are also several other minority races. In this connection, it is important to realize that freedom of belief is guaranteed by Law and that races are equal before the Law. There may be differences in religious beliefs and in languages and customs between the various races, but there should not be any political discrimination. And never since the National Revolution in China has one religion been allowed to persecute another, or one race to oppress another race.

Among the inhabitants of Sinkiang there are persons who profess no religion as well as those who believe in Buddhism or profess Mohammedanism,

the latter being the most numerous. But notwithstanding the fact that he was Chairman of the whole province, Chin Ju-Jen has gratuitously insulted the religion professed and worshipped by the majority of the provincials, the Mohammedans, by divesting, without the authorization of the Central Government, the Mohammedan prince of Hami of his position and titles and, furthermore, confiscating his properties, thereby throwing the people in general into a state of unrest and arousing the resentment and indignation of the Mohammedans in particular. This is one of the chief causes of the Sinkiang trouble, and for this Chin Ju-Jen must be held fully responsible.

Nor indeed can Chin Ju-Jen escape blame for the general political maladministration in Sinkiang, the lack of discipline of the troops and the unauthorized conclusion with Soviet Russia of a so-called Sinkiang Soviet Provisional Commercial Agreement. It is needless to point out that the power of conducting foreign relations rests exclusively in the hands of the Central Government and that the local Government has absolutely no right of concluding any agreement with foreign countries. The offence against the State which Chin Ju-Jen has committed in thus concluding an agreement with the Soviet Union without the authorization of the Government, is indeed one of no little seriousness. Thus, although it would have been improper for Liu Wen-Lung and Sheng Shih-Tsai to oust their superior official, we must not at present lose sight of the fact that the Sinkiang trouble was precipitated almost entirely by the maladministration of Chin Ju-Jen, and in this light the Central Government naturally could not blame Liu Wen-Lung and Sheng Shih-Tsai.

Following the outbreak of the Sinkiang trouble, Ma Chung-Ying, a Divisional Commander, moved his troops from the Kansu border into Sinkiang. Notwithstanding the repeated telegraphic orders from the Military Affairs Commission enjoining him to stop his advance Ma, while nominally professing obedience, continued in his advance until he finally occupied Ku-cheng, a city which is only about 100 li distant from Tihua, the Provincial Capital. It was thus nothing short of a revolt that he was attempting to stage.

Upon his arrival at Tihua, Pacification Commissioner Huang had endeavoured to pacify Ma by peaceful means. These, however, turned out to be fruitless. As a result, Sheng Shih-Tsai was compelled to engage Ma and succeeded finally in repulsing the latter on June 14. Chang Pei-Yuan, a Divisional Commander at Ili also assisted in the campaign against Ma.

From the above, it should be obvious that we must place the responsibility for the Sinkiang trouble, not upon the shoulders of the people, not upon Lin Wen-Lung and Sheng Shih-Tsai, but entirely upon Chin Ju-Jen and Ma Chung-Ying—the trouble being first precipitated by Chin Ju-Jen and later aggravated by Ma Chung-Ying. It may be added that these two delinquents will be dealt with by the Government in a fair and proper manner.

### Religion of the American Indian

*The Inquirer* describes the religion of the American Indian :

The truth about American Indian religion is revealed in the *Transactions* of research societies, such

as the Bureau of American Ethnology and the United States Geographical and Geological Survey, but it is reaching the public in more popular books—chiefly in volumes of American Indian poems and stories. Longfellow's 'Hiawatha' was, of course, a pioneer book. Indians themselves are beginning to share in the work of making their faith known to the world. 'The Soul of an Indian' by Charles Alexander Eastman, is an indispensable book to those who want to know about the Red man's religion.

One of the most beautiful books on the native religion of America is 'The Indian's Book,' edited by Natalie Curtis. The book is described as 'An Offering by the American Indians of Indian Lore, Musical and Narrative, to form a Record of the Songs and Legends of their Race.'

Turning over the pages of this book we realize that Dr. Eastman is right when he says that the American Indian's Holy Book is "a mingling of history, poetry, and prophecy, of precept and folk-lore, even such as the modern reader finds within the covers of his Bible."

Students of Comparative Religion must not neglect the unwritten Scriptures of the American Indians.

One of the Indians tells Natalie Curtis how Lololomai, the chief of the Hopis, prays:

He goes to the edge of the cliff and turns to the rising sun...Then he prays for all the people. He

asks that we may have rain and corn and melons, and that our fields may bring us plenty. But these are not the only things he prays for. He prays that all the people may have health and long life and be happy and good in their hearts. And Hopis are not the only people he prays for. He prays for everybody in the whole world—everybody. And not people alone; Lololomai prays for all the animals. And not animals alone; Lololomai prays for the plants. He prays for everything that has life.

We would do well to remember the Prayer of the Hopis—the People of Peace.

I have been reading an American Indian Story—'Black Elk Speaks,' by John G. Neihardt. There is a prayer in that book, too—the prayer of Black Elk himself. After explaining the symbolism of the Calumet, or Pipe of Peace, Black Elk sends out a voice to the powers of the four quarters that are one Power:

Great Spirit, lean close to the earth that you may hear the voice I send...Hear me, four quarters of the world—a relative I am! Give me strength to walk the soft earth—relative to all that is! Give me the eyes to see and the mind to understand, that I may be like you. With your power only can I face the winds...

The Red man has a valuable contribution to make to the religious thought of the United World.



Pravda, Moscow

MOSCOW LOOKS AT THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE



## INDIANS ABROAD



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

### Colonization Scheme and South African Indians

South African correspondent of the *Hindu* sent the following cable :

PIETERMARITZBURG, AUG. 18.

A bitter attack against the Government of India was made at a meeting by Mr. Albert Christopher, a former President of the South African Indian Congress, and one of the principal opponents of the colonization inquiry. No Indian, he said, desired to go and, therefore, the inquiry was an unwanted one. Since the assisted emigration scheme had been in existence thirteen thousand Indians had left the Union. They had helped to sell the birth-right of their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters and they were not prepared to do it again.

The Government of India, said Mr. Christopher, always surrendered the rights of Union Indians—first, when in the Cape Town Agreement they agreed to repatriation, and again last year when the colonization scheme was devised. As colonial born and settlers the Indians had every right to remain and they did not desire to go out of the Union.

It may be noted here that the last conference of the South African Indian Congress passed a resolution in favour of co-operating with the Government. Besides this the Executive Committee of the South African Indian Congress decided on July 9th to appoint Mr. S. R. Naidu as their representative to co-operate with the Union Government in investigating the possibilities of the settlement, in other countries, of South African Indians in accordance with the resolution of the Round Table Conference in Cape Town in 1932. Under these circumstances we see no reason why this agitation for non-co-operation should have been started at this stage. There was considerable force in the words of Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee when he said at the meeting of the Executive Committee: "If we are true to our word we must appoint a representative." While we fully appreciate the sentiments that have actuated such tried workers as Messrs Albert Christopher and Manilal Gandhi to oppose the decision of the Congress we are sorry we cannot agree with the arguments that have been put forward by them.

### The Indian Agent in the F. M. S.

Mr. Louis Thivy has contributed a thoughtful letter to the Indian Association Bulletin of Penang on the appointment of a successor to Rao Sahib Kunhiraman Nair.

Speculation is rife as to who will be his successor. The Government of India do not appear to have so far made any selection. Their attention perhaps is at present being rivetted more to problems nearer home. They will, however, be deciding soon; but whether this time they will send an I. C. S. man or one from the cadre of Deputy Collectors, as hitherto, is a matter for conjecture. I am sure I will be expressing the opinion of every Indian here if I say that it is their wish that an I. C. S. officer should be sent in future. Unfortunately, however, we have no institution which would speak for the whole of Malaya on occasions like this. If there was such an Association it could today give expression to its feelings by sending a cable to the Government of India.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram, very likely after obtaining the views of the leaders of the Indian community here, advocated the change. I am sure he has the backing of the whole Indian community in Malaya in this action of his. We trust the Government of India will not spurn our wishes and dismiss it as of no import.

From what one gathers from reports in the local press, it looks as if the Government of India do not favour the views expressed by Dr. Lanka Sundaram. It is difficult to imagine that the Government of India really mean to say that "the post in question is not one, such as requires the appointment of a full time Civilian officer." There is sufficient work for a Civilian officer here even if he is capable of doing twice the work of the present incumbent.

If a non-official is sent, as recommended by Dr. Lanka Sundaram, it would be better still. Failing that at least a Civilian.

In this connection I would wish to bring to the notice of the Government of India the great hardship to which an Agent is put to when he first arrives in this country. He arrives here as a stranger. Most probably he has no friends. If he should come with his family his difficulties are enhanced. When he lands here



he finds that he has no house to live in. He has to stay in a hotel until such time as he is able to procure one and having procured one he is not sure he will be allowed to live there undisturbed for the rest of the period of his stay here. He has to undergo the same difficulties to which others are put to in all such circumstances.

It is a crying shame that an officer in his position should be put to such inconvenience. The Government of India should arrange for a permanent house, fully furnished of course, for their Agent so that these officers in future may not have the same difficulties the present and past officers have had to undergo. Considering the fact that they are here for a period of three years only, the necessity for providing them with free furnished quarters becomes more and more pronounced. All Malayan Civil Servants here are provided with furnished quarters.

We wonder why the Government of India object to appointing a Civilian officer as their agent in Malaya. The argument advanced by them does not carry any conviction. There are more than six lakhs of Indians in Malaya—that means more than fifth of the entire population of Indians settled abroad and they require protection and guidance. And there is a lot of work to be done. The inconvenience as regards housing accommodation for the agent referred to at the end of the letter should be removed immediately. If the Government of India cannot safeguard the dignity of their agent in Malaya the better course would be to abolish the post altogether. It is really unfortunate that such an important subject should be treated so lightly by our Government.

### Indian Education in Fiji

The following extracts are taken from the Report on Education in Fiji for the Year 1932.

#### GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

*Indian*—The first Government school for Indians was established at Natabua in 1919. Samabula School was taken over from a local committee in 1929, and Andrews and Votualevu in 1930. Vatuwaqa Indian Girl's School was built in 1930 and Karavi and Waidikora Schools in 1931.

In September, 1930, a secondary department was added to the Natabua Primary School.

The fees in the primary school are 1s. a month and in secondary department £2 10s. per term.

#### TRAINING OF TEACHERS

The Methodist Mission has been training teachers for more than sixty years. In 1918 the Davuilevu Teachers' Training Institute was established to train teachers to the standard required by regulations. Fijian and Indian

students are accepted. A grant of £600 is made by Government in addition to an allowance of £10 per student for board and £6 for pocket money.

#### AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

"From 1909 to 1911, under the Headmastership of Mr. W. L. Waterhouse, H. D. A. (now Dr. Waterhouse, Professor of Agriculture, Sydney University), both technical and agricultural education were carried on at the boy's school, but only to a limited extent, as far as the latter branch was concerned, on account of the limited means and the unsuitable nature of the land.

"Two students who had finished their course in technical instruction at Davuilevu, were sent to the Hawkesbury Agricultural College in New South Wales. Six Indian students from Dilkusha were also sent to an agricultural school at Allahabad in India. On the return of these eight students, the Mission, with the assistance of the Government, established an agricultural school on the Navuso Estate, recently acquired by the Mission and situated about three miles further up the river than Davuilevu.

#### PRIMARY EDUCATION

In 1932 the number of Government schools increased from six to seven, and of assisted schools from 37 to 41. In addition there were 16 unassisted schools. The total number of Indians enrolled in all schools was 4,684, of whom 3,608 were boys and 1,076 girls, with an average attendance of 81 per cent.

In 1931, 38 per cent of pupils were in class one and 19.5 per cent in Class 2.

In 1932 these percentages had fallen to 36 and 17 respectively. The difference between the numbers in Class 1 and 2 indicates retardation explained partly by understaffing and the consequent neglect of the lowest class. The position will improve each year as the supply of certificated teachers increases. The existence of one-teacher schools will, however, prevent situation improving rapidly. The parochialism of Indians in country districts together with the mutual antipathy of the various races and creeds prevents the grouping of Indian schools which, without any increase in the number of teachers, would allow of proper instructions being given to the youngest children.

With few exceptions all the Indian school in Vitilevu and Ovalau were inspected at least twice during the year by the Inspector of Indian Schools. The eight Indian schools in Vanualevu were inspected by the Inspector of Fijian Schools during his tour through that island. Thirty-six Indian schools are classified as efficient, twenty as satisfactory, and fourteen as being inefficient. There has been a

growing demand for the quarterly Hindi-English *School Journal*, the year 1932 showing a thirty per cent increase, the average sales being 541 per issue.

#### SECONDARY EDUCATION

Approved Indian pupils may enrol in the secondary department of the Natabua Indian School. The fees are £7 10s. a year. The average roll in 1932 was 21. The curriculum includes the usual secondary subjects with the addition of agriculture, wood-work, book-keeping and business principles.

#### TRAINING OF TEACHERS

As part of the economy measures taken by Government the number of teachers in training was reduced from 36 to 26. At the end of the year there were 12 Indians (including one not supported by Government) and 15 Fijians on the roll.

#### FEMALE EDUCATION

There were 21 schools for non-European girls in 1931 and only 16 in 1932 although the number of girls in all such schools increased from 6,508 to 6,599.

The difference in the number of schools is not due to the closing of girls' schools but to the admission of boys usually in the lower classes. In 1931, 216 and in 1932, 230 schools admitted pupils of both sexes.

Co-education of the sexes does not prevent Fijian girls from attending school. It does, however, partly account for the fact shown in Appendix 6 that Indian girls in boys' schools leave school at about the age of ten.

Although progress is being made in the provision of instruction in domestic subjects much leeway has to be made up. The standard of needlework in both the Fijian and Indian schools is high. This was noticeable from the quality and number of the exhibits made at the Suva Agricultural Show by a large number of schools.

The supply of certificated women teachers is slowly improving, but many schools there are anxious to employ women teachers cannot get any applications. The difficulty of procuring suitable board and lodging in country districts will always deter many women from leaving their homes.

In the November examinations the following results were obtained by female candidates:

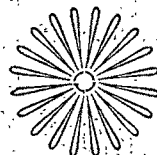
	Candidates		Passes		Partial pass	
	Europ.	Fijian	Indian	Europ.	Fijian	Indian
Grade V	3	18	15	1	6	3
Grade IV	2	0	5	0	0	1
Grade III	2	1	1	1	1	0
Total	7	19	21	2	7	4

The number of candidates shows an increase of 9 over 1931 made up by an increase of 11 in the number of Indian girls and decrease of 2 in the number of Fijians. The number of Fijian girls that passed shows an increase from 1 to 6. The answers submitted by female candidates showed a great improvement over previous years.

The progress of education of our people in Fiji as shown by the report of the year 1932 is rather disappointing. The following extracts betray the mentality of those in charge of educational administration of the Indians.

"The Indian Education Rating Ordinance which was passed by the Legislative Council in 1930 has not yet been brought into force. The Board of Education has recorded its opinion that the Ordinance should not be brought into force on the grounds that the meagre advantages which would accrue would be outweighed by the increased liabilities which Government would be committed to."

I think the time has come when the Government of India should send a commission to the colonies to enquire into the condition of education of our people there and to suggest to the colonial authorities the methods and means of speeding up the educational work.

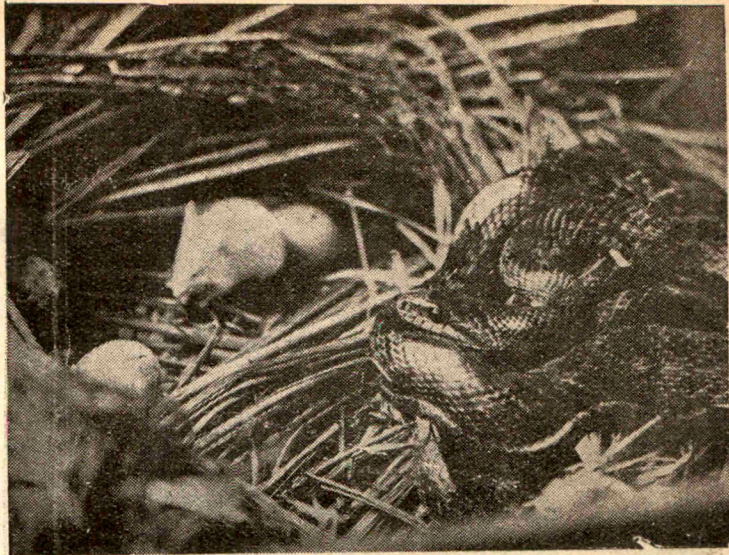




## GLEANINGS

### Queer Friendships in the Animal World

That nature is not as red in tooth and claw as was supposed about a century ago has been generally recognized by scientists. Still, the animal world occasionally furnishes examples of friendships which may well surprise even man, the social animal. Some instances of such friendships are illustrated in a series of fine photographs by the *Asahi-graph* of Japan, a selection from which is given herewith.

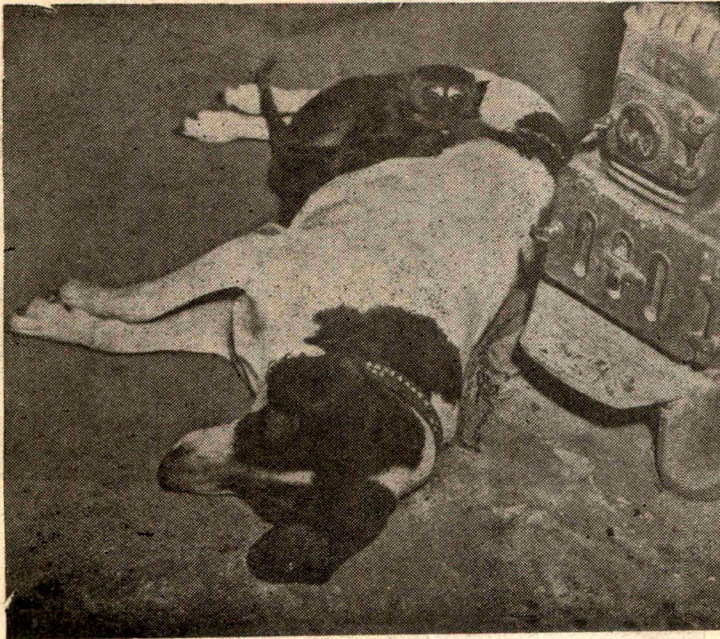


Snake and mouse in the same nest. They have apparently forgotten their traditional enmity



Monkeys and wild pigs in the same cage. The boar is quite happy to act as the mount of his strange friend.

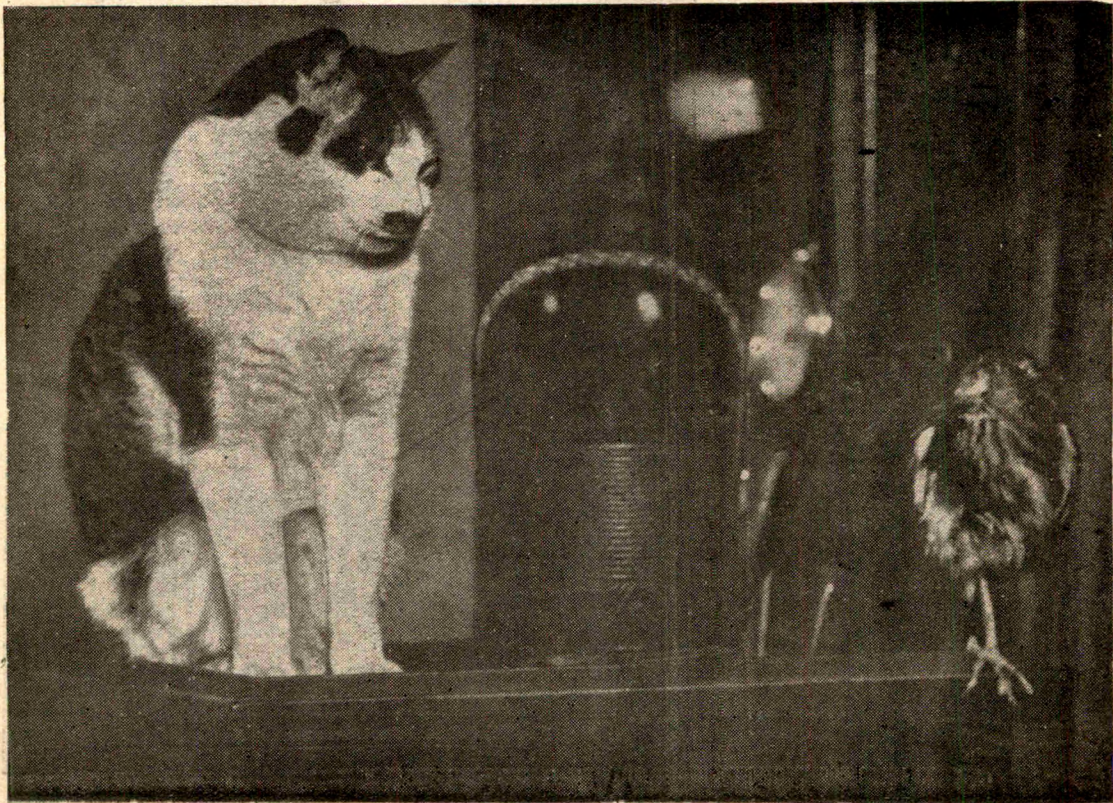




A dog and a monkey

*Below*

A Cat and a young heron. Both are enjoying the warmth of the 'hibachi' or the Japanese brazier, and Puss does not look as if she wanted Master Heron for breakfast.



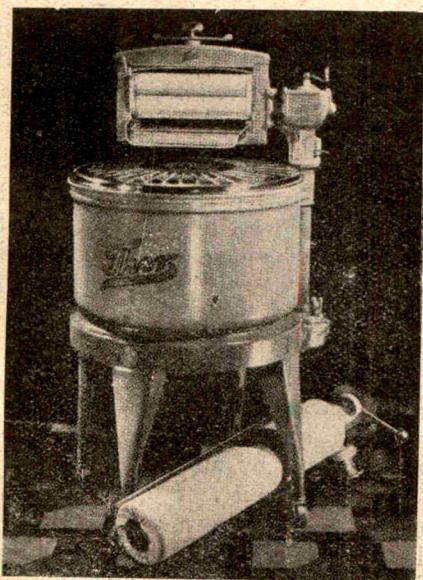


### Labour Saving in the Home

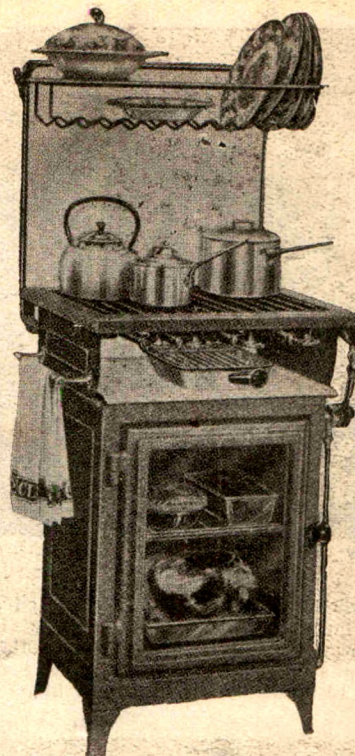
The scarcity and high wages of domestic servants in Europe and America have forced most of the household work on the mistress of



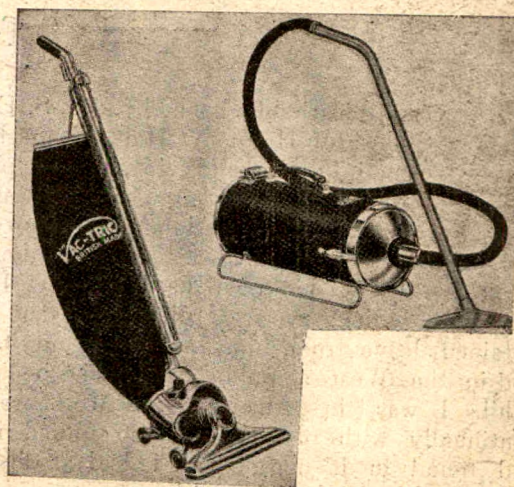
The vacuum cleaner in use on chairs.



An electric washer which washes anything from a blanket to a handkerchief automatically without being touched by the hand. It is furnished with an ironing attachment



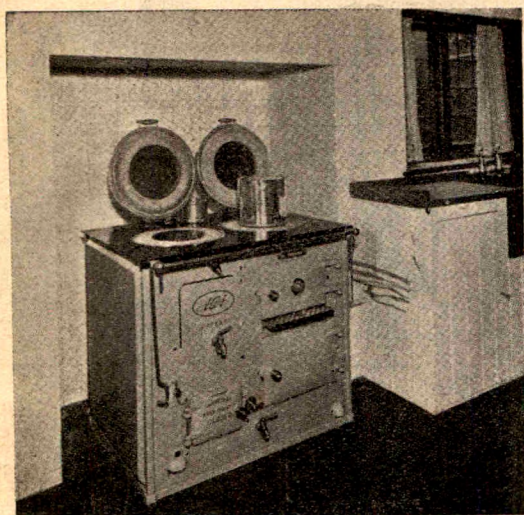
A thermostatically controlled gas cooker. The front of the oven is made of fire-proof plate glass, permitting cooking to be seen



Two vacuum cleaners

They can be used for sweeping, brushing, and cleaning of every kind and automatically suck in the dust which is captured in a container and delivered into the bin





The "Aga Cooker"

A cooker burning coke or anthracite. This cooker burns continuously and needs fuelling only twice a day. It gives sufficient heat to cook meals for twenty persons and uses up only 10 to 15 lbs. of coke in 24 hours

the house. This in its turn has given a tremendous impetus to the invention of machinery, making the housewife's work easy and saving useless labour in the home. The movement for mechanical labour-saving appliances originated in America, but by this time their use and popularity have extended to England and other countries, and now there is hardly a house in the West which would be considered complete or satisfactory without a complete range of these modern devices. Thanks to the ingenuity of the manufacturers and widespread use of electricity and gas, every kind of household work can now be done at one-tenth the labour formerly involved. These new devices cover almost every branch of household work, and some of the most useful ones are illustrated in this number.



## 'SATYAKAMA'

By C. F. ANDREWS

A very remarkable book by Mr. S. E. Stokes of Harmony Hall, Kotgash came into my hands in manuscript form many years ago, when I was the guest of the author. An inherent modesty and self-deprecation had made the author think lightly of his own production. It was only with very great difficulty that I obtained leave from him to endeavour to find in the West a publisher for his book. While I was in America the MSS. was continually with me and I often studied it and found in it more than I had at first discovered both of truth and beauty.

It seemed, however, that I was fated not to succeed; and Mr. R. B. Gregg had also very little success in the same direction. But in the long run the book was published in

Madras, by S. Ganesan, in an excellent type and binding, which does credit to South Indian printing. Since that time it has been very favourably received by great philosophers like Dr. J. H. Muirhead, Dr. S. O. F. Murray, and others and has had everywhere an excellent press.

While I was seeking to find an English publisher an appreciative note was written on the book itself by an anonymous writer of high literary repute. I quote only some salient portions as follows:

"This is a beautiful and helpful book. But its treasures have to be dug for by ordinary non-philosophic readers.

"The personal element interests the general public—family affection, personal history, reference to other prisoners,—but when the



general reader asks for more, he is instead plunged into philosophy and Sanskrit terms. If he is patient, the index will save him; but even then, the Indian character of it all is rather overwhelming for those who are English. The religious reader, according to his brand of piety and scale of intelligence, may welcome the working out of a religious philosophy which is a wonderful blending of Eastern and Western thought. The combining of the Eastern idea of the Self-Subsistent Brahma, with the idea of a God needing, God experiencing, God loving, and as it were, progressing, while yet timeless and acon-perfect, is well worked out. (Shade of William James, with his “Damn the Absolute!” Would he welcome as a disciple this com-patriot, who puts into reconcilable juxtaposition the ‘becoming’ and the ‘being’ of God?)

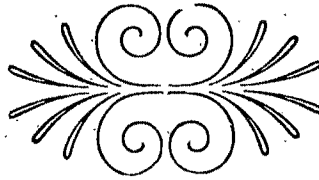
“The religious public, or its esoteric circles, might specially welcome new light on the idea of re-incarnation, pp. 230 and ff. which indeed are beautiful and suggestive with new aspects. “As soon as the ‘I’ has reached the consciousness which includes new factors that *must* be remembered,” (i.e., love, p. 269) “all the future will be free from that ‘dying’ which is the death of memory”—thus removing at a stroke one of the most forceful objections to the doctrine.

“The insistence upon love, individual and general, human and spiritual, is beautiful. “All those who have come to love... have entered on eternal life.” See pp. 259 and ff. The pages also on survival and enhanced relationships are very fine; so are such

pronouncements as “Eternal life will be for us a life of eternal *achievement*, of growing vision” and paragraphs like that on p. 287 most consoling to the bereaved. And very inspiring is its last sentence, “Progress must be commensurate...,” very encouraging and practical the whole conclusions, p. 338 “not by barring...” This is a gold nugget of a sentence.”

The author of these detached notes, will not, I am sure, object to my quoting from them. It is still my own intense desire that it may be possible to publish the book, in a slightly abbreviated form, in England and afterwards if possible in America. For there are few things more needed today than mutual understanding between East and West with regard to that essential and fundamental philosophy, from which each side of the human world starts and on the grounds of which it makes its own assumptions.

The Indian standpoint is far easier for the Western mind to appreciate than that of China and Japan. It has this further advantage that it easily forms the half-way house and thus forms an introduction to the philosophy of the Far East. For most of the modern thinking of China and Japan has somewhere a Buddhist background, which has ultimately been derived from India. Okakura of Japan was right when he stated, in his great book, “The Ideals of the Orient,” that China, India and Japan still form together in unison one great ‘Buddha Land,’—just as Europe and America still form a great part of ‘Christendom.’



BY TRAIN : FIVE SONNETS

BY CHARLES L. SWAN

## Departure

Where is there place for me ? The brown  
  door closes,  
The bell claps and the train drums on its way.  
But where in all these miles is place for me ?  
My heart is standing on its feet all day.  
Reluctant to be seated ; it opposes  
This tension of the Fates away from thee.

The days have hung diaphanous, and shod  
With singing walks the summer; now, alone  
With all songs strained and torn, I must  
  be gone.

Recedes the slender air of serenade  
Amid the consonance of myriad  
Accompaniments of summer : fields half-grown  
Their verdure heavy ; cobalt sky whereon  
Birds carve flight, strange as poet's period.

## Nightfall

The red far west makes whisper after me  
—A god's face and dismay upon it, gestured  
By storm-red features and white points of sky.  
I hear. The red god's face reluctantly  
Covers the poignancy of our goodbye  
In its pre-eminence, reserved, sequestered.

Below the red clouds, in the shadowed land,  
Not all the little hurried drops of rain  
Straining to kiss the earth, have sharper pain  
Than your lips, tense after goodbye. You stand  
Outside our trysting shadow, lone. Your hand  
Insistent for the touch of mine : why vain  
Our unremitted eagerness ? The train  
Parts us ; the red west whispers reprimand.

## Moonlight

In white tide on a shining littoral  
I ride clean hammers through a metal land.  
Trees are mines looming black and mythical  
Under a sky of mica and grey sand.  
Cold as the star-lines scarring the sere moonlight  
In the translucence of my window square,

Like scimitars traced in the haze of strewn light,  
I ride my heart, a sharpened silver wire.  
Lustral and frail the midnight fog-sheets rise  
As long as it is moonlight, till tomorrow ;  
But there is nothing here to exorcise  
Coming of morning to us, or bring sorrow.

Our love is coloured as the sunlit wind,  
Tomorrow will the moonlight fade behind.

## Rebel Country

It is a rebel country, ruin haunted,  
And lured by it the night is loath to leave ;  
The eyes of night are still here, fugitive,  
Under torn bushes, balefully enchanted.  
Hoarse is the whisper, as of women supplanted,  
Of the horizon where the dun clouds grieve  
For other lovers lost beyond retrieve,  
Lost, weary lovers, by the love they vaunted.

Secrecy burns a fire behind her doors ;  
 I tap in code ; the eaves are dark around ;  
 This is a rebel and our love explores  
 Lying in hiding, reticent, profound.  
 But farmer armies come like troubadours  
 Coloured and singing and their freedom found.

## Railroad Ahead

Lights opening aside to portions green  
Suggested in the intermittent distance  
Render our chastened thoroughfare serene  
Sunlit and vigorous in its persistence.

Pellucid lures of skies above the bend  
Of a new river intimate more bright  
Colours beyond : these lapsing shadows tend  
To etch our straightway in preciser light.

Frail lines that curve aside have tenuous cries  
Like secret whispers of a winging moth  
In shadowed areas, but the vibrant tread  
Of voices on our road rings otherwise :  
Nothing is more alluring than the swath  
Of the Familiar we design ahead.

# NOTES

## *The Export of Gold from India*

Mr. H. G. Wells, in Chapter IX of his latest work, *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind* (1932), which he calls an Outline of Economics, discusses currency questions in relation to the world-wide economic depression. In his opinion, "the dominant factor making for world-wide depression has been the policy pursued in London." The return to the gold standard on the part of England, and following her example, of other important industrial countries, is the main plank in that policy. This meant that huge sums in gold had to be removed from active use in order that they might be stored away as cover to currencies, and forced the central banks, and even the Bank of England, to check every sort of movement which might have led to the metal leaving the country, and to amass as much gold and part with as little as possible. France and America began to hoard gold faster than new gold could be produced all over the world, and all other countries were in constant fear of losing their own reserves, "and Britain especially tried continually to tempt money to London [from India ?] or to keep it there by the offer of exceptional rates." "In 1931 mankind was getting gold out of mines in South Africa and elsewhere in order to bury it again in treasuries—and to no other perceptible end."

Mr. Wells declares that "adherence to the gold standard means a progressive deflation of the currency. It will tend now to make the patient inactive hoarders of gold the lords of the earth." (P. 360).

This hardly squares with Sir Samuel Hoare's statement, quoted at page 735 of the last June number of *The Modern Review*, that

the unceasing drain of gold from India that is going on for a considerable time is beneficial to India in the present circumstances !

In spite of the brief authority in which he is dressed, Sir Samuel is far inferior to Mr. Wells in intellectual equipment and un-biassed judgment.

## *A Paragraph for Miss Mayo's Consideration*

The following is from §5 of Chapter XI (The Rôle of Women in the World's Work) of the same book by Mr. Wells :

"Prostitution in the past has been chiefly feminine. That is not due apparently to any inherent sexual difference. It is a difference in rôle which puts men more in need of casual women. In the past women have stayed at home more than men and have been more firmly kept at home...But now that types of free and prosperous women are developing, who can travel and get away from the observation and moral support of their own community, the parallel need evokes the parallel supply. The dissipated middle-aged woman is becoming almost as common as the dissipated middle-aged man. In the pleasure resorts of Europe and North Africa one meets now the wealthy lonely American wife or widow, looking for the consolations of masculine intimacy and picking up the "gigolo," the dancing partner, as a protegee, a companion, and often a venal lover. She is almost as abundant as the Americans who visit Europe to get drunk. But the drifting, prosperous women are by no means all Americans. The "gigolo" is entirely the equivalent of the prostitute adventuress at the same social level, but because of the difference in his sexual tradition, no one has yet set about pursuing him with a *police des mœurs*, segregating him in brothels, banishing him from ordinary life, and legislating against him. He does not seem in need of protection from Geneva, and the White Slave-Trader finds him an unsuitable commodity."

—H. G. Wells : *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind* (William Heinmann Ltd., 1932), p. 546.



*Indian Rivers, Floods, Malaria, etc.*

Recently there have been destructive floods in some province of India, particularly Orissa and the Midnapur District of Bengal, which require adequate and speedy relief. Every year, some province or other suffers from floods. In some years, as during the present year, many provinces suffer. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to name any province some parts of which have not been devastated by inundations at some time or other. So the problems with which Indian rivers confront the Indian public are all-India problems. We speak of problems, because the occasional havoc wrought by floods, with attendant famine or scarcity of food and outbreak of diseases, are not the only evils associated with Indian rivers. When some rivers change their courses or are silted or choked up, malaria appears in more or less extensive tracts of country. It is true, that in times past Bengal has suffered more from this scourge than any other province. But at present malarial fevers are found in the plains in all parts of India, and cases are noticed even at some hill stations.

For these reasons problems connected with floods, irrigation and drainage should interest the people of not any one part of India but of all parts. But not the people alone. The Central and Provincial Governments also should study these problems and take steps to solve them. The question is, how this should be done.

In an article on "Catastrophic Floods in Bengal and How They Can Be Combated," published in this *Review* for February 1932, Professor Meghnad Saha, F. R. S., suggested what ought to be done so far as Bengal is concerned. In that article he wrote :

After the floods [of 1922] were over, the Government [of Bengal] appointed an official committee to enquire into the causes of the floods and to suggest measures for combating them. This committee co-opted Professor P. C. Mahalanobis of the Presidency College, Calcutta, then in charge of the meteorological observatory at Alipore, as a member. I had no opportunity of knowing what were the findings and recommendations of this committee but through the courtesy of Professor Mahalanobis I became acquainted with his valuable report on rainfall and floods in North Bengal (1870-1922) which was published in 1926. Professor Mahalanobis approached the question in a truly

scientific spirit and based his conclusions on a large amount of data about rainfall, and on extensive studies of the topographical features of the country. On the basis of these studies he put forward a number of suggestions for combating the floods."

In his article Dr. Saha examined these suggestions and put forward certain suggestions of his own. His article was written, and the suggestions were made therein, for Bengal. But as floods occur and malaria, erosion and water-logging are to be found in other parts of India also, Professor Mahalanobis's Report and Dr. Saha's article should receive the serious attention of the people and the central and provincial governments of India. Unfortunately, though this Report consists of only 90 (ninety) pages and some maps, it has been priced at Rs. 20 per copy, thus making it difficult for the intelligentsia to buy it. But our Governments can certainly purchase or otherwise procure copies.

*Wanted Hydraulic Research Laboratories*

In the article referred to in the previous note Dr. Saha suggested :

- (a) Creation of a hydraulic research laboratory for researches in river training in Bengal.
- (b) Creation of a statistical department for continuing Professor Mahalanobis's studies.
- (c) An up-to-date hydrographic survey of the river systems of Bengal.

What Dr. Saha suggested for Bengal, should be done for the whole of India by the Government of India, and also by the provincial Governments of those provinces which are subject to floods. Now that the Bengal Waterways Bill is before the public this subject should receive immediate and serious attention. The studies to be undertaken and the work to be done in the different provinces would have to be co-ordinated by the Government of India.

The *Acharyya Ray Commemoration Volume*, which contains many valuable scientific, historical and literary articles, contains an article by Dr. Saha on the need for a hydraulic research laboratory in Bengal. Though written with reference to the requirements of Bengal, it will be of use to all who want to know and to do

what is required for the different areas of India which are subject to floods and malaria.

When devastating floods occur, as recently in Orissa and Midnapur, relief is given to the sufferers. But that is only temporary relief, not a permanent remedy. For a lasting remedy, it is necessary to know what is being done in other countries. Dr. Saha's article in the *Acharyya Ray Commemoration Volume* (published by Dr. Satyacharan Law, 50 Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta), gives a list of Hydraulic Research Laboratories of the World, which he says is not exhaustive. The list includes the names of these laboratories (with the names of their Directors) in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Soviet Russia, Sweden, Norway, France, Italy, Holland and the United States of America.

Germany has been the pioneer, as in many other enterprises, in the development of these River Physics Laboratories of the world, and "the activities of her trained experts and scientists have done immense good to the development and improvement of her inland waterways, harbours, canals, and to the dwellers of the riparian tracts." Dr. Saha also refers briefly to the work done in Italy. He devotes some six pages to the subject of the study of river physics in America. He observes that engineers in India are content to follow antiquated methods.

### *Swami Vivekananda on the Women of India*

*Prabuddha Bharata* for August contains a valuable article, compiled from the *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, which gives his opinions on many topics relating to women. It opens thus :

The Aryan and Semitic ideals of woman have always been diametrically opposed. Amongst the Semites the presence of women is considered dangerous to devotion and she may not perform any religious function, even such as the killing of a bird for food : according to the Aryan, a man cannot perform a religious action without a wife.

Modern Hinduism is largely Pauranika, that is post-Buddhist in origin. Dayananda Saraswati pointed out that though a wife is absolutely necessary in the sacrifice of domestic fire, which is a Vedic rite, she may not touch the Shalagrama Shila or the household-idol, because that dates from the later period of the Puranas.

(To the question, So you consider the inequality

of woman amongst us as entirely due to the influence of Buddhism ?) Where it exists certainly, but we should not allow the sudden flux of European criticism, and our consequent sense of contrast, to make us acquiesce too readily in this notion of the inequality of our women. Circumstances have forced upon us, for many centuries, the woman's need of protection. This, and not her inferiority, is the true reading of our customs.

Wife—the co-religionist. Hundreds of ceremonies the Hindu has to perform, and not one can be performed if he has not a wife. You see the priests tie them up together and they go round temples and make every great pilgrimage together.

The Swami pronounces a glowing panegyric on the character of Sita, which begins thus :

You may exhaust the literature of the world that is past, and I may assure you, that you will have to exhaust the literature of the future, before finding another Sita. Sita is unique ; that character was depicted once for all. There may have been several Ramas, perhaps, but never more than one Sita. She is the very type of the true Indian woman, for, all the ideals of a perfected woman have grown out of that one life of Sita ; and here she stands these thousands of years, commanding the worship of every man, woman and child, throughout the length and breadth of the land of Aryavarta.

He severely condemns child-marriages.

He says, in part :

There are thousands of women here (in America), whose minds are as pure and white as the snow of this country. And look at our girls, becoming mothers below their teens !! Good Lord ! I now see it all. Brother, "The gods are pleased where the women are held in esteem,"—says the old Manu. We are horrible sinners, and our degradation is due to our calling women 'despicable worms,' 'gateways to hell,' and so forth.

He proceeds to observe :

Amongst the educated classes in Bengal, the custom of marrying their boys too early is dying out gradually. The girls are also given in marriage a year or two older than before, but that has been under compulsion,—from pecuniary want. Whatever might be the reason for it, the age of marrying girls should be raised still higher.

The Swami contrasts Indian with American women in the following passage :

I should very much like our women to have your (American women's) intellectuality, but not if it must be at the cost of purity. I admire you for all that you know but I dislike the way that you cover what is bad with roses and call it good. Intellectuality is not the highest good. Morality and spirituality are the things for which we strive. Our women are not so learned, but they are more pure. To all women every man save her husband should be as her son.

To all men every woman save his own wife should be as his mother. When I look about me and see what you call gallantry, my soul is filled with disgust. Not until you learn to ignore the question of sex and to meet on a ground of

common humanity will your women really develop. Until then they are playthings, nothing more. All this is the cause of divorce. Your men bow low and offer a chair, but in another breath they offer compliments. They say, 'Oh, Madam, how beautiful are your eyes!' What right have they to do this? How dare a man venture so far, and how can you women permit it? Such things develop the less noble side of humanity. They do not tend to noble ideals.

He had a definite ideal of female education, comprising religion, arts, science, housekeeping, cooking, sewing, hygiene, etc. In his opinion, "the upliftment of the women, the awakening of the masses, must come first, and then only can real good come about for the country, for India."

### *Vivekananda on Widow-marriage*

The article referred to above contains a section devoted to widow-marriage. The whole passage is extracted below.

In my opinion society in every country shapes itself out of its own initiative. So we need not trouble our heads prematurely about such reforms as the abolition of early marriage, the re-marriage of widows and so on. Our part of duty lies in imparting true education to all men and women in society. As an outcome of that education, they will of themselves be able to know what is good for them and what is bad, and will spontaneously eschew the latter. It will not be then necessary to pull down or set up any thing in society by coercion.

For example, take the prohibition of widow-marriage in our country. Don't think that the Rishis or wicked men introduced the law pertaining to it. Notwithstanding the desire of men to keep women completely under their control, they never could succeed in introducing these laws without betaking themselves to the aid of a social necessity of the time. Of this custom two points should be specially observed :

(a) Widow-marriage takes place among the lower classes.

(b) Among the higher classes the number of women is greater than that of men.

Now, if it be the rule to marry every girl, it is difficult enough to get one husband apiece; then how to get, by and by, two or three for each? Therefore, has society put one party under disadvantage, i.e., it does not let her have a second husband, who has had one; if it did, one maid would have to go without a husband. On the other hand, widow-marriage obtains in communities having a greater number of men than women, as in their case the objection stated above does not exist. It is becoming more and more difficult in the West, too, for unmarried girls to get husbands.

We do not think knowledge of itself is sufficient for remedying evils. Countless men and women know what is good but do not do it, know what is evil but do not eschew it.

Something else in addition is required—the awakening of conscience, the strengthening of the will, and the like. But it may be said, these are parts of "true education," which the Swami prescribed. So, leaving this point aside, let us examine what he says about widow-marriage.

"Among the higher classes the number of women is greater than that of men"—this is not an accurate statement. The article does not give the date of this pronouncement of the Swami. Hence, its accuracy at that time cannot be tested. But so far as the censuses of 1931 and 1921 are concerned, the statement is incorrect. In 1931, for every thousand males there were 922 females among the Baidyas, 847 females among Brahmans, 763 females among Brahmos, 901 females among Kayasthas, and so on. There were more females than males in the Hindu community only among Bauris and Baishnabs, but they are not included in "the higher classes." According to the Census of 1921, in the Bengali Hindu community, for every thousand males there were 965 females among the Baidyas, 845 females among the Brahmans, 911 females among the Kayasthas, and so on. According to that census, too, Hindu females outnumbered Hindu males only among Bauris and Baishnabs.

It is unnecessary to refer to the figures relating to different castes at succeeding censuses. But some general observations may be reproduced from the Bengal Census Report for 1931.

"In 1881 there were 994 females for every 1000 males but there has been a fairly regular decrease most marked in the first subsequent decade when the proportion fell by 21 to 973 but uninterrupted until the present figure 924 was reached."

The paucity of females in Bengal is due to some extent to the excess of male emigrants to this province. But,

"In the natural population also, i.e., in the total numbers born in Bengal wherever enumerated, there has, however, been a marked continuous decline in the number of females per 1000 males."

The following table is taken from the Bengal Census Report for 1931.

Females per 1000 males in each principal religion					
1881-1931					
	Muslim	Hindu	Tribal	Buddhist	Christian
1881	988	999	997	983	838
1891	977	969	999	974	857



	Muslim	Hindu	Tribal	Buddhist	Christian
1901	968	951	990	979	852
1911	949	931	967	969	847
1921	945	916	973	961	889
1931	936	908	964	951	882

The All-India Census Report for 1931 is not yet available. Hence, figures for the whole of India cannot at present be given according to religion.

We do not here raise the question, whether female children who become widows before becoming wives physiologically, intellectually and spiritually, can be justly said to have had one husband apiece.

In England and many other European countries there are more females than males; yet widow-marriage prevails in those countries. So, there does not seem to be any automatically self-adjusting sociological law regulating the prevalence or non-prevalence of widow-marriage.

According to Swami Vivekananda, "widow-marriage obtains in communities having a greater number of men than women, as in their case the objection stated above does not exist." In accordance with the principle implied here, it would not be unjust, improper or unsociological if widow-marriage were to prevail among all Hindu castes in Bengal which have a greater number of men than women. And the only two castes having an excess of women have widow-marriage among them.

### *Bias of European Historians Against Asia*

In the popular edition of Mr. H. G. Wells' *Outline of History* the author says "He [Mr. Wells] began to realize how severely European historians have minimized the share of the Central Uplands of Asia and of the Persian, the Indian and the Chinese cultures in the drama of mankind." (Chapter 1, Section 1.)

### *Why Gordon Resigned the Private Secretaryship to Lord Ripon*

The following passage furnishes an example of a class of conventional lies of civilization:

"He [General Gordon] accepted the Private Secretaryship to Lord Ripon, the new Viceroy of

India, and, three days after his arrival at Bombay, he resigned. He had suddenly realized that he was not cut out for a Private Secretary, when on an address being sent in from some deputation he was asked to say that the Viceroy had read it with interest. 'You know perfectly,' he said to Lord William Beresford, 'that Lord Ripon has never read it, and I can't say that sort of thing.' 'So I will resign, and you take in my resignation.' *Eminent Victorians*, by Lytton Strachey, London, Chatto and Windus, 1926, p. 230.

### *Mr. Wells on Asiatic Religious Teachers*

In the same book Mr. Wells makes many interesting and instructive observations concerning the Buddha, Jesus Christ and Muhammad. To the first he assigns a very high place among the teachers of mankind. His observations on Muhammad cannot be safely quoted by non-Muslims in India. But Indian Muslims can safely read them without risk to their life and limbs, but not perhaps without risk to their orthodoxy.

### *Mahatma Gandhi Unconditionally Released*

It is joyful news that Mahatma Gandhi has been released unconditionally (on the 23rd August last) and that he broke his fast before driving to "Parnakuti," Poona, where he will stay for the present. A crisis has thus been averted.

But, considering Mr. Gandhi's past life and the importance and significance which he attaches to fasting, it may be expected that he may be imprisoned again and may fast again. Hence, there may also be the probability of a crisis again. It is necessary, therefore, to consider how the recent situation arose, which has been saved by the unconditional release of the Mahatma. The story is best told in the words of the Government *communiqué*, issued from Simla, on the 18th August, which is reproduced below:

After his arrest on the 1st August at Ahmedabad Mr. Gandhi addressed a letter to the superintendent, Ahmedabad Central Prison, in which he made the following request:

'You might know that before my discharge owing to my fast from the Yervada Central Prison in May last I was permitted to do Harijan work and thereabout see freely visitors and equally freely to receive and send letters, to have a typist and to receive newspapers, magazines and other

literature. I hope I would be given the same facilities now. I may state that a weekly newspaper called *Harijan* is issued at Poona and it is necessary for me to send matter for the paper and otherwise instruct the editor.'

On the 4th August after his re-arrest at Poona consequent upon his refusal to obey the order served upon him Mr. Gandhi repeated this request, remarking that *Harijan* work could not be interrupted except at peril to his life and asked for a reply by Monday, the 7th August. He was informed that the matter was under consideration, but that it was impossible for a decision to be reached by the date specified. Subsequently on the 8th and 10th August he addressed reminders to the Government.

#### LETTER TO BOMBAY GOVERNMENT

On the 14th August Mr. Gandhi forwarded the following letter to the Government of Bombay:

'It is now noon of Monday and I am yet without an answer to my request for resumption of *Harijan* work on the same terms as before my fast. This request was first conveyed on the first instant from the Central Prison, Ahmedabad, and has since been thrice repeated. The strain of deprivation of this work is becoming unbearable. If, therefore, I cannot have permission by noon next Wednesday I must deny myself all nourishment from that time save water and salt. That is the only way in which I can fulfil my vow and also relieve myself somewhat of the strain mentioned above.

'I do not want the suspension of nourishment in any way to act as pressure on the Government. Life ceases to interest me if I may not do *Harijan* service without let or hindrance. As I have made it clear in my previous correspondence and as the Government of India has admitted that permission to render that service is implied in the Yervada Pact to which the British Government is a consenting party in so far as its consent was necessary, therefore, I do indeed want permission, but only if the Government believe that justice demands it and not because I propose to deprive myself of food if it is not granted. That deprivation is intended purely for my consolation.'

#### SPECIAL FACILITIES TO MR. GANDHI

On the 16th August Mr. Gandhi was informed that it had been decided that he would be granted the following special facilities for the purpose of work strictly confined to anti-untouchability.

- (1) To receive newspapers and periodicals but not to be allowed interviews for publication in the press whether with press correspondents or others.
- (2) To see not more than two visitors a day.
- (3) To send instructions or contributions to the editor of the *Harijan* three times a week and a limited numbers of letters to other correspondents and
- (4) To have at his disposal a convict typist and books, newspapers, etc. needed for *Harijan* work.

#### ANOTHER LETTER TO BOMBAY GOVERNMENT

On this decision being communicated to him Mr. Gandhi at first indicated that he would not fast. Later, however, he addressed the following letter to the Bombay Government:

'I see that I have hastily and stupidly told you to restore the goats to me. It shows how disinclined I am to starve. But on reading the notes of the orders you have left with me they are so far short of the original orders of the Government of India and of my requirements that I must not be precipitate in breaking my fast. If the Government wish to go back upon those orders I shall be sorry but I may not work under the new orders which are a manifest departure from the original and which seem to me to be grudgingly given. I observe you cannot even let me have letters already in your possession and to hand over manuscript to the acting editor for this week's *Harijan*. It pains me to have to write this letter, but it will give me much greater pain if I break fast now and have to enter upon a prolonged controversy with the Government on many matters that need elucidation. I miss the Government's response to the meticulous care with which I am endeavouring to observe the jail discipline and as a prisoner tender co-operation which as a citizen outside the prison walks I consider it a religious duty to withhold.

#### DESPERATE NEED TO DO HARIJAN WORK

I have read your notes three times and each reading has increased my grief to discover that the Government cannot appreciate the desperate need there is for me to do *Harijan* work without let or hindrance. Much, therefore, as I am disinclined to continue the fast I feel I must go through the agony if I cannot serve the *Harijan* cause without the tremendous handicap which it seems to me the orders conveyed by you put upon it. Will you, therefore, please withdraw the milk and fruit already received by me and accept my apology for having hurriedly told you that I would break fast.'

#### NO INTERFERENCE WITH SOCIAL REFORM WORK

It has been explained to Mr. Gandhi that orders permitted him to interview the editor of the *Harijan* as one of his daily visitors and to hand him over his manuscript and that letters so far as they dealt with *Harijan* matters would be delivered to Mr. Gandhi. The Government are not aware what Mr. Gandhi means by saying that they have admitted that permission to do *Harijan* work in prison is implied in the Yervada Pact though it is true that in the exceptional circumstances prevailing immediately after that pact the Government did permit Mr. Gandhi as a State prisoner to inaugurate the movement to which he appeared to be devoting his whole attention. Protests were made at the time on behalf of the orthodox Hindu community who did not agree with Mr. Gandhi's policy in this matter against his being allowed facilities to conduct a public campaign from jail and it might well be argued that Mr. Gandhi having now after a period of freedom courted imprisonment again on a purely political issue should not be allowed any special treatment that is not given to other A class prisoners.

Nevertheless the Government has been reluctant to take action which could be regarded as an unreasonable interference with the work of social reform or to make their stand too rigidly on the fact that Mr. Gandhi is by his own deliberate act a prisoner convicted for breach of law.

## DICTATING TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT

In spite of inconvenience to jail discipline and anomaly of position they have allowed Mr. Gandhi facilities for pursuing his work on anti-untouchability which might enable him to make important and effective contribution towards it.

It was noticeable that when Mr. Gandhi was at liberty he did not appear to devote a major part of his time or attention to this movement. His main energies were employed on politics and on the continuance in whatever form might be possible of the movement of civil disobedience. His present claim that he should be allowed from prison to carry on his Harijan work 'without let or hindrance' amounts to a refusal to accept for himself the normal concomitants of imprisonment except restriction on his actual physical liberty and in effect is a claim to dictate terms of his imprisonment. The Government are satisfied that the facilities they have allowed are ample to enable Mr. Gandhi to conduct such work in favour of removal of untouchability as is in the circumstances reasonable.

## GOVERNMENT PREPARED TO RELEASE MR. GANDHI—IF

If Mr. Gandhi now feels, however, that life ceases to interest him, if he may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance the Government are prepared, provided Mr. Gandhi is willing to abandon all civil disobedience activities and incitements, to set him at liberty at once so that he can devote himself wholly and without restriction to the cause of social reform. Mr. Gandhi has been informed accordingly.

After his arrest on the 1st of August last at Ahmedabad he addressed a letter to the superintendent of the Ahmedabad Central Prison expressing a hope that he would be given the same facilities in that prison to do Harijan work as he had been given previously at Yeravada Central Prison. On the 4th of August after his re-arrest at Poona Gandhiji repeated his request for these facilities, observing that Harijan work could not be interrupted except at peril to his life. In the letter which he wrote to the Government of Bombay on the 14th August he says in effect that doing Harijan service is absolutely necessary for his existence. "The strain of deprivation of this work is becoming unbearable. If, therefore, I cannot have permission by noon next Wednesday, I must deny myself all nourishment from that time save water and salt." "Life ceases to interest me if I may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance." In a subsequent letter Mahatmaji refers to his "grief to discover that the Government cannot appreciate the desperate need there is for me to do Harijan work without let or hindrance."

How essential to his life Harijan service is, cannot be determined by anybody else. As to that he is the sole and best judge. Perhaps, if he had not been in prison and could do other things in addition to Harijan work, this kind of philanthropic service would not have been, and would not have been felt by him to be, his only and absolutely necessary sustenance.

He says in his letter of the 14th August :

"That [*viz.*, fasting] is the only way in which I can fulfil my vow and also relieve myself somewhat of the strain mentioned above ["The strain of deprivation of this work is becoming unbearable"]. I do not want the suspension of nourishment in any way to act as pressure on the Government. Life ceases to interest me if I may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance.....I do indeed want permission [to do Harijan work], but only if the Government believe that justice demands it and not because I propose to deprive myself of food if it is not granted. That deprivation is intended purely for my consolation."

As these words are the words of a truth-seeker and truth-speaker of Mahatma Gandhi's eminence, one should believe that he did not *intend* to put pressure on the Government by his fast. Nevertheless one cannot help being curious as to whether it never crossed Mahatmaji's mind that the fast would actually put pressure—if only indirect pressure, on the Government.

When Mahatmaji fasted before the Poona Pact relating to depressed class seats in the Legislatures, etc., that fast did put pressure on Indians, as Rabindranath Tagore has openly confessed, though such pressure might not have been intended by the Mahatma.

The pressure felt by Indians is direct. There are, we believe, some Englishmen and other foreigners on whom Mahatmaji's fast puts direct pressure. But it may be said without injustice to British politicians and bureaucrats that the pressure which they feel—if and when they do so, is of the indirect sort. That is to say, they do not feel so much anxiety for Mahatma Gandhi's life as Indians do; what they try to anticipate and provide for is the unrest, the commotion and the disturbances in India and adverse public opinion abroad likely to be produced by the treatment accorded to.



Gandhiji and his possible death due to fasting.

We are not parts of the Government of India, and need not, therefore, speculate as to what they think of Gandhiji's fasts and what action they would or should take under what circumstances. But we are members of the Indian community, and as such are constrained to observe that, though fasts undertaken solely for one's own purification and consolation are the exclusive concern of the individual fasting, fasts undertaken directly or indirectly to bring about political or social changes *have* a coercive effect, even though coercion may not be intended. Like other coercion, this sort of unintended coercion is also undesirable and produces some harmful consequences. Under such coercion, some people may pretend to be convinced or think they have been convinced when they are not really convinced, and they may be hurried into agreeing to or doing things which they would not have agreed to or done if there had not been any pressure on their minds. Therefore such coercion does not lead to universally sincere conduct and lasting reform.

### *Government and Gandhiji's Facilities in Prison for Harijan Service*

In the *communiqué*, reproduced in the previous note *in extenso*, Government put their own case mainly in the passage beginning with the words, "The Government are not aware what Mr. Gandhi means by saying. . ." and ending with the sentence, "Mr. Gandhi has been informed accordingly." We will now examine it without quoting it again.

Government say that Gandhiji was given certain facilities for doing Harijan work from Yeravada Central Prison "in exceptional circumstances." So far as Harijan service is concerned, the circumstances remain practically and substantially the same as before. Some Harijan work has been done, but the bulk of the work remains to be done, and for its doing Gandhiji's labours are required as much as before. The *political* circumstances *have* changed, no doubt, to some extent. But it would be a mistake to think that that change has affected Mr. Gandhi's moral and spiritual influence over

the people of India, or that it has made it easier and safer to slight him.

Some stress appears to have been laid on the words, "a movement to which he appeared to be devoting his whole attention." We say so because, a few sentences after, the Government say, "It was noticeable that when Mr. Gandhi was at liberty he did not appear to devote the major part of his time or attention to this movement." But what he did when he was at liberty is irrelevant. What is relevant is that, when at Yeravada prison before, he strictly conformed to the condition of confining himself to Harijan work, and during his last incarceration, too, he was ready to behave exactly in the same way. When he was at liberty, he was not on parole—he was free to do what he thought proper. And the obvious reason why he did not and could not devote much time and attention to Harijan work was that he was busy winding up his political activities and the Sabarmati Ashram, which was work which could not be put off, as subsequent events have shown.

The mention of protests on behalf of the orthodox Hindu community in this connection does not improve the Government's case. If in spite of such protests, facilities were given to Mr. Gandhi formerly, there was no reason why owing to these past protests the same facilities should be denied him afterwards. "It might be well argued," etc., says the *communiqué*. Argued by whom? A "willing to wound but afraid to strike" attitude cannot be appreciated.

The *communiqué* attempts to draw a distinction between a State prisoner, which Mr. Gandhi formerly was, and an "A" class ordinary prisoner, which he recently became. But if Government wanted to treat him just like other "A" class prisoners, he ought not to have been given any facilities at all for Harijan work. There is no difference in principle between being allowed to write thrice a week and every day, between being allowed to see two visitors or four visitors, and so on. Besides, Mr. Gandhi had not asked to be allowed to do whatever he liked. He wanted to have only those facilities which he had in prison formerly. The Government do not, as they cannot, say that giving him those

facilities on a former occasion produced any untoward results.

It should be borne in mind that the Bombay Government could have kept Mahatmaji in prison as a State prisoner for an indefinite period after his arrest on the 1st of August at Ahmedabad. But this same Bombay Government released him a few days afterwards, ordering him not to leave Poona. This Government's officers knew that he was not the man to obey such an order. So the fact that they served such an order upon him with the knowledge of his opinions which they possessed, looks like manufacturing a "crime" in order that he might be convicted and then treated as an ordinary "A" class prisoner as distinguished from a State prisoner.

The *communiqué* states that Mahatma Gandhi "courted imprisonment again on a political issue." Disobeying the arbitrary order not to leave Poona was a merely technical offence. It hardly deserves the dignified name of "a political issue!" It was no doubt a "breach of law," but what law!

Government profess to have been reluctant to take action which could be regarded as unreasonable interference with the work of social reform. What Mahatmaji wanted was that they should be consistently as pro-social-reform as they were previously. Besides, the Bombay Government could not have been unaware that, when Mahatmaji started the Harijan movement from Yeravada Central Prison, people's attention and Congressmen's energies were diverted from civil disobedience to the promotion of anti-untouchability work. "It might well be argued," to borrow the words of the *communiqué*, that when the Bombay Government saw that mass civil disobedience had been called off and all secret plans tabooed, they felt that there was no longer any necessity for diverting men's attention and energies from Non-co-operation to anything else, and that that was the real reason why the former facilities for Harijan work were refused.

It was unfair and ungenerous to charge Gandhiji with "refusal to accept for himself the normal concomitants of imprisonment;" for, whenever imprisoned, he has meticulously observed all jail rules and been an exemplary

prisoner. It was the Government which on a previous occasion, for reasons of their own, had freed him from conformity to "the normal concomitants of imprisonment" in certain respects. On the subsequent occasions he wanted only the same freedom, not more. Nor can he be fairly or logically accused of claiming "to dictate the terms of his imprisonment." What he claimed and claimed justly was that Government should not be illogical and inconsistent.

Government might be "satisfied that the facilities they have allowed are ample," etc., but the man who was to do the work and who enjoyed greater facilities before thought they were not sufficient; and he ought to know best.

The *communiqué* concluded with the astonishing offer that, if Gandhiji was willing to abandon all civil disobedience activities and incitements, he would be set at liberty at once! Government must have formed an absolutely wrong idea of Mahatmaji's character and personality, if they thought that there was the least chance of his accepting such an offer.

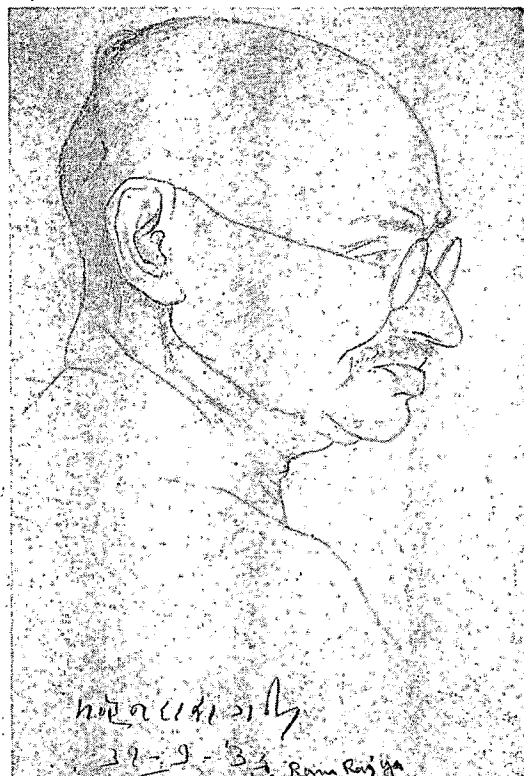
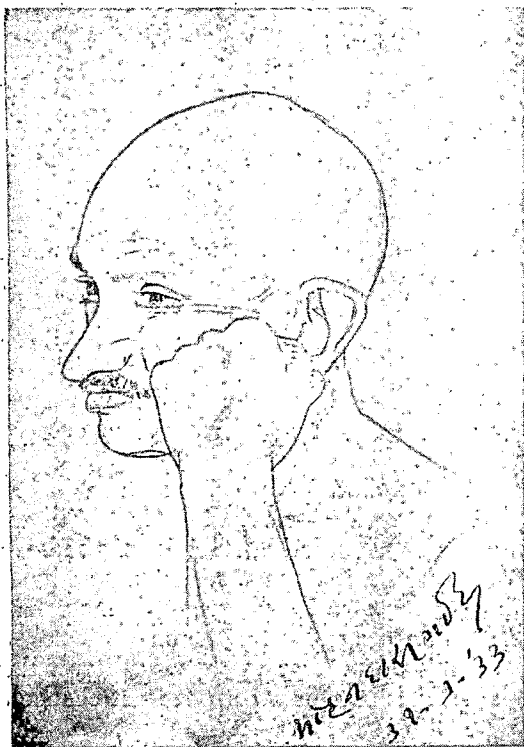
### *Mahatmaji's Two Punishments*

When Mahatma Gandhi was about to proceed to Ras he was arrested, on the ground that he was going to incite the villagers there to individual civil disobedience. He was set free after three days. When he was re-arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment, it was because he would not obey the order not to leave Poona. So the second offence was  $121\frac{2}{3}$  times as heinous as the first. That is legal arithmetic.

### *Bengal Conference on Communal Settlements*

Calcutta, Aug. 21.

A conference of the representatives of the Liberals of Bengal was held last evening in the Indian Association Hall, Mr. J. N. Basu presiding. The conference, which was not open to the press, was addressed by Sir N. N. Sircar, who in a lengthy speech is understood to have reviewed the work of the Joint Select Committee, giving an idea as to what was likely to result from the committee's labours regarding the future constitution of India.



Mahatma Gandhi. After two recent pencil sketches by Sriyut Kanu Desai, and by his courtesy

#### COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT

The conference passed a resolution protesting against the communal settlement as laid down in the White Paper as 'being contrary to all accepted rules of representation of communities in the constitution of States and also to the ideals of justice and fair-play.' It considered that the White Paper settlement of the communal questions as regards Bengal sacrificed the just rights of one community to favour others and thought that the placing of political powers on a basis of creed and class was an element of disruption which would destroy the solidarity of the State and cripple its usefulness.

#### JUTE EXPORT DUTY

Another resolution urged upon the British Government the necessity for allocating the whole of the jute export duty to Bengal, inasmuch as the jute crop was almost the monopoly of this province and was produced at great sacrifice made by the people of this province in health and comforts.

#### SHARE IN TAXES

It also urged that, having regard to the financial condition of the province during the last 13 years and the gloomy prospects it had in future, Bengal be assigned at least 75 per cent. of the taxes on the income realized from Bengal.

#### PRICE OF AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES

The third resolution urged the Government to take steps to double the prices of agricultural

commodities through proper management of currency with a view to adequately reducing the exchange value of rupee, having regard to the serious fall in the buying power of the people due to drop in prices of agricultural commodities and having regard to the consequent misery among all sections of the people and to the great increase in unemployment.—A. P.

Though this conference was a conference of the Liberals, the resolutions passed therein have the support of a very much wider public. In fact, we do not know of any section of the public of Bengal, including Congressmen, who would not support the last three resolutions, the first being opposed only by the favourites.

#### Welcome to Sir N. N. Sircar

The work done by Sir N. N. Sircar in England with conspicuous ability and political acumen for obtaining justice for Bengal has rightly earned for him wide recognition and appreciation in Bengal. There is no thinking man in Bengal, whatever his religious or political creed, who can refuse to support his contentions for securing



financial justice to Bengal. As for his views on the communal settlements, all Nationalists, whether Congressmen, Liberals or others, whatever their religion may be, ought to see that they do not involve injustice to any non-Hindu section or to the "depressed" Hindus.

### *"High-caste" and "Depressed"*

#### *Hindus in Bengal*

There is an erroneous impression abroad that the Premier's Communal Decision and the Poona Pact go or are believed to go only against the interest of the "high caste" Hindus of Bengal. That is not correct. The Communal Decision and the Poona Pact are such that, even with the fullest provincial autonomy, if they are left unaltered, then, Bengal will be entirely at the mercy of the bureaucracy, and the cause of freedom and the economic, educational and other interests of the Province will suffer very greatly. The Moslems and the depressed class Hindus may get a few more jobs, but even these classes as a whole will not be better off than they are now.

#### *The Courts and the People*

Remarkable concurrent judgments were pronounced by a full bench of the Allahabad High Court in a recent case in which a Congressman was the accused.

The Allahabad correspondent of *The Tribune* writes :

The matter had been referred to a full Bench, and separate but concurrent judgments were delivered by the Chief Justice and Justice Sir Lal Gopal Mukerji and Justice King setting aside the conviction of Mr. Bisheshwar Prasad Sinha, a barrister of Patna, under section 17(2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act by a Magistrate of Benares and quashing the sentence of 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200 fine passed on him.

The charge against him was that he assisted the activities of an unlawful association, *viz.*, the All-India Congress Committee. Their Lordships found that the conviction was illegal, inasmuch as the All-India Congress Committee of which the accused was said to be the accountant had never been declared an unlawful association by the Government.

The points of law arising out of the revision, which was filed in High Court, not by the accused, but by his mother, Shrimati Shailabala Devi, who was herself no party to the case before the

Magistrate, were discussed at a great length by their Lordships.

The full judgments of all the three Judges deserve to be studied. We give below some extracts from the judgment of Sir Lal Gopal Mukerji :

The Crown is the protector of subjects and, therefore, should see that no innocent person being its subject shall suffer and that no subject shall suffer a larger sentence than what is just and proper. This duty and privilege of the Crown is entrusted to the High Court and this is the reason for conferring on it large powers both under the Government of India Act, Sec. 107, and Sec. 439, Criminal Procedure Code.

In this particular case the Crown Counsel has admitted that the conviction is illegal. It would then be the duty of the Court to interfere, it being absolutely immaterial for the purpose who gives information on which the Court is to act. Higher Courts exist to correct the errors of the lower Courts, and Judges, whether they be of higher Courts or lower Courts, must be above the idea of their prestige suffering by a reversal of their judgments. The Courts and the officers of the Courts exist for the people and it was not the case that the people existed for the Courts and officers. No question of fairness to the Magistrate arose and, therefore, the application should be heard. "It had been said that High Court should not encourage third party applications. This idea, his Lordship said, was based on a misconception of the duties of High Court. High Court was not intended for the general administration of the country and could not be guided by matters of policy. Let there be no illegal convictions and no too severe punishments and High Court will not interfere. High Court's duty is to see that the criminal law is properly administered. It does not make law, nor does it dictate the policy of the law. It takes the law as it stands for the time being and administers it and sees that Courts under it administer the law properly. The Legislature has not so far declared that illegal convictions shall stand unless the convicted persons themselves move for the setting aside of the conviction.

His Lordship further observed :

Whether the convicted person was a Congressman or whether he was a Communist or a Jew was a question which did not legitimately arise before a court of justice. The only relevant question was, had he committed an offence. If he had, he might be the most anti-Congressman, if it be permissible to coin such an expression, yet he will be punished. High Court will interfere if a proper case is made out.

His Lordship the Chief Justice said in the course of his judgment :

It also seemed to his Lordship that, although they had discretion not to interfere, a refusal to intervene on the mere ground that the accused had some sort of a scrupulous objection to invoke the jurisdiction of the Magistrate's Court or of High Court would be more in the nature of vindictiveness than administration of justice. However

willing an accused might be to submit to a sentence and however reluctant he might be to move High Court, his lordship would have no hesitation in setting aside his conviction if he were satisfied that the conviction was illegal.

I do not think, His Lordship added, my action in such a way would in any sense be derogatory to the dignity of the High Court. Indeed I consider that it would be upholding its dignity and maintaining the high traditions of this Court if in spite of the accused's recalcitrance I were to interfere even where an accused has been guilty of a contempt of Court. I would punish him separately for such a contempt but would not on that account uphold an illegal conviction.

### *Jnan Chandra Banerji*

Mr. Jnan Chandra Banerji, M. A., B. L., of the Bengal Provincial Judicial Service, died recently at the age of 57. He was not much known to the public, but readers of *The Modern Review* will recognize who and what he was when they are told that for years he used to contribute to its pages valuable articles and reviews of books under the *nom de plume* of "Politicus." He was a very well-read man and wrote both Bengali and



Jnan Chandra Banerji

English with ease and in an elegant style. He often sent us extracts from the works of distinguished contemporary authors for use in our Notes. Some of these are still with us. He was noted as much for the depth and extent of his scholarship as for his ardent patriotism and the maturity and sobriety of his judgment. He had prepared himself to write some books on ancient India, but unfortunately died before he could fulfil his desire.

### *Rammohun Roy Centenary*

Rammohun Roy died at Bristol on the 27th of September, 1833. Hence the date of his centenary falls on the 27th of September of this year. But in many provinces of India the Durga Puja or Dasehra holidays will commence before that date and end some days after it. For this reason it may not be convenient for all provinces and places to celebrate the centenary exactly on that date. Different provinces and places have decided to celebrate it at different times according to local convenience. For instance, the celebrations in Calcutta have been fixed for the last week of December next, Patna will have its celebrations in November, Lahore in October, Dacca on the 27th of September, etc. It is probable that in England and America there will be celebrations in September or October.

The usual anniversary celebrations will, of course, take place everywhere on the 27th of September, the centenary being celebrated on locally convenient dates during the current year.

### *Calcutta Municipal Bill*

In previous numbers we have had our say on the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill. It is neither necessary nor practicable to repeat what we have written therein. Nor do we find it necessary in the interests of truth and justice to withdraw or correct anything that we have said before.

The Bill is both unnecessary and retrograde in character. This does not mean that the Calcutta Corporation is perfection itself or that the Act which brought it into existence and legalizes, authorizes and regulates its activities and proceedings is without flaws and defects. Amendments are necessary to make the Calcutta Corporation properly more *self-governing* for beneficial ends. For this purpose, what was necessary was for Bengal Government representatives to sit in conference with Calcutta Corporation representatives to find out how the Councillors and Aldermen of Calcutta could *themselves* labour for making it an ideal city in all respects. But the present Bill, whatever its real object, if passed substantially

in its present form, will be a blow struck at self-government, and will to some extent substitute auditor-rule and police-rule for self-rule.

That the Calcutta Corporation wasted huge sums before Sir Surendranath Banerjea's Act came into operation cannot, of course, excuse less waste, if any, under the Swarajist regime. But a Government which swallowed a camel during pre-Swarajist days ought not to strain at a gnat now, assuming that there is a gnat. Where was the Bengal Government's anxiety for the rate-payer's money in pre-Swarajist days?

That there is the rule of red tape in the Corporation and consequent delay, is true. But the length of the red tape in Government offices is at least equal, if not greater.

A, or the, principal count in the Government's indictment of the Corporation is that it has employed a small number of persons who had been convicted of offences against the State. Those who have examined the local self-government Minister's statements in this particular have exposed his inaccuracies and exaggerations; it need not be done again. What we have to point out is that the Government themselves do not lay down the principle that the Corporation must not employ persons who have been convicted of offences—Government themselves have not consistently observed any such principle. What Government appears to insist upon is that before any "ex-convict" is appointed by the Corporation, Government in consultation with the Police Department should have the power to sanction or prohibit such appointment. This would be a negation of self-government. The police should not have such large and undefined powers, if for no other reasons than this that thousands of young men (and some young women, too) have been interned during recent years for indefinitely long periods without any charge or trial, merely on the suspicion of the police.

Some advocates of bureaucratic ideas and methods accuse the Corporation of having rewarded offenders against the State. But these advocates have not been able to show that any of these "offenders" were incapable of discharging the duties of their posts

and were appointed merely because they were anti-Government. Besides, if the Corporation wanted to appoint offenders against the State as teachers in Corporation schools merely because of their anti-Government proclivities or activities, it could have chosen all its 1200 teachers from among this class of persons, there being so many thousands of them, instead of appointing only two or three or four dozen of them.

We think the defects and shortcomings of the Corporation should and can be substantially removed by vigilant and active public opinion. Even if it were assumed that the Government of Bengal have drafted their Bill in the interests of the ratepayers and of self-government—we know of no grounds for such an assumption, even then it must be said that increasing the powers of the bureaucracy and the police in relation to the Corporation is not at all the best means which can be adopted for promoting these interests.

One word more. Not being Congressmen and not having at any time anything to do with the affairs of the Corporation, we do not know whether Congressite Councillors ever entertained the idea of rewarding Congress workers—particularly political sufferers among them, with posts at their disposal. But let us suppose they had and have some such idea. On that supposition, we do not find any difference in the principles and practice of the Government and those of the Calcutta Corporation. Government do reward many persons for their loyalty or loyalism with titles for them and jobs for their relatives and protégés. It is well known that, not only individuals, but whole classes are favoured, not because they are the fittest or fitter than others, but because of their loyalism and obsequiousness, and that in spite of their comparative unfitness. So, if it be right and proper for Government to favour persons and classes, in spite of their comparative unfitness, on the ground of their loyalism, it would not be wrong and improper for the Congress party in the Corporation to favour fit men who held and acted up to and suffered for Congress views. Of course, Government can say, "We will stop such appointments," and they have the power to do



so. But obviously while saying so and doing so, it would ill become Government to stand on a high moral pedestal.

### *Wanted A Ratepayers' Organ*

We have said above that the defects and shortcomings of the Calcutta Corporation should and can be removed by a vigilant public opinion. For rousing and calling into active existence such public opinion and making it effective, a central Ratepayer's Association with ward branches and an organ of its own are necessary. *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* is an ably conducted journal and has been doing very useful work. But as it is the organ of the Corporation, it cannot obviously do the work of a critical Ratepayers' organ such as the one we have in view. If there be such a newspaper in Calcutta, the ratepayers in the mofussil also may use its columns for furthering their interests.

### *The Unemployment Problem in India*

On the 22nd August last Mr. D. P. Khaitan presided over the All-Bengal Unemployed Youths' Conference in Calcutta. Though the unemployment problem is acutest in Bengal, it is acute in other provinces, too. Hence, Mr. Khaitan's presidential address should be discussed and utilized in all provinces. He began by saying :

It is a tragic sight to see smart educated young men going from door to door in search of employment but in vain. Humanity requires every person to do whatever he can to solve the problem of unemployment and under-employment. The Government of every civilized country in the world, except the Government of India, is devoting serious attention to its solution. The misery due to unemployment and under-employment is so widespread that it is hardly necessary to ascertain the number of the unemployed.

Turning to the particular case of Bengal, he said :

The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, however, made an attempt and found on the basis of the census figures of 1931 that the total number of unemployed in Bengal was about 8½ millions. It is estimated that the educated unemployed in Bengal would not be less than one lac.

Mr. Khaitan next discussed remedies, observing :

It is obviously necessary that new avenues of employment should be discovered. The demand

that is often made for a communal distribution of appointments at the disposal of the Government, Municipalities, &c. is no solution. Such appointments are necessarily limited in number and we have to find out methods by which a larger number of persons can find employment.

Agriculturists form the bulk of our population. Owing to the tremendous fall in the prices of agricultural commodities, they have not been able to pay their rent, cess and interest on loans. So the Zemindars, too, have suffered. "Due to adversity among their clients and customers, the professional and mercantile classes have necessarily suffered miserably." Mr. Khaitan has tried to give an idea of the disastrous fall in the income of the agricultural classes of Bengal.

If we statistically investigate the position, we find that after deducting the quantity of food grains consumed by the agricultural classes the annual average harvest value of the crops in Bengal in the decade 1920-21 to 1922-30 was about Rs. 72 crores. The monetary liabilities of the agriculturists for rent, cess and interest amounted to about Rs. 28 crores. They had thus a free purchasing power of about Rs. 43 crores per annum.

In the year 1932-33, the harvest value of such crops in Bengal fell to about Rs. 32 crores. The fixed monetary liabilities of the agriculturists continued to be the same as before, viz., about Rs. 28 crores. It is obvious that if the agricultural classes that constitute 77.8 per cent. of the population paid their liabilities, they would be left without any purchasing power whatsoever. In such circumstances, it is not difficult to understand why the economic position of all classes of the people in Bengal is as bad as we find it.

The remedies suggested by Mr. Khaitan are meant not for Bengal alone but for the whole of India.

What then is the remedy? I am unhesitatingly of the opinion that the first and immediate necessity, and the primary duty of the Government, is to double the prices of the agricultural commodities. This will only restore us to the position we were in during the decade 1920-21 to 1929-30, I am putting it in the forefront of the programme, because, if the Government takes the proper steps, it is not at all difficult to achieve the object within a short time in a self-contained country like India, irrespective of the conditions in the world.

If only our currency had been properly managed, India need never have been a victim of the world depression. And howmuchsoever we may have suffered in the past, it is not difficult to secure relief in the immediate future. Japan and America did not wait for improvement in the world conditions before adopting a suitable remedy. The Hon'ble Sir George Schuster said at the Ottawa Conference that the raising of prices was India's necessity. The same opinion was expressed by the Govern-

ment of India delegates at the World Economic Conference. But it is a matter of great regret and disappointment that no action has been taken by the Government to improve the position. After the World Economic Conference was adjourned (or after it failed), a statement was issued in England that the British Empire would take steps to increase the prices, but again no action has been taken.

He next proposes the reduction of the exchange ratio to 9d. for securing the doubling of the prices of agricultural produce, or in any case to 12d. for a 50 per cent increase of agricultural prices.

These are the immediate remedies suggested. The permanent measures proposed are that in addition to large-scale industries, where possible, there should be middle-sized industries and cottage industries, with central institutions in each subdivision of the province for their promotion.

### *Indo-British Contact and Companionship*

In the course of his last Bombay University Convocation address Sir Frederick Sykes, the Governor of Bombay, said :

I have always thought that the two real enemies of the British Empire are time and distance and that anything that we do to lessen their power means better understanding and closer companionship; particularly at this time in the relations between Great Britain and India. Let both see more of each other and let us talk to each other more and more freely.

Of course, it is convenient for British imperialists that the outlying portions of the regions of the earth that are *subject to them*, which are their real *empire*, should be within striking and overawing distance, in case their inhabitants became rebellious in a violent or non-violent manner. In that sense time and distance are really enemies of the imperialistic idea, and the more science kills distance and time, the more convenient it becomes for those who can use her as their handmaid.

It is thinkable that lessening the power of time and distance would promote better understanding and closer companionship among peoples possessed of a truly independent political status, though it has not yet done so. Swifter transmission of news and speedier locomotion and transportation by sea, land and air have made warfare more deadly

and more probable. Let us hope, however, that independent peoples will gradually perceive the beauty and utility of peace.

As regards peoples who stand in the relation of owners and animate property, masters and servants, or rulers and ruled (to use the euphemistic phrase), the killing of time and distance cannot by itself promote true understanding and companionship between them.

What is the good of Britishers and Indians seeing more of one another, when many of the most freedom-loving and self-respecting Indians can be seen by official Britishers mostly in the docks as accused, and thought of by non-official Britishers mostly as people who refuse to be commercially exploited? "Let us talk to each other more and more freely," says Sir Frederick Sykes. Britishers can talk to Indians quite freely, because practically no penal laws stand in the way of their freely giving vent to their thoughts and feelings even in very uncomplimentary and abusive ways. It is only when Britishers have to play the hypocrite to deceive gullible Indians that they cannot talk freely. As for Indians, does not Sir Frederick know the perils of Indians talking or writing freely to or for even their own countrymen? But perhaps His Excellency thought Bombay graduates were fools who would swallow anything.

### *Mr. C. F. Andrews on the Heart of England*

We are glad Mr. C. F. Andrews is in India again. His stay here will enable him to be up-to-date in his understanding of Indian opinion in relation to the coming constitutional changes, which he does not appear to be. The Associated Press got the following expression of his views from him when he landed in Bombay on the 17th August last :

When the report of the Joint Select Committee was published, it would become the foundation of the Indian Constitution Act. But even so, delay was bound to be serious, as the Rothermere-Churchill party is bound to place obstacles in the way of the Bill when it would be introduced in Parliament.

It was now clear from Sir Samuel Hoare's evidence that the National Government would stand by the White Paper proposals, although there might be suggestions for slight modifications. He added that the most serious crisis regarding

Indian questions would occur when the report of the Select Committee was published, as there would then come a straight fight within the Conservative Party, which had been delayed hitherto and it would be fought to a finish.

In this connection he referred to the rumour that Mr. Lloyd George would finally side with the reactionaries, but that, however, was by no means certain. But if he put his magnetic personality on the side of reaction, it would be a serious blow.

Mr. Andrews, however, personally did not think that this would happen. He made a forecast that, when the die-hards in England commenced their fight to a finish, wild speeches would be made, Mr. Churchill would be much in the limelight and money would be extravagantly used for propaganda purposes. Despite all this, he believed that the heart of England was sound and if a right appeal was made Britain would do the right thing.

Mr. Andrews appears to be under the impression that it would be a calamity if the White Paper proposals were not embodied substantially in the Constitution Act. That is not the prevailing Indian opinion. Even the Liberals, popularly called Moderates, do not think of the White Paper as Mr. Andrews seems to do. We shall not certainly weep, some of us may even rejoice, if the White Paper be turned down. Instead of nationalizing the Government of India, it seeks to make foreign rule stronger, more lasting and more autocratic.

It is not in a cynical spirit, that we say that, though we have found and admired England's intellect in her literature and have found and loved even her heart in it, we have failed to find any heart in the classes as a whole which have hitherto ruled India. As we do not know where and what this heart is, no wonder we have failed to make the right appeal to it. The histories of the United States of America, of Canada and of the South African Union cannot give us any clue to the whereabouts and character of this heart; for they appealed not to this heart but to something else, an appeal to which on the part of Indians is out of the question and discountenanced by India's foremost political leader.

### Radhanath Sikdar

Our readers will remember that Radha Nath Sikdar, on whose life some new light is thrown in the article on him published in this issue, was the man who found out by

computation the highest peak in the Himalayan range, which was subsequently named Mount Everest. It appears from the new material now made public that he was not only a computer but actively participated in survey work.

### *Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and Jute Export Duty*

The news that Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas had opposed the allocation of the Jute Export Duty to Bengal in the Joint Select Committee appeared first in an Anglo-Indian paper and was afterwards copied in Indian papers. Thereupon Mr. Amritlal Ojha sent him the following cable:

"Considerable feeling created here against Bombay interests, yourself, owing report your opposition Jute Duty allocating to Bengal. Situation detrimental national solidarity. Bombay opinion here supports Bengal claim. Please cable position. If report incorrect, authorize me contradict same.—Amritlal Ojha."

To the above Sir Purshottamdas sent the following reply:

"Shown your wire Sir N. N. Sircar who authorizes inform you no truth I opposed Jute Duty allocation. Hubert Carr agrees no justification said allegation. Your wire has surprised all three of us—Purshottamdas."

### *No More Acting Congress Presidents*

Sardar Sardulsinh Caveeshar, after his arrest for picketing foreign cloth shops, has issued the following statement to the Press:

"As explained by Mahatmaji in his statement about the discussions at Poona, I do not think that there is now any necessity for appointing any more Acting Presidents for the Indian National Congress. When going to jail, I, therefore, nominate no one to act in my place; the powers of the President naturally revert to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, the President of the Indian National Congress session held at Karachi. As the office of the Acting President is discontinued, similarly Provincial, District and other Dictatorships, wherever they exist, are also abolished henceforth."

Was there then no Congress session held in Calcutta this year? If there was a Calcutta session, the powers of the Congress President should revert to the president of that session.

### *Railway Board*

Railways are among the conveniences and necessities of modern civilized life. Indian railways have been of some use to Indians. To Britain they have been highly advantage-



ous in two directions, strategic and commercial. Leaving their strategic aspect aside, one finds that they have been used to promote the import of foreign manufactures, which has resulted in the decline and ruin of indigenous industries, and to push forward the export abroad of raw materials to be sent back to India in a manufactured form. A national government would have used the railways for the advancement of indigenous industries and trade and to a far greater extent than can be done in the present political condition of India. Foreign industrialists and merchants know that the nationalization of India's government cannot be put off for ever. As a safeguard against that (for them) evil day, they are taking good care to bring into existence a Railway Board which will not be under the control of the Indian Legislature, so that the huge revenue of the Indian railway system and Indian railway administration in general may subserve the interests of the British exploiters of India to as great an extent as practicable. Hence the Railway Board is being re-constituted before the passing of the Indian Constitution Act, it having been obviously decided beforehand that the Indian Legislature, however constituted, must not have anything to do with the creation and subsequent control of the Board.

### *Reserve Bank*

Whatever the details of the constitution and administration of the proposed Reserve Bank, what must make it totally unacceptable to freedom-loving Indians is that it will not be under national control—it will subserve the ends, not of India, but of Britain. The object of the Reserve Bank is the same as that of the Railway Board to be reconstituted.

It has been said that the Reserve Bank must not be under any political influence. We are aware that in many truly independent countries arrangements exist for keeping similar banks free from the influence of *internal* party politics, and, of course, there was no question of foreigners being allowed to control these banks for attaining their own objects. In the case of the proposed Reserve Bank for India, whilst the Indian legislature is not to have control over it on the plea that it should be free from politi-

cal influence, official and non-official Britishers will control it for gaining their own political and economic objects—namely, keeping their hold over India through the power of the purse (indirectly) and making money by manipulating exchange and currency in British interests.

In the course of his presidential address at the second quarterly general meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker surveyed the important features of the proposed Reserve Bank. Mentioning and summing up the comparative advantages and disadvantages of a State Bank and a shareholders' bank, he appeared to favour the inauguration of a Reserve Bank on a share basis. He went on to observe:

Whatever capital structure we may adopt for the bank, the real question is whether it would ensure national control. A very large number of countries has established Central Banks on the shareholding principle and have worked them successfully without in any way diminishing the extent of public control or sacrificing its national character. France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Denmark, Greece, Hungary, Chile, all have Central Banks with share capital and yet have absolute national control over the institutions.

Although there may be agreement on a shareholders' bank, the present proposals do not so guarantee complete Indian national control. The proposals framed by the Committee are in this respect defective, and for that reason alone their reception in the country has been cold, if not positively hostile. The committee did not bestow much thought upon this paramount consideration.

The absence of national control over the Reserve Bank cannot but retard and prevent our political progress.

In most foreign countries restrictions of one kind or another have been placed upon non-nationals holding shares or occupying seats on the directorate of Central Banks. An examination particularly of the constitutions of the Central Banks of countries like Japan, France, Belgium, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Sweden, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Estonia, Lithuania and even England reveals how jealously they guarantee national ownership and control.

As regards the minimum proportion of shares and seats on the Directorate which Indian should be entitled to hold, Mr. Sarker's opinion is to be found in the passage printed below.

Even recognizing the drawbacks of the present position one would have expected to find in the proposals for a Reserve Bank for an economically

undeveloped and dependent country like India a definite provision ensuring the ownership of a minimum proportion of shares by Indians and a minimum percentage of Indians on the Directorate. It would, I think, under these circumstances meet the wishes of India, if not less than three quarters of the shares were reserved to natural-born Indians and if not less than three-fourths of the total number of Directors were required to be natural-born Indians. Even in countries where the possibility of foreigners acquiring control over their Central Banks is remote, such restrictions have generally been imposed by statute. In a subject country, where the danger is more real, such provisions are imperatively necessary.

Mr. Sarker observes with reference to the management of the bank :

The constitution of the Board is open to objection on some important grounds. While eight Directors are to be elected by the share-holders, the Governor-General is empowered "at his discretion" to nominate four directors in order to guarantee the representation of interests like agriculture. While the necessity for ensuring the representation of special interests is admitted, one fails to see why the Governor-General should be considered the only competent person for achieving it. In the representative Government of the future such functions should naturally fall within the province of the responsible Finance Minister. The four directors representing special interests should therefore be nominated by the Governor-General on the advice of the Finance Minister.

I must express my disagreement with the proposal which vests in the Governor-General the power of appointing the Governor and the Deputy Governors of the Reserve Bank. I would commend, instead, the practice followed in two European countries. The Governor and Deputy Governors of the Bank of France are appointed by the President of the Republic on the proposal of the Finance Minister. The President of the Bank of Poland is appointed by the President of the Republic on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The Governor and Deputy Governors of the Indian Reserve Bank should be appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the Finance Minister.

Mr. Sarker approves of some recommendations of the Reserve Bank Committee.

The recommendations made by the Reserve Bank Committee to the effect that the minimum voting qualification should be two shares and that the allocation of shares and the constitution of the Directorate should be on a regional basis and also the provision made for the representation of important interests like agriculture, such as may not gain representation by the ordinary procedure of election, will undoubtedly be an effective safeguard against undue influence in the affairs of the Bank by sectional or any particular regional interests, acquired through the control of voting power.

He has subjected the proposals of the committee relating to exchange and ratio to unfavorable criticism, observing, in part :

Even if we concede that exchange stability should be achieved and maintained, the ratio at which it should be fixed is a matter on which Indian opinion has differed acutely from the Government. The Rupee today is demonstrably over-valued, and the maintenance of its artificial exchange value stands in the way of achieving what is eminently more necessary and desirable—namely, the raising of internal prices. If a higher price-level is considered necessary for economic revival, the artificially high exchange value of the Rupee is the surest device for delaying it. The Rupee requires to be immediately devalued after examination by a small expert Committee. Under the changing conditions of the future, if further reconsideration is necessary, the Bill must make a provision empowering the Finance Minister to do so in consultation with the Reserve Bank.

In conclusion Mr. Sarker said :

The most retrograde feature of the new proposals is that the Finance Minister does not come into the picture at all. That the future Minister should be required to manage the finance of the Federation without some real influence over the Reserve Bank is very surprising. According to the present proposals, the future Finance Minister would not possess a tenth of the powers exercised today by the Finance Member in matters relating to the currency, exchange and banking policy of the country. Could it be because the future Finance Minister would be an Indian and responsible, whereas the present Finance Member is a European and largely irresponsible? Read in conjunction with the general trend of the White Paper proposals and the spirit of "reserved powers" and "special responsibilities," one cannot help concluding that in many important respects the Reserve Bank recommendations represent but another indirect, yet effective, attempt to circumscribe the theory of "central responsibility," which has been reduced to a magnified myth.

### *Transfrontier Bombing from the Air*

Bombing from the air has been going on in N.-W. transfrontier "enemy" villages in the face of the overwhelming majority opinion in the Disarmament Conference against the use of air bombing. Such practice has been defended on the ground that it is speedier in effect and less destructive of human life than the ordinary methods of warfare. But the real defence is that the people bombed are not Europeans and Christians. It is still remembered, however, that in the last great war, the Germans, who are both Europeans and Christians, bombed from the air some places in England, which, too, is a Christian and European country. That was one reason why the Germans were called Huns. But it is not Hunnish to bomb Asiatics and non-Christians.

It is a good piece of news that Muslim M. L. A.s and some other Muslims are opposing transfrontier bombing, evidently because the people bombed are Muslims; for their leader the Aga Khan in his speech at the opening session of the Disarmament Conference spoke against the abolition of air armament. Let us hope, though not expect, that Muslims will see by and by that air bombing cannot be maintained only against non-Muslims and non-Britishers.

### *World Economic Conference*

The World Economic Conference has adjourned and has so far failed to achieve its economic object—whatever that may have been. So far as India is concerned, as the people of India were not allowed to choose their own representatives, there was no chance of much good resulting to her from the Conference. Regarding other countries, which were free to select their own representatives, the infructuousness of the conference was due to their reciprocal attitude, which has been hit off so finely in the cartoon reproduced elsewhere in this issue from *Pravda*.

### *"Concessions" to Andaman Prisoners*

Simla, Aug. 23.

In the Legislative Assembly today, the Home Member, replying to Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, said that since the termination of the hunger-strike in the Andamans, with the approval of the Government of India, certain changes had been introduced in the treatment of the prisoners. In the case of the "B" class prisoners, the principal changes were that they would be given more newspapers and allowed more frequent interviews. The "C" class prisoners would, if literate, be allowed lights in cells, be supplied with newspapers and be allowed more frequent interviews.—*Associated Press*.

There are other grievances which ought to have been redressed. The greatest grievance of all is that the prisoners, who are now in the Andamans Cellular Jail, were ever sent there. That jail ought to be closed and they should all be brought back to India.

### *Who is Responsible for Andamans Hunger-strikers' Deaths?*

From the questions and answers in the Legislative Assembly printed below it would

be easy for the reader to decide who is responsible for the deaths of three hunger-strikers in the Andamans Cellular Jail.

Simla, Aug. 23.

In the Assembly, after Sir Haig's statement, in reply to the questions of Mr. G. P. Singh, relating to the facilities to the political prisoners in the Andamans, Mr. G. P. Singh asked; If these rules had been changed before, the Government would have saved the lives of three men?

Sir Harry Haig: The demands were put forward under the threat of a hunger-strike and could not be considered before the hunger-strike was unconditionally withdrawn. They were looked into and the Government decided that, on the whole, it was reasonable to make certain changes and reject the others.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: The local authorities were informed of the grievances before they gave the threat of a strike, but these never reached the ears of the superior authority.

Sir Harry Haig: I have no information.

Mr. Neogy: Will he find out whether it was not a fact that the grievances were laid before the jail authorities without the threat of a hunger-strike and that these were not forwarded?

Sir Harry Haig: If the Hon. Member puts down the question, I will make enquiries.

#### RESULTS OF THEIR OWN ACTION

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Who is responsible for the deaths of these men?

Sir Harry Haig: The hunger-strikers themselves (Laughter).

Mr. Navalrai: But now that the Government admit that the rules required a change, they are responsible for the deaths.

Sir Harry Haig: We considered that certain facilities were reasonable and rejected the others.

Mr. S. C. Mitra: Can the prisoners in the Andamans make a representation to the Government of India?

Sir Harry Haig: Through the Chief Commissioner.

Mr. Mitra: But the Chief Commissioner has held them up.

Sir Harry Haig: Convicts have no direct approach to the Government of India.

The "laughter" after Sir Harry Haig's reply that the hunger-strikers themselves were responsible for their deaths, cannot be appreciated. Assuming they were themselves to blame, there was nothing in the circumstance of their tragic death to excite anybody's risibility.

It is quite clear that, but for the Chief Commissioner's and the Government of India's unreasonable and inordinate addiction to prestige and the Chief Commissioner's holding up the prisoners' representation to the higher authority, the deaths of the three hunger-strikers could have been prevented. The Chief Commissioner and the Government of India did not, of course, intend that they



should die. But there was culpable lack of human consideration for their needs.

The very fact that the Government have introduced certain changes in the treatment of the prisoners shows that they had grievances; and had they not been considered as less than human, these grievances would have been redressed before they had undertaken the hunger-strike. There is nothing to show that the Chief Commissioner is a particularly hard-hearted man. He is just like other parts of the administrative machinery. There was no valid and just reason for sending the hundred and odd prisoners to the Andamans. On that ground alone, the Andamans Cellular Jail should be closed and the prisoners brought back to India. This will be seen to be all the more urgent, as the prisoners' just rights are quite as likely to be withheld from them in the future as in the past, with the probability of leading to deplorable results.

The present Chief Commissioner should be removed from his present office, if not also dismissed.

There is no reason why the prisoners should not as a matter of right have access to the Government of India through the Chief Commissioner, who should not have the power to withhold representations made against his administration.

### *Sir Harry Haig Argues and Denies Even When Cornered!*

No comments are needed on the following questions and answers in the Legislative Assembly relating to Mr. Malaviya's famous statement :-

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is it a fact that one circumstance on which the Government communicate reflects is that, although the Bengal Legislative Council was open till the 4th April, no allegation of this character with regard to the assaults committed upon certain people in the police station were made in the Bengal Legislative Council itself?

Sir Harry Haig: That is one of the points put forward by the Bengal Government.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Does the Hon. Member know that the people who made those complaints were actually in police custody till the 4th of April, and that the process of their release began from that date and went on till the 7th, and that the Bengal Legislative Council had meanwhile adjourned, namely, on the 4th of April?

Sir Harry Haig: That does not cover the allegations about what happened when the attempt

to hold the session on, I think, the 1st of April was made.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Does it cover the point with regard to the assaults committed upon people in police custody?

Sir Harry Haig: No, Sir; that argument only goes a certain distance, but I have indicated the limits of it.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is the Hon. Member now prepared to say that the official communicate itself, in so far as it did not distinguish between the two sets of allegations, tried to mislead the public with reference to a very particular matter, namely, that although the Bengal Legislative Council was open, none of those allegations were made in that Council?

Sir Harry Haig: No, Sir, I cannot at all agree that the communicate was in any way misleading.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Does the Hon. Member challenge the fact that I have mentioned, namely, that the people who were assaulted remained in custody till the 4th April, and that the Bengal Legislative Council adjourned on that date?

Sir Harry Haig: I must repeat what I have already stated to the Hon. Member, that the first of these allegations was undue violence in the dispersal of the crowd on the 1st April.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Does the Hon. Member recognise that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's statement complained more about the assaults committed upon helpless people in police custody than upon assaults committed upon delegates when the session was held, because, he said, they were perfectly prepared for that kind of violence?

Sir Harry Haig: Whatever the point of Pandit Malaviya's complaint may have been, he made these allegations which were not true; in fact the incidents took place on the 1st of April and no complaints were made in the Bengal Legislative Council, though it was in session till the 4th April.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Does the Hon. Member recognize then that it was physically impossible for these complaints to be made in the Bengal Legislative Council in so far as those complaints related to incidents which happened in the police stations themselves, simply because the people who might have made these complaints were in police custody till the 4th, if not till the 7th?

Sir Harry Haig: That may be so; but I still maintain my original point that with regard to the dispersal of the crowd on the 1st of April, that is a perfectly good argument.

Mr. Neogy: Does the Hon. Member then recognise that the Press communicate in so far as it did not distinguish between these two sets of allegations did seek to mislead the public?

Sir Harry Haig: Certainly not.

Mr. Neogy: Will the Hon. Member now issue a Press communicate in this particular matter?

Sir Harry Haig: No, Sir; I have no doubt quite sufficient publicity is given to the Hon. Member's questions.—Associated Press.

### *Abduction of Women*

The Governor of Bengal referred in his speech at the Dacca Police Parade on the 21st July last to crimes against women. Some extracts from this speech were made in

our last issue, page 237. Referring to offences against women, he said that "the figures for Bengal have shown an increase under several heads," but added :

Further investigation would be necessary before we could say for certain how far this apparent increase is real and how far it may be due to the fact that additional cases are being brought to light through the activities of certain bodies which have been giving the matter quite properly their special attention ; for in the nature of things this is the sort of crime that is very often not brought to the notice of the police.

The Governor was not sure whether there has been any real increase. But on the 22nd August last, in reply to Mr. Satish Chandra Roy Chowdhury's question in the Bengal Council, "Is the Hon'ble Member aware that this class of crime is on the increase in Bengal?" the Hon'ble Sir W. Prentice said: "The figures fluctuate. They do not justify the definite conclusion that this class of crime is on the increase." Was any "further investigation" made after the Governor's speech on the 21st July and Sir W. Prentice's reply on the 22nd August to justify the sort of reply which the latter gave?

On the 30th August, 1932, in reply to Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri's question, "Will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to state if abductions have really increased?" the Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Reid said: "Yes, I think they have increased in recent years."

In his Dacca speech the Governor referred to the issue in 1930 of a police department circular letter "impressing upon officers the necessity of doing all they could to bring to justice those (of whatever community) who resorted to this form of offence."

Obviously, nothing more has been done by Government than the issue of this circular letter three years ago and drawing the attention of police officers to it "more than once." For on the 6th September, 1932, in reply to the question of Kumar Munindra Dev Rai Mahasai: "Will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to state what special measures Government think it expedient to take for the suppression of this crime which is of daily occurrence nowadays and which is assuming an alarming proportion?" the Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Reid said: "The police officers have been specially asked to take

particular care to investigate these cases and to bring the offenders to book."

It is obvious that the issue of the circular letter and drawing attention to it have not led to decrease in offences against women. Something more should be done. In the eighties of the last century Mr. Justice Syed Amir Ali suggested that, just as in Australia owing to the frequent commission of such crimes by *larrikins* (corresponding to *goondas* in India) a law had been passed and enforced inflicting capital punishment on them, so in India in cases of gang rape the law should provide the same punishment. His suggestion was not accepted. So he and some of his brother judges used to inflict the maximum deterrent sentences provided by the existing law, whenever such classes of cases came before them. This had a salutary effect at that time.

Quite recently in Kansas City, U. S. A., a man named William Macgee was sentenced to death for kidnapping and abducting the daughter of the Mayor of that city. It is also reported that Mr. Cummings, the head of the U. S. A. police, has declared after consultation with President Roosevelt that the American Government have in effect declared war against abductors and kidnappers of women and children and are prepared to spend any amount necessary for the purpose. It has been also decided to appoint a special police corps for carrying out the object of the Government.

We do not advocate capital punishment.

We do not find any such attitude in the sayings and doings of the officers of our Government. Quite the contrary attitude may be, not unfairly, inferred from the following question and answer in the Bengal Council on the 22nd August last :

Mr. Satis Chandra Ray Chowdhury: Are the Government considering the advisability of moving the High Court, if necessary, to instruct all subordinate courts to inflict deterrent sentences as a measure of prevention?

The Hon. Sir W. Prentice: No.

There was no answer to another question by the same gentleman, namely, "Do the Government contemplate special measures to deal with this class of crime?"

This attitude remains unchanged in spite of the fact that, as Sir W. Prentice stated in

the Bengal Council on August 22 last, "Government are informed that the sentences passed on offenders who are convicted are usually below the maximum penalty prescribed by law." In 1932 there were 260 cases reported to the police, of which only 68 ended in conviction. In spite of this low percentage of convictions Government do not contemplate any special measures.

### *"The Mussalman" on Cases of Abduction in Muslim and Hindu Society*

*The Mussalman* wrote in its issue of July 28 last, weekly edition :

"So far as the cases of abduction are concerned, they are less frequent in the Muslim community on account of the provision of widow-marriage made by the Muslim law."

Last year on August 25 the Hon'ble Mr. Reid laid a voluminous statement on the Library table of the Bengal Legislative Council from which it appeared that cases of abduction of Muslim women were larger in number than those of non-Muslim women.

The same journal observes that "A considerable number of cases of abduction of Hindu women is really cases of voluntary elopement." Statements without proof, like this one, should not be made. We refrain from further comment.

### *"Using Other People's Money"*

India does not possess a monopoly of financial foolishness, of which one illustration is the patronizing of foreign insurance companies. The Chinese also have been equally foolish. But they have now been roused to a sense of duty to their own nation. Under the caption, "Using Other People's Money," *The People's Tribune* of Shanghai writes thus in part :

The resolution passed recently by the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, calling on Chinese nationals to cease the patronage of foreign insurance companies, brings attention anew to the extraordinary manner in which many Chinese actually turn their money over to foreign firms, for investment at the direction of those firms, in the form of insurance premiums. That the foreign insurance companies should accept this money is quite natural : it is their custom to do business with other people's money. But that Chinese people should voluntarily put their hard-earned money into foreign hands in

this way, to be used in the financing of foreign enterprises and the earning of dividends for foreign capitalists, is one of the most striking examples imaginable of the utter abnegation of national self-respect,—natural in the olden days, but repulsive to-day.

### *Japanese Industrial Efficiency*

Sir Lalubhai Samaldas of Bombay delivered a very instructive address on "Industrial Japan" under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Economics of Calcutta on the 22nd August last.

Though we have no personal knowledge of Japan, yet from what we have read about the cotton mills of that country we have long had the impression that they are better organized, equipped with more up-to-date machinery and take greater care of the health and education of their operatives than Indian mills, and that that is the main reason why Japan is able to sell her goods at such wonderfully low prices. Sir Lalubhai Samaldas's address corroborates this impression. It may be summarized as follows :

The first and most lasting impression left on his mind was that in Japan there was intense nationalism of the people. Of the cotton mills that he visited he found the labour-welfare work done in all the mills was of an almost equally high standard. Sir Lalubhai narrated how the girl-workers in cotton mills were provided with dormitories, beds and other comforts and recreations. Under a regulation their beds had to be cleaned every morning and sun-dried once a week. All those girls have the advantage of seven years' compulsory education and a few months' training as apprentices. They are naturally more intelligent and more attentive than the workers in India. A person working for one and a half hours less than the workmen in India could not be said to be sweated labour. If they compared the wages of the girls there with those of the workmen in India and made allowance for the provision of dormitories and mess feeding at about half the cost, it must be acknowledged that the girls were financially much better off. Physically they were far superior to Indian workmen. A Japanese girl attended to about eight looms as against two looms worked till recently by an Indian work-woman. Although the work was nominally four times, there appeared on the face of the girls no effect of the strain of the extra work. In one mill working with the Toyoda Automatic looms, a girl was able to work 30 looms and the Manager of the mill told Sir Lalubhai that practically a girl could manage 60 looms, but experience showed that it was physically impossible for a girl to attend to more than 32 looms. A girl attending to even 30 looms meant a reduction in labour cost, nearly 1-15 of the Indian labour cost.

An address delivered at Bombay by Mr. T. Sasakura, managing director of the



Tokyo Podar Mills, Ltd., Bombay, contains statements similar to those made by Sir Lalubhai.

'One of the secrets of the efficiency of Japanese mills is,' he said, 'the large number of looms that each girl looks after.' The Japanese operative was four times more efficient than the Indian, and, therefore, there was a considerable saving in wages. Mr. Sasakura also spoke of the superior efficiency of the Japanese operative. One Japanese girl could attend eight looms, while a stout Indian male weaver generally handled two looms. In a Japanese automatic loom shed, it was not strange to see a girl attending 40 looms with comfort, and in spinning a piecing-girl attended 1,200 spindles of 40 counts against 360 to 400 spindles in Bombay. Illiteracy is one of the causes of inefficient labour in India. In a certain mill he found only 20 per cent could read and write.

In Japan millhands are mostly young girls who have completed their course of compulsory education at the age of fourteen. They come up to the cotton mills to earn the money necessary for preparation for marriage and so they seldom serve the mills longer than four or five years. Being educated, they learn the work quickly and ever try to study how to handle the machine better than before. They wish always to work better and try hard with the spirit of responsibility. They live in boarding houses attached to the mills and are well fed and cared for with comfort. It is a conspicuous contrast that Japanese working girls are easily adaptable to new methods, while Bombay workers obstinately reject any new system regardless of its merits, i. e., they are so old and accustomed to routine that any new things do not suit their temperament. It is also noticeable that Indian workers have no inclination for advancement, and stagnancy is their ideal.

Protection will not, should not and cannot protect Indian mills for ever. We have ere this said and say again that they must make improvements in all directions.

### *Training for the Royal Indian Marine*

SIMLA, Aug. 11

To-morrow Mr. Adharkumar Chatterji, who completed his preliminary training on the training ship *Dufferin* in May last, is proceeding to England for training as executive officer of the Royal Indian Marine. Already there are seven Indians undergoing training in England for commissioned ranks of the Royal Indian Marine. Besides, two Indians are now in service, namely, Lieut. Mukherji and Sub-Lieut. Bose, engineers.

### *Decline of Coal Industry*

Out of 535 Indian-owned collieries 243 have been entirely closed. Rai A. C. Banerji Bahadur, President of the Indian Mining Federation, says in a statement to the Chief Commissioner of Railways,

"That the Committee of the Mining Federation have been seriously considering a project of restric-

tion of output and despatches of the collieries working in Bengal and Bihar, because they feel that over-production of coal is mainly responsible for the serious condition brought about in the trade. Of the various factors that militate against any improvement, this is considered to be the most difficult of handling. The Committee are of opinion that, as a result of over-production, for which the bigger collieries are mainly responsible, a large number of smaller Indian-owned collieries, too ill-provided to stand the competition with the former who command large resources, has been closed down."

Restriction of output is undoubtedly necessary. But this can be brought about only by the intervention of Government. But will they intervene and thus frustrate the policy of the European colliery-owners, who have large resources and own most of the first-class collieries, and whose object perhaps is to depress the market to such an extent as to oust the owners of small collieries?

### *Proposed Indian Navy Bill*

It is reported that the Government of India intend to introduce in the Legislative Assembly a Bill to convert the Royal Indian Marine into an Indian Navy.

What's in a name? We want that the Marine or Navy should be manned and controlled by India. Will that be allowed?

### *Appeal for Help to Sufferers From Flood in Orissa*

We support the following appeal, which we have received for publication:

From the reports so far received about 250 villages in Cuttack and Puri Districts are under water. Thousands of babies, women and men have been rendered homeless and have taken shelter on the river banks along Railway lines and on the branches of trees. The showers are still continuing. These helpless victims are starving and have been exposed to inclement weather. The condition of the hungry babies in the arms of the hungry mothers is most shocking. Thousands of houses have collapsed and many more are in a tottering condition. Thatched houses and carcasses are floating here and there. On Sunday last six helpless people were seen crying in vain for help on a floating thatch and carried away by the floods of the Kathjuri before the very eyes of the Cuttack people, and God alone knows whether they were saved anywhere. All roads and means of communication are cut off. Even boats do not go into the interior parts of the flooded area to render relief to sufferers. Severe floods are still apprehended and God alone is to save these wretched victims. The sufferers of this town have taken shelter in public buildings. Most of them are depressed class men, Telugu weavers and cobblers, potters and Christians of Peyton Sahi.



With the subsidence of the floods, the condition of the flood-stricken people will be more serious than what it is at present. The whole crops are ruined. An extensive outbreak of famine and epidemic is inevitable. Every moment's delay of relief work means greater misery to the people, which is sure to end in the loss of thousands of human lives. Their suffering is more to be imagined by the kind-hearted public than described here. Extensive and long-continued relief operations are to be taken up, which require thousands and thousands of rupees, rice, fodder and clothes. We, therefore, appeal in the name of the miserably suffering people to the generous public of India and abroad to help in the relief measures to save the flood-stricken people from starvation and a painful lingering death. Help in the form of money, clothes, old and new, medicines and corn will be thankfully received. August 11, 1933.

LAKSHMINARAYAN SAHU,  
Servants of India Society, Cuttack,  
JAGANNATH CHOUDHURY  
Secretary, Southern Orissa  
Youth League.

### *Mr. B. C. Chatterjee's Work in England*

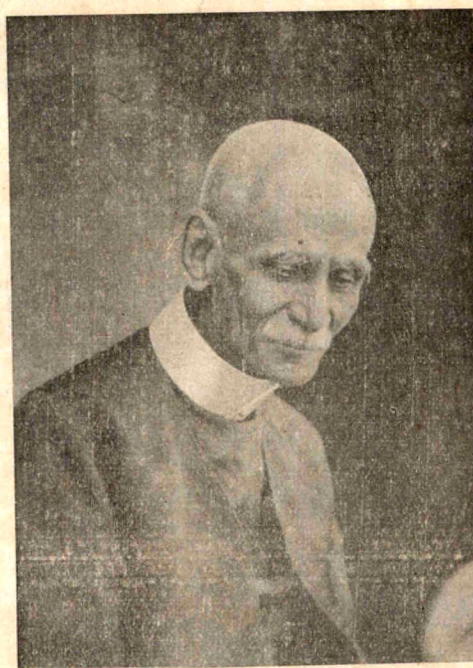
A very prominent Indian, now in England, says in a letter to us, received on the 26th August last, that Mr. B. C. Chatterjee "has done excellent service to Bengal." "Mr. Chatterjee put the case of Bengal Hindus most excellently." "Mr. Chatterjee has saved Bengali honour, which was threatened seriously by scheming persons." "I would, therefore, strongly recommend that the Bengal Hindus should send back Mr. Chatterjee to London about the beginning of October for staying here for a month or two."

### *Lord Zetland's Attitude*

Lord Zetland, who was Lord Ronaldshay when Governor of Bengal, tried, in the Joint Select Committee, to obtain as much justice for the Hindus of Bengal as seemed to him practicable under the circumstances. He wanted that they, as a minority community, should have as much weightage as Muslims have obtained wherever they are in a minority. Muslim "delegates," of course, opposed this just suggestion. He then suggested that, deducting the 51 special constituency seats from the 250 seats in the future Bengal Council, the remaining 199 seats should be allotted to Muslims and Hindus in proportion to their numerical strength in the population. But the Muslim "delegates" opposed even this minimum modicum of justice! Lord Zetland had no difficulty to answer their objection in an unanswerable manner.

### *Sir Bepin Krishna Bose*

As we were going to press, we found in the papers the announcement of the death of Sir Bepin Krishna Bose in Calcutta on the 26th August at the age of 82. He spent the greater part of his active career in the Central Provinces as an advocate. He attained great distinction alike as a lawyer, an educationist, a member of the Legislative Council and a worker for political, social and other public causes. The Nagpur University was to some extent his handiwork. He was its first Vice-Chancellor. He was held in great respect at Nagpur. He dies full of honours and years.



Sir Bepin Krishna Bose

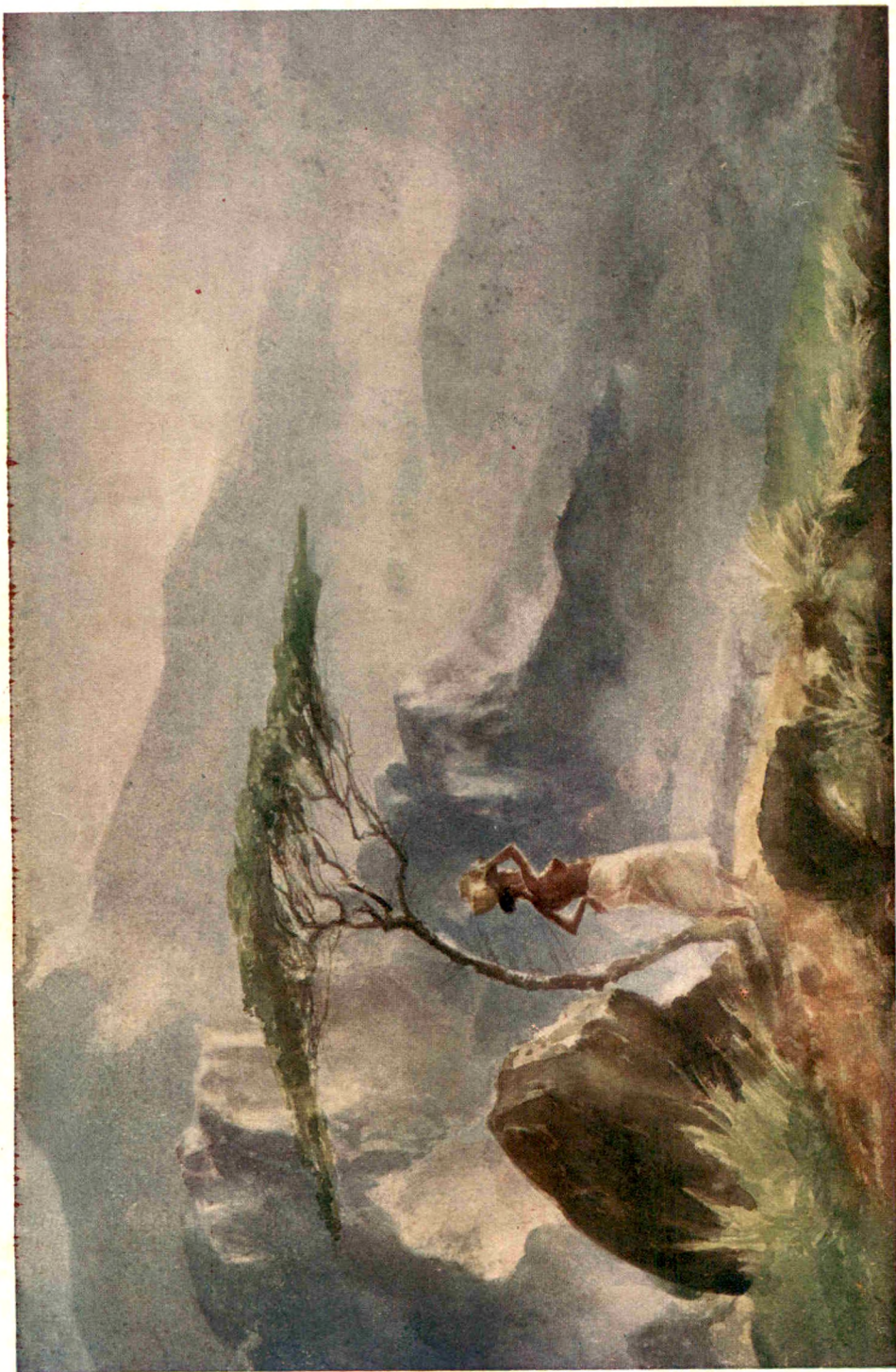
### *Notice to Subscribers and Advertisers*

Our readers and advertisers will kindly note that the October number of *The Modern Review* will come out on the 22nd September, on account of the Puja holidays. The copy for all advertisements intended for that issue should accordingly reach our office by the 12th of September.

*Manager*

THE MODERN REVIEW





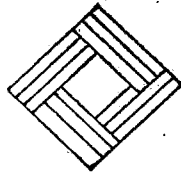
THE COMING OF THE MIST  
By Deviprasad Ray-Chaudhuri

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

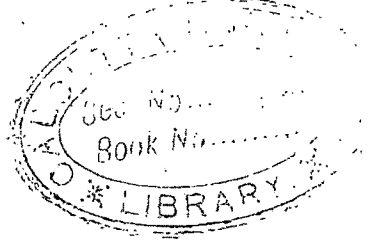


# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## MAHATMA GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF TRUTH

*Studied in Relation to Western Mysticism*

BY VERRIER ELWIN

### PART TWO

I concluded the first part of this essay by saying that the true mystic, the man whose life is full and real, will seek for Truth along each of the three paths—the mystical, the intellectual and the moral. "As he presses forward with all the powers of his spirit dedicated to his high quest, he will find that the three paths gradually converge in one. He will find himself treading wearily but with a secret exultation along the path of Sorrows. For the Road of Truth leads to no other hill save that of Calvary."

Such a mystic is Mahatma Gandhi. As we shall see now, each of the three paths is familiar to him. And the most familiar of all is the Path of the Cross which he still treads with so lofty a courage.

The Latin *Esse* (to be), in the scholastic tradition, means the same as *Verum* (true) and *Bonum* (good). Similarly the Sanskrit *Sat* connotes not only Being but also the True and the Good. So the Mahatma says, "The word *Satya* (Truth) is derived from *Sat*, meaning to be. *Satya* then is being. Nothing but Truth has existence. Hence the definition of God is *Sat*. Better that Truth should be called God than God Truth."

At the beginning of his autobiography he says, "I worship God as Truth only . . . Often in my progress I have had faint glimpses of the Absolute Truth, God, and daily conviction is growing upon me that he alone is real and all else is unreal." "My uniform experience," he says again, "has convinced me that there is no other God than Truth."

At Geneva in 1931, the Mahatma was asked why he regarded God as Truth. His answer is of great importance.

"In my early youth," he said, "I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scriptures are known as the thousand names of God. When I came to study Islam I found that Islam too had many names for God. I would say with those who say, God is Love, that God is Love. But deep down in me I used to say that though God may be love, God is Truth, above all. If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself, God is Truth. But two years ago I went a step further and said that Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements, that God is Truth and Truth is God. And I came to that conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth which began nearly fifty years ago. I then found that the nearest approach to Truth was through love. But I also found that love has many meanings in the English language at least and that human love in the sense of passion could become a degrading thing also. I found too that love in the sense of *ahimsa* had only a limited number of votaries in the world. But I never found a double meaning in connection with Truth and not even atheists had demurred

to the necessity or power of Truth. But in their passion for discovering truth the atheists have not hesitated to deny the very existence of God—from their own point of view rightly. And it was because of this reasoning that I saw that rather than say that God is Truth I should say that Truth is God....

"And then we have another thing in Hindu philosophy—that God alone is and nothing else exists. In fact the Sanskrit word for Truth is a word which literally means that which exists, *Sat*. For these and several other reasons I have come to the conclusion that the definition—Truth is God—gives me the greatest satisfaction."

Here the Mahatma approaches very near to St. Augustine, though the latter would not have said that nothing save God existed but that nothing existed except in God. But I think that the Mahatma means that Truth, which is the Supreme and Ultimate Reality, is the foundation of all existence, of all things that are real. "Truth is the Sovereign principle which includes numerous other principles." All lesser and partial truths derive their reality from the Ultimate Truth.

## II

Perhaps the most original and striking thing in the Mahatma's teaching is his insistence that an all-embracing and universal love is the only path to Truth. Several of our Western mystics have said the same thing, but none of them—I think—has worked out the implications of this love in so detailed and practical a fashion. For the Mahatma Love is no sentiment: it is the sternest and most practical of realities. It means *ahimsa* or non-violence. "Search after Truth without non-violence is impossible. Non-violence and Truth are inseparable like the two sides of a coin. Non-violence is the means and Truth the aim. Truth is God, and there is only one way to realize him and that is the path of non-violence." "A perfect vision of Truth," he says in the farewell chapter of his autobiography, "can only follow a complete realization of *Ahimsa*. To see the universal and all-pervading spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself."

In a talk with Madame Montessori, the Mahatma said, "I am impatient to realize the presence of my Maker, who to me embodies Truth, and in the early part of my career I discovered that if I was to realize

Truth I must obey, even at the cost of my life, the law of love. And having been blessed with children, I discovered that the law of love could be best understood and learned through little children." We might continue quoting indefinitely, for this is the Gospel which the Mahatma has proclaimed unweariedly in every corner of India. But one more quotation must suffice. In a village in Bengal, during his tour in that province, he said, "*Ahimsa* is my God and Truth is my God. When I look for *Ahimsa*, Truth says, Find it out through me. When I look for Truth, *Ahimsa* says, Find it out through me."

The reason why love and non-violence are the necessary foundations of the search for Truth is that Truth is the law of the universe, and the law of man's own being, while violence and hatred disturb the harmony of the universe and break the law of our being. We cannot find Truth if we are out of harmony with the universe. "Not violence, not untruth, but non-violence, Truth is the law of our being." "The world rests upon the bedrock of *Satya* or Truth. *Asatya* meaning untruth also means non-existence and *Satya* or Truth also means that which is." The triumph of Truth over untruth, of Love over hatred is therefore certain, for the unreal is bound to be conquered by the real. We can have our part in the victory of Truth when we become one with Truth through love.

Nature is beautiful because it is the unsullied revelation of the Truth at the heart of the world. Children are beautiful, because they show us the Truth as it would naturally reign over the world were it not corrupted. But violence mars the beauty of nature, and hides its loveliness, and the cult of hatred soon changes the sweet innocence on the faces of little children. Truth is the natural home of the soul, and to that home there is but one door, which is love.

## III

Like all the great Truth-mystics the Mahatma believes that Truth can only be realized by a life of Truth. The foundation of this life is love. But with St. Bernard, the Mahatma stresses the need of humility.

"The seeker after truth should be humbler than the dust. The world crushes the dust under its feet, but the seeker after truth should so humble himself that even the dust could crush him. Only then, and not till then, will he have a glimpse of Truth." "So long as one does not of his own free will put himself last among his fellow creatures, there is no salvation for him." "Truth is not to be found by anybody who has not got an abundant sense of humility. If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of Truth you must reduce yourself to a zero." We cannot find Truth if there is any fear in our hearts: Humility is the fount of courage. "When we cease to be masters and reduce ourselves to the rank of servants, humbler than the very dust under our feet, all fears will roll away like mists; we shall attain ineffable peace, and see *Satyanarayan* (the God of Truth) face to face."

Prayer must always be our fellow-traveller on the Road of Truth. "One discovers truth by patient endeavour and silent prayer... Humble and constant endeavour and silent prayer are always my two trusty companions along the weary but beautiful path that all seekers must tread."

Since Truth is the principle of Order in the universe, all passions which introduce disorder must be done away. "In the march towards Truth, anger, selfishness, hatred naturally give way, for otherwise Truth would be impossible to attain. A man who is swayed by passions may have good enough intentions, may be truthful in word, but he will never find the Truth. A successful search for Truth means complete deliverance from the dual throng such as of love and hate, happiness and misery."

Especially must the seeker for Truth be free of sensual passion which blinds the eyes of the mind with the vision of its dazzling unrealities. "God can never be realized by one who is not pure in heart." "How can one who is attempting to realize Truth worship sensual passion? We know of no one who has realized Truth by leading a sensual life." The seeker must tread the hard steep pathway of self-purification, which means also the purification of his surroundings.

Speaking at Geneva on *What is Truth*, the

Mahatma pointed out that the man who would make experiments with Truth must observe certain conditions. "Just as for conducting scientific experiments there is an indispensable scientific course of instruction, in the same way strict preliminary discipline is necessary to qualify a person to make experiments in the spiritual realm. Therefore we have the belief based on experience, that those who would make individual search after truth as God, must go through several vows, as for instance, the vow of truth, the vow of *Brahmacharya* (purity)—for you cannot possibly divide your love for Truth and God with anything else—the vow of non-possession, of poverty and non-violence. Unless you impose on yourselves the five vows you may not embark on the experiment at all."

Mahatma Gandhi insists on transparency of character. The seeker after Truth must fear no man's scrutiny. He will always be ready to admit mistakes. Confession will be to him a means of ever greater purification. Writing of his attitude during the Great War, the Mahatma says, "A devotee of Truth may not do anything in deference to convention. He must always hold himself open to correction and whenever he discovers himself to be wrong he must confess it at all costs and atone for it." It is interesting to note that the greatest of the Western Truth-mystics also wrote the *Story of his Experiments with Truth*—a title which might easily serve as an alternative to the *Confessions* of St. Augustine.

The Mahatma has taught frankness and plainness of speech. The embroideries of conventional politeness, the platitudes of conventional flattery are alien to Truth. Among the Quakers also plainness of speech has always been encouraged for this reason. The votary of Truth will likewise avoid all forms of exaggeration. He will not malign his enemies nor flatter his friends. There is no need for him to take oaths, for his word is his bond.

This is the pathway of what the Mahatma has—rather unfortunately—called "relative truth". "As long as I have not realized the Absolute Truth, so long must I hold by the relative truth as I have conceived it. That relative truth must meanwhile be my beacon,



my shield and buckler. Though this path is straight and narrow as a razor's edge, for me it has been the quickest and easiest."

In the recently published series of letters on the principles of Sabarmati Ashram, entitled *From Yeravda Mandir*, a booklet which should be in the hands of every follower and admirer of the Mahatma, the relation of the whole ethical scheme to Truth is very fully developed. The Ashram owes its very existence to the pursuit and practice of Truth. Devotion to Truth is the sole reason for our existence. "All our activities should be centred in Truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life. When once this stage in the pilgrim's progress is reached, all other rules of correct living will come without effort, and obedience to them will be instinctive." There must be Truth in thought, Truth in speech, and Truth in action. The pursuit of Truth is real *Bhakti*. "It is the path that leads to God, and therefore there is no place in it for cowardice, no place for defeat. It is the talisman by which death itself becomes the portal to life eternal." The search for Truth means utter selflessness, detachment, the readiness to suffer. "Freedom from all attachment is the realization of God as Truth." There must be *vairagya*, or indifference to every other interest in life. Not only freedom from passion is necessary, but both for the married and the unmarried a life of *brahmacharya* is necessary. "The man who is wedded to Truth and worships Truth alone, proves unfaithful to her, if he applies his talents to anything else." Non-possession is equally necessary, for "a seeker after truth, a follower of the law of love cannot hold anything against tomorrow. God never stores for the morrow and we must be like Him. The life of Truth means a life of service. "Every moment of our life should be filled with activity, but that activity should be *sattvika*, tending to Truth." Bread-labour is a veritable blessing to one who would worship Truth. The seeker for Truth will have the same respect for all religions as for his own. Since we are only seekers we admit our imperfections; we have not realized religion in its perfection. "Religion of our conception, being thus imperfect, is

always subject to a process of evolution and re-interpretation. Progress towards Truth, towards God, is only possible because of such evolution... All faiths constitute a revelation of Truth, but all are imperfect." Therefore Tolerance, which gives spiritual insight, and breaks down all barriers, is necessary for every seeker after Truth.

To the perfect following of Truth, the Mahatma calls his followers. "How beautiful it would be, if all of us, young and old, men and women, devoted ourselves wholly to Truth in all that we might do in our waking hours, whether working, eating, drinking or playing, till pure, dreamless sleep claimed us for her own? God as Truth has been for me a treasure beyond price; may he be so to every one of us."

#### IV

One of the most fundamental of the Mahatma's principles is that moral purification can never be a merely private matter. There never was anyone who was less of an individualist. If we would purify ourselves we must purify our surroundings. A merely personal and private holiness, indifferent to public morality, is to him unthinkable. It is "my devotion to Truth which has drawn me into the field of politics; and I can say without the slightest hesitation, and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means." "For me," he says again, "politics bereft of religion are absolute dirt, ever to be shunned. Politics concerns nations, however, and that which concerns the welfare of nations must be one of the concern of the man who is a seeker after Truth." For the very essence of the new civilization which the Mahatma would see in India is morality, the austere yet beautiful ideal of Truth dominating every department of public life.

The Mahatma has, therefore, abandoned diplomacy in the ordinary sense of the word. He has remained a strategist. But his strategy is never based on concealment or deceit. He has claimed that India has adopted a unique path for attaining her liberty—the pure and simple path of truth and non-

violence, which is the only way consistent with human dignity.

As a lawyer, the Mahatma early turned his attention to the spiritualization of the legal profession. He has suggested that this should be done by lawyers not making their profession subservient to the interests of their purse, by their using their talents to unite people rather than to divide them, and by never departing from the strictest truth and honesty. He disagrees with the dictum of a celebrated English lawyer that it may be the duty of an advocate to defend a client whom he knows to be guilty. No, "the duty of a lawyer is always to place before the judges and to help them to arrive at the truth, never to prove the guilty as innocent." In his own practise in South Africa, he resisted the temptation to encourage his own client or witnesses to lie, even though by the suppression or adornment of the truth, he would win his case. Once in the middle of a case, on discovering that his client had deceived him, he at once asked the magistrate to withdraw the case. "In my heart of hearts," he says, "I always wished that I should win only if my client's case was right." Often he advised his clients to admit the whole truth, even if it appeared to be to their disadvantage, and he always warned a client that if he took up his case he must be prepared for no evasions or concealments. And this far from ruining his practice, brought him the finest type of client and his experience soon showed the correctness of his conviction "that it was not impossible to practise law without compromising truth."

In money matters the Mahatma's strictness is proverbial. Arithmetic is an indispensable part of the equipment of a seeker after truth. His asceticism will consist not in sitting on a bed of spikes but in the careful keeping of accounts. He should also keep a diary which will enable him to give an account of how he has spent what is more precious than his money, his days and hours and minutes. Business relations also will be transformed by a sincere loyalty to truth. In the delicate business of personal relations, a complete openness and devotion to truth will clear up a thousand problems.

But, of course, the most remarkable fruit of the Mahatma's Gospel of Truth is Satyagraha. Satyagraha is the new way of settling political and social wrongs. It is the force which is born of Truth, and which needs no other force to strengthen it. "Satyagraha is Truth-force. Truth is soul or spirit. It is therefore known as soul-force. It excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and therefore not competent to punish." By Satyagraha man allies himself with the will-to-good in the universe and all the powers of the spirit are on his side. He is, in fact, invincible, although he may not always get the victory that he expects, for truth is all-powerful and cannot be defeated.

## V

We have already hinted at the Mahatma's dissatisfaction with Keats' celebrated epigram: "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty," which seems to him an over facile identification of things that are not necessarily the same. For there is an external beauty which in effect has no relation to Truth and may even be hostile to it. The outward has no meaning apart from the inward. Art must be the translation of the upward urge of man's spirit into words, colours, shapes. Art which does not help the soul to realize its inner self is worse than useless. The Mahatma reverses the artist's claim to find Truth through Beauty. "I see and find beauty through Truth. All Truths, not merely true ideas, but truthful faces, truthful pictures, truthful songs are highly beautiful. Whenever men begin to see Beauty in Truth, then Art will arise." Beauty cannot be separated from Truth, for to a true artist only "that face is beautiful which, quite apart from its exterior, shines with the truth within the soul." But Truth can exist apart from physical beauty, as we see in the case of Socrates, "who was the most truthful man of his time, and yet his features are said to have been the ugliest in Greece. To my mind he was beautiful because all his life was a striving after Truth."

"Truth is the first thing to be sought for, and Beauty and Goodness will then be added unto you. That is what Christ really taught

in the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus was to my mind a supreme artist because he saw and expressed Truth; and so was Muhammad. Scholars say that the Quran is the most perfect composition in all Arabic literature. Because both of them strove first for Truth, therefore the grace of expression naturally came in. Yet neither Jesus nor Muhammad wrote on Art. That is the Truth and Beauty I crave for, live for, and would die for."

With this I think Plato would not have disagreed. For the Beauty he loved and sought was not the mere beauty of form, but it was the beauty absolute, separate, simple and everlasting, which was found only by turning from all evil, from all life of the senses, to the spiritual and intellectual realm beyond. Here beauty is turned into truth. If the Mahatma says that he does not find Truth through Beauty but Beauty through Truth, Plato might have said that we find Truth through beauty as beauty is transformed into Truth. At the highest and noblest, Goodness, Truth and Beauty blend together as the petals of a single flower.

## VI

The quest for truth is the noblest occupation of the human spirit. "If it was a good thing to scale the heights of Mount Everest, sacrificing precious lives, if it was a glorious thing to give up life after life in planting a flag in the uttermost extremities of the earth, how much more glorious would it be to give not one life, to surrender not a million lives but a billion lives in search of the potent and unperishable truth."

The Mahatma has sought Truth everywhere. Like the true scientist he is, he has left no stone unturned, no fact untested, no hypothesis unexplored. He has gradually enlarged his laboratory to include the interests and problems of the whole world. He has tested every aspect of moral truth. He has explored many religions and philosophies in his search for intellectual truth. He has even sought what I might call physical truth—the truth of the life of the body, its exercise, its diet, its control—a thing not to be despised by those who believe that truth is one. The realization of the Ultimate Truth

is the goal of his ceaseless efforts of experiment and purification.

The quest demands everything of a man. "You cannot possibly divide your love for Truth with anything else." It may cost life itself, "I worship God as Truth only. I have not yet found him, but I am seeking after him. I am prepared to sacrifice the things dearest to me in pursuit of this quest. Even if the sacrifice demanded be my very life I hope I may be prepared to give it." Unending is the search, infinite the possibilities of experiment. Writing of the story of his life, the Mahatma says, "Far be it from me to claim any degree of perfection for these experiments. I claim for them nothing more than does a scientist, who, though he conducts his experiments with the utmost accuracy, forethought and minuteness, never claims any finality about his conclusions, but keeps an open mind regarding them."

So does this mystic with the heart of a mathematician search for the Truth he loves.

## VII.

We are now in a position to summarize the main features of the Mahatma's teaching about Truth.

(i) To him as to Augustine, Truth is no mere definition: it is a great ontological reality. It is the Eternal Principle, the Absolute Reality, the Potent and Imperishable Truth, the Sovereign Principle of all things, universal and all-pervading. So fully does it exist in its own right that the Mahatma prefers to say that Truth is God rather than that God is Truth.

(ii) This Eternal Truth is the source of all morality and all being. Nothing exists apart from it: it is that which gives reality and value to all that is. "Truth is God, the one and only Reality. All other observances take their rise from the quest for and worship of Truth." Knowledge cannot exist save in the Eternal Truth. "Where there is Truth, there is knowledge pure and simple." This approaches very closely to Augustine's teaching that all truth is perceived in the unchanging Truth, and that God himself is the light in which all intellectual truths are known.



(iii) Truth is the natural law of our being and the law of the universe. The beauty of nature as also the orderliness and harmony of natural law is a mirror of the Truth at the heart of the universe. To realize Truth, therefore is to enter into harmony with all creation.

(iv) The Eternal Truth can only be realized in a life lived according to Truth, that is, by a life in harmony with all that lives. Love, especially in the sense of *ahimsa* or non-violence, can therefore never be separated from Truth. Love is the only pass across the mountains of desire and anger to the Land of Truth.

(v) The life of Truth, based on love, must be marked also by humility, detachment, purity and a luminous sincerity of speech and action.

(vi) The ideal of Truth must be carried into the whole of life. Truth must inspire art, control business, spiritualize the law, reform society, dominate politics and abolish wars of violence.

(vii) The seeker after Truth must take for his laboratory the whole world. He must seek not only moral and mystical truth, but truth of fact. He must be prepared to suffer the loss of all things in his quest. He may expect no other reward than the Cross. But his sufferings will for him open the gate of vision and in the end he will see the pure and stainless Truth in its beauty.

The above summary will sufficiently indicate the points of contact between Mahatma Gandhi and the Truth-mystics of the West. Curiously enough, the Western mystics lay greater stress on contemplation as a means of realizing Truth, though this thought is not alien to the Mahatma. The latter, on the other hand, has worked out with greater fulness than any other the practical implications of a life of Truth. As a "non-professional" mystic he has had opportunities of carrying the message of Truth into realms where it has been too long a stranger, politics, medicine (see *Experiments with Truth*, Vol. ii, chap. xxviii) and the law. His emphasis on the relation of Truth and Non-violence is of an especial importance at the present time. The incompatibility of Truth and wars of violence was made abundantly clear by Mr.

Stanley Baldwin at Edinburgh in 1925. "With war and the preparation for war go the stratagems of diplomacy, the dropping of the code of morals, a holiday from truth, and an aftermath of cynicism. In the arena of international rivalry and conflict, men have placed patriotism above truthfulness as the indispensable virtue of statesmen." Pacifism is the necessary politics of the Truth-seeker.

Above all, the Mahatma has reinforced his teaching by a life of sincerity and renunciation. He is the embodiment of the spirit of his quest.

### VIII

There is little more to add. The Mahatma has set us all thinking again in terms of Truth. It is as though we have heard the voice of Plato on the banks of the Sabarmati. Above the changing flux of earthly existence there rises the Eternal Truth, in that *Yonder* which is the true home of man. And since man was made for Truth, he is restless until his feet are on the highroad which will lead him to his home. Yet now his journey is only just begun. Henceforth for his whole life he must pass from truth to truth. "All Truth is a shadow except the last—except the utmost, yet every Truth is true in its kind." His life becomes a daily parting with shadows and some of these will have become dear to him. Yet he knows that of all the adventures of which the world is full, there is not one that can compare with his. For all other ambitions and desires seek partial and imperfect ends: he alone has set out for the Whole. "It is for this," says Plotinus, "that souls must run their ultimate and greatest race: the prize of all their striving is this that they be not without portion in the supreme spectacle. Blessed is he whose eyes have seen the blessed vision: but he that fails in this has verily failed. For a man may fail to win fair bodies, may fail to win power or office or a king's throne, and yet it is not failure; failure it is, although he should gain all else, if a man fail of This—for whose winning he ought to reject thrones and principalities of all the earth and sea and sky, if by leaving these behind him and looking beyond them his vision might be converted Thither and he should see."

And this quest is one that cannot fail. Truth is the one thing that cannot be sought in vain. We may not find the truth we expect, or even the truth we want, but we shall one day, if we have been loyal to the spirit that drives us onward, see the veils of ignorance and delusion torn away and the

shadows of partial understanding banished by the pure radiance of the Eternal Truth in its beauty. Then we shall ourselves be transformed into Truth, and one with Truth that is eternal, we shall find our immortality.

*Concluded*

## THE PROBLEM OF ASIATIC EMIGRATION

BY RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M. A., Ph. D.,

**T**HE economic nationalism, which had been the chief factor underlying the Great War in Europe, and which is now threatening the trade and prosperity of the whole world, militates against an unbiased, scientific study of such a large and insistent problem of world economics as Asiatic emigration. The issues raised by the movements of Asiatic peoples are at once economic, cultural and political; and unless the varied aspects of the controversies are analysed piecemeal and then subjected to the comparative and synthetic methods, peculiar to the social sciences, neither can the surface currents be distinguished from the deep tidal movements nor any positive and constructive solutions be achieved.

The relations between population and food-supply in the countries of the Far East from India to Japan and Manchuria, and the differential economic pressures and possibilities of rapid agricultural and industrial expansion in the whole Indo-Pacific region challenge intensive economic investigations. But economics must be wide-minded, and, true to the broad trend of history, should envisage each region, whether intensively or inadequately exploited, as part and parcel of the structure of world agriculture and industry. Further economics, when it deals especially with new or sparsely populated areas of the earth, must be aided by meticulous social-physiological investigations of the aptitudes and habits of work, wage levels and standards of living as well as capacities for acclimatization of different

pioneering peoples. Thus the study of basal and minimal metabolism, which underlies the advantages and handicaps of different peoples in different climatic zones, is indispensable in considering matters of immigrant selection for the agricultural transformation of vast untenanted areas of the globe. The basal metabolism of the Asiatic peoples has been found in the laboratory to be roughly 10 to 15 per cent below the English and American standards. This as well as their smaller body surface and weight are responsible for a much lower protein consumption.\* With much less food and clothing and various physiological adjustments to a warm climate which are a part of his racial make-up, the Asiatic colonist is at a far greater economic advantage in the tropical and sub-tropical lands than the European. The latter imports here a plane of consumption which is in large measure artificial, and which besides, in so far as it appropriates from the region more than it returns, stints the opportunities of future generations.

But the colonist's adjustments are much more than physiological. With his adaptive crops, and agricultural methods and practices, he can be more successful in climatic regions similar to his home country than natives or colonists with either inferior or disparate culture and standard of living. The Chinese settlers from the northern provinces of China

\* Earle: Basal Metabolism of Chinese and Westerners (Chinese Journal of Physiology, 1928) and Banerjee: Basal Metabolism of the Prisoners in Lucknow (Indian Journal of Medical Research, 1931).

have succeeded better than either the Russians or the Japanese and Koreans in North Manchuria and Siberia, and their successful colonization is connected with the greater suitability of their home produce, such as kaoliang, beans and millet than the Russian wheat and rye and Japanese or Korean rice. The Cantonese from the monsoon zone have introduced quite a different form of agriculture into Indo-China, Siam and Malaya, where they have become the pioneers and monopolists of market gardening, and the cultivation of various special crops and vegetables. Similarly the Indians with their rich and variegated experience of wet cultivation have revolutionized the agricultural life of large parts of the West and the East Indies. The success and expansion of rice cultivation by the Indian settlers in the wet lands of Further India, Sumatra, Borneo and Guiana have also their counterpart in their successful introduction of dry crops, such as oil seeds and millets and well irrigation into North Ceylon and East Africa. In Indonesia and Polynesia, in Mongolia and Tibet, the peaceful band of sturdy oriental toilers is gradually pushing the frontiers of cultivation and as they introduce new crops and agricultural practices they are also introducing civilization. Oriental agriculture with its ancient experience of a variety of climates and ecological conditions, indeed, could play no small part in the reconstruction or large uninhabited sections of the earth.

But apart from the Asiatic agriculturists, with their appropriate crops and agricultural methods, their iron-tipped plough and broad spade, their Persian wheel for irrigation and their working cattle, hardy and immune from tropical diseases, the Asiatic pedlars and grocers as well as miners and woodsmen who often precede them have also proved a God-send to many pioneer regions. With a hereditary advantage over the White merchants in their lower food requirement and plane of living, the traders among the Asiatics also combine patience, foresight and the group spirit and solidarity as a part of their social heritage. In small trade and retail business, in handicrafts, mining, lumbering and fishing enterprises, which require less prolonged and

strenuous toil and admit of leisurely disengagement at intervals, Asiatics sometimes prove more efficient in many tropical and sub-tropical regions than White settlers.

How much of the shop-keepers' quarrels, which are feeding racial antagonisms against the Indians in the Transvaal, Kenya and Fiji and against the Chinese in the Philippines, French Oceania, New Zealand and Australia could be restricted if these social-physiological differences are adequately considered! How much, again, of the fruits of pioneering skill and enterprise, heavy drudgery and patient spadework of the Chinese and Indians in South and East Africa, Canada and the United States have been dissipated because of the economic rivalries their success as prosperous farmers, merchants and labourers evoked! The plantations of Guiana and the West Indies, Mauritius and South Africa owed their prosperity to Indian indentured labour. The railways of the east coast of Africa and the Pacific coast of America could not have been built except by the aid of the Indians and Chinese. The Chinese miners saved the gold industry of the Transvaal from disaster, and initiated the exploitation of the rich mineral resources of Victoria and New South Wales. Indian labour was responsible for the wealth of the mines, plantations and orchards of Natal. It competed on equal footing with American, and proved even superior to both Chinese and Japanese labour in the hard tasks of lumbering and logging in Canada and the meticulous intensive cultivation of rice and cotton in California. In Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, the Chinese and Indians braved the perils of the forests, as they still brave them in the virgin wilderness of Malaya, Sumatra and Borneo, and in their trail have sprung up lumber-camps and timber-towns. Similarly, the Japanese and Indians with their traditional skill in the cultivation of rice, cotton, fruits and vegetables developed half a century ago the prosperous horticulture and specialized market gardening of the Pacific coast of America which was an example and a model to the young colony. But race and colour antipathies could not fail to be aroused as, with the progress of the



colony in wealth and population, economic competition became keener. Thus the Mexicans, Filipinos and Hawaiians have gradually filled the gap left by the Japanese, Chinese and Indians.\*

A comparative study of food, food requirements and occupational skills of different races would throw a flood of light on the economic claims and contacts of foreign immigrants and indigenous workers in such diverse areas of immigration as the Pacific rim of the Americas, West Indies, South Africa, Australasia and Asiatic Russia. On the other hand, with vague unverified hypotheses of the standard of living, international controversies will continue to vex the peoples of both the home and receiving countries.

More difficult of approach are the racial disparities and the contrasted social ideals and institutions of the Pacific countries, which have largely sprung from deep-rooted economic differences. Both advanced cultures like those of China, India and Japan and immature cultures of peoples of Africa and Oceania have now been exposed to disorganization and alienation from the land and from ancient loyalties due to the all-pervasive corroding effects of Euro-American industrialism. Over-population and depopulation, equally the result of a profound disturbance of the economic balance of the region are the twin phenomena which have emerged out of the contacts between the East and the West now demanding systematic demographic and anthropological research. A careful study of population trends of the different Pacific peoples is indispensable to indicate not merely the gravity of economic pressure in the Western Pacific ocean board and consequent poverty and social maladjustment in the orient but also the implications in world economics of an exclusive national or regional policy in Australasia and cold temperate and tropical America, which are highly suitable for oriental colonization and settlement. It is estimated that on the present level of technique, Australia and Canada alone could support the entire population of Asia, while on the same basis

the Americas could maintain about one and a half times the world's present numbers.

In the South and East of Asia 900 million Asiatics, representing half the human race, are confined to an area representing only 4 per cent of the globe surface. The number of persons per square mile in the whole of this region is 180. The densities of Japan, China and India are 441,193 and 195 per square mile respectively. These figures may be compared with the densities of Australia (2.2), New Zealand (14.0), Canada (29) and the United States (37.2). The countries in south and east Asia, with their holdings much smaller than in Europe and very much smaller than in the new world, produce far more food per unit area, and yet their food supply has now fallen short of their requirements. Through an omission of animal raising and dependence on a vegetarian diet based on seeds, roots and vegetables a hundred acres in India, for instance, can support roughly 110 persons as compared with 75 and 50 persons supported by a hundred acres in Germany and England.\* In Canada and Argentina a hundred acres could feed probably ten persons only. The Asiatic countries can afford neither to use animal or machine power nor consume meat or alcoholic spirits, while their methods of land utilization would return every kind of organic wastes to the soil, amply recognizing the responsibility towards future generations. On the other hand, extensive farming, animal husbandry and urban industrialism still represent the fundamental economic type of Australia, Canada and Latin America. Oriental exclusion has contributed in no small measure to perpetuate the trends of economic immaturity, and an artificial standard of living supported by all-round protectionist and social legislation and welfare provision, an artificial system of industry and an increasing tendency towards urbanization help one other,—all inconsistent with rich economic resources and potential food supply of these regions.

On one side of the Pacific, man (and even woman who is here and there yoked to the

\* *Vide Recent Social Trends in the United States*, 1933, chapter on Immigration.

\* Buck: *Chinese Farm Economy*, p. 364.; and Mukerjee; *Rural Economy of India* quoting Middleton's estimates for England and Germany.

plough) is cheaper than cattle, meat and milk dearer than rice, fruits and vegetables; on another side, cattle luxuriates on five times as much land as man himself, machines rather than men tend ranches, fruits and vegetables are dearer than mutton, and the annual meat consumption is as high as 150 lbs. *per capita* in the United States and 250 lbs. in Australia and Argentine, as compared with only 50 lbs. of fish taken by the Japanese. Such economic and social contrasts cannot persist in this age of increasing communications and economic inter-dependence, and especially in the Indo-Pacific area, where commerce has for some years developed more rapidly than that of any other area.

In fact, the gradual penetration of the Asiatics into the Pacific, which has been encouraged by the decrease of the native races in Polynesia, will be more and more marked in the coming decades. The Asiatic preponderance, discernible in Samoa, New Caledonia, Fiji and Hawaii, already points to the Pacific as geographically and ethnically an Asiatic Ocean; and indeed, the outward thrust of the Asiatic emigrants, who are already about  $13\frac{1}{2}$  millions strong in the pioneer monsoon and tropical belts in South-eastern Asia, will ultimately exert an irresistible pressure by way of the bridge of island groups that connect Indonesia with Australasia.

Such gradual penetration and expansion of the Asiatics are further promoted in many plantation belts by the present transition from estate agriculture to small-scale native farming. The Asiatic colonists have been educating the natives in several plantation zones, whether Guiana and the West Indies or Natal and East Africa, whether Hawaii and Philippines or Fiji and New Caledonia in transforming themselves from labourers to intensive farmers; and indeed such transformation represents the next stage of tropical reconstruction beyond the present one of plantation economy. It has been much easier for a for a tropical colony or dependency to outgrow the stage of capitalistic cultivation and industry, founded on European practice, where the colonial governments have not been short-sighted or apprehensive and have encouraged Asiatic immigrants freely to own

land and practise their diversified farming for local consumption and export.

Thus might economic forces get the better of political considerations, and whether Australia or South Africa, Canada, the United States or Brazil would first open the lock-gate wide for the over-spill of the Asian peoples would depend upon the conjuncture of world economic and political circumstances as well as wise statesmanship of the nations in the coming years.

Contrary to the common notion of thoughtless reproduction in Asia's so-called teeming hives, the rates of natural increase in southern and eastern Asia are much lower than in all the immigration countries, which now exclude Asiatics. The decennial rates of increase (1920-1930) of China, Japan and India are 5, 9 and 14 per cent respectively as compared with 16, 18 and 19 per cent of the United States, Canada and Australia. Asia is not abnormally fecund; her over-population is due to her age. Indeed in the present century the fear of world over-population is more from the non-Asian than from the Asian peoples. By 1950 the population of Europe and America, it is expected, will outstrip that of India, China and Japan, and then the East and the West will equally feel the pinch. But today millions of Asiatics, confined to only a fragment of the earth's surface, are experiencing, apart from sudden calamities, the chronic consequences of population pressure envisaged by Malthus but on a colossal scale that would have staggered even his imagination. In China and India live about two-fifths of the world's total population in only one-tenth of its total cultivated area, eking out a bare subsistence and subjected to the same ecological processes (recurrent epidemic and slackening of birth-rate) which govern the trend of animal populations.

As long as half of mankind are not freed from the cramping effects of economic pressure and soil exhaustion in their two-acre holdings, their low purchasing power will prevent the Euro-American industrial world from emerging successfully out of the present depression. The theory of over-production and saturation of world demand as the cause of the present depression is entirely inconsistent with the food shortage and under-

consumption of millions of Asiatics. On the other hand, a free movement of trade which is checked by Governmental policies in various countries since the war as well as freedom of migration will stimulate the export trade of Asia, remove the anomalies and anachronisms of under-consumption in the midst of surplus land and foodstuffs and of a dual standard of living and lead to the revival world employment and trade.

Yet an even more permanent solution to world population and agriculture is intimately associated with freer Asiatic migrations, judiciously directed according to the diverse economic needs of each country and the special skills of the immigrants. For this purpose bi-lateral, or multi-lateral regional or imperial agreements are indispensable and these, with the support of the League of Nations, may ultimately develop into an international migration code with the universally compulsory standards of selection. No doubt the depression of wage and living standards and other evils associated with a rapid influx of cheap oriental labour into the industrial centres and towns of the immigration countries can be prevented by the wise planning of agricultural colonies in the prairies which will have no difficulties in absorbing foreign agricultural workers. Nor can technocracy, with its ideal of increasing mechanization both in agriculture and industry hold out rich promise as regard the increase of the world's food supply. For the machine may greatly reduce the demand of man-power only in a one-crop system, like wheat growing on an extensive scale which, however, cannot long be tolerated as an obviously wasteful exploitation. The Asiatic farmers' method of rotating cereals with legumes and vegetables, often extolled as permanent agriculture, cannot be adapted either to large holdings or the use of machinery on a large scale.

A world faced with a chronic food shortage and continuously pitching up its artificial standard of social and industrial living imperatively demands continuous extension of the agricultural front and wise husbandry of soil resources. Now that the available lands of the temperate zones of the world, settled in the 19th century, have greatly shrunk, it is the patient Chinese, Indian and Japanese toilers,

who have to be attracted to reclaim vast voids in the cold temperate zones in the north or the equatorial jungles and semi-deserts, where the colonists of the West are incapable of thriving and expanding agriculturally. On the present standard of living, farming and dietary and the scale of natural increase of numbers, the White peoples would need 12 million and the yellow and brown peoples 8 million acres of new cultivated land every year.\* Even for the proportionately smaller quota of two-fifths of the expansion of the world's agriculture for half its population, the Asiatics now subsisting roughly on two-thirds of an acre per person can fairly claim admission to vast man-less and unused territories in their close proximity across the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Such a claim becomes yet stronger when it is remembered that an unnatural situation is brought about by the colonizing Powers of the West occupying large heavily peopled territories in the Orient and closing certain thinly peopled Pacific territories, economically and politically, to those peoples who have dwelt in the Pacific from times immemorial. More than one-third as many people of European origin (34 p. c.) live in other continents, while among the Orientals barely 1 to 2 per cent of the total population now live abroad. Where the Northern peoples from the West are and must remain exotics, Asiatic exclusion based on the plea that the empty spaces may be used for the future generations of the Northern settlers is a barren and short-sighted policy as it definitely retards the planning of the agricultural system of the various regions on a world basis.

The thrift, frugality and endurance of the Asiatic farmers, accustomed for centuries to privations and struggles against weather, sand or marsh in the old settled countries are world's invaluable assets in the coming era. In fact a chronic scarcity for the world at large—the world must add, it is estimated, another 500 million acres for the production of food and materials as we pass the middle of this century—may lead to a better appraisal of the Asiatics vegetarianism and small intensive farming along with his innate

\* Daniel Hall : Address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1926.



agricultural virtues than what urban-industrial economics, the child of the 19th century Euro-American phase of economic development, has given. Peoples and cultures which ride on the backs of sheep and camels, horses and tractors have now to learn new disciplines from the Oriental peasantry.

The fundamental facts of social ecology and economics explain not only the divergent relations of food supply, population, standard of living and employment of the old and new worlds but also indicate the essential unity and interdependence of mankind. The improvement of communications and ramification of world industry and commerce are bringing about an inter-twining of the vital threads, which have knit the differential continents into one whole, culturally and economically. As social ecology or economics shuts out regional or national exclusiveness in the appropriation of resources, so does it also lay down the scientific principles of their utilization and development by an importation of appropriate crops and animals, peoples and institutions from similar climatic areas. A judicious immigration policy can rest only on the established conclusions of the natural sciences, which cannot be set at

nought by a civilization that calls itself scientific. Oriental emigration is now a matter of concern for the world's statesmen who have to reckon with blind and widespread racial antagonisms on the one hand and compelling economic forces on the other in preventing a catastrophe of which the dim outlines are already visible in such widely scattered danger spots as Manchuria, the Pacific coast of the Americas, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. But the solutions they propose will be futile unless these pay due consideration to the vast, slow-moving social processes and trends which shape the practical situations of politics. Such social trends now challenge the mobilization of all the social sciences that mediate between ecology and civilization. If the progress of of civilization is to be maintained, the same sciences which have fashioned the complex structure of modern industry and trade must also dominate the political and social controls of to-morrow. Science is inexorable in its logic and its logic is the best solvent of the hostilities that are now brewing in the entire eastern world from the shores of the Indian to those of the Pacific ocean.

## APPENDIX

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASIATIC EMIGRANTS

CHINESE			INDIANS			JAPANESE		
Country	Number	Percentage of Total	Country	Number	Percentage of Total	Country	Number	Percentage of Total
Siam	1,900,000	19.0	Burma	1,300,000	31.4	Manchuria	215,009	12.5
Indo-China	700,000	7.0	Ceylon	1,133,000	27.4	China	55,708	3.1
Malaya	1,800,000	18.0	Malaya	628,000	15.1	Hawaii	134,042	7.6
Burma	150,000	1.5	Dutch E. Indies	50,000	1.2	Philippine Islands	16,687	.9
The Philippines	70,000	0.7	British Guiana	130,075	3.1	Mandated Islands	16,021	.9
British North Borneo	50,000	0.5	Trinidad	133,277	3.2	Continental U. S. A.	140,945	8.0
Hawaii	25,310	0.2	Dutch Guiana	57,600	1.3	Canada	22,664	1.2
Dutch East Indies	1,240,000	12.4	Fiji	76,722	2.0	Brazil	103,166	6.0
The Pacific Islands	50,000	0.5	Mauritius	281,000	6.7	Formosa	212,202	12.2
Australia	20,000	0.2	Kenya, Tanganyika and East Africa	86,220	2.5	Malaya and Borneo	19,652	1.1
United States	74,954	0.7	South Africa	186,000	4.4	Dutch E. Indies	5,000	.02
Canada	45,000	0.4	United States	4,901	0.1	Korea	469,043	26.6
			Australia	2,000	.04	Sighalien	233,935	13.0
			Canada	1,200	.02			
Other Countries	3,874,736	33.9	Other Countries	65,035	1.54	Other Countries	116,142	6.0
Total	10,000,000	100.0	Total	4,135,100	100.0	Total	1,762,000	100.0

## THE FUTURE OF NATIONALIST CHINA

By SASADHAR SINHA, B.Sc. ECON., PH.D., ECON. (LONDON)

**N**OTHING furnishes a clearer index to China's increasing international importance than the growing volume of books on China from the pen of foreign writers. It is obvious that circumstances are leading intelligent Western observers to take a radically different view of the Chinese question. This *volte face* must be accounted for partly by historical causes, partly by the economic situation of the world. In the past the dictation of foreign Powers to China was possible only through the semblance of unity among them, but since the War the conditions which gave substance to this unity are irrevocably gone.\* Russia and Germany have been effectively eliminated from Chinese politics. The Washington Conference of 1922 had guaranteed the political integrity of China. Subsequently a series of events, beginning with the Shanghai and "Shameen" incidents in 1925† to be shortly followed by the rendition of the British concession at Hankow‡ has led to a reversal of the traditional British policy in China. The disastrous boycott of British goods in 1925 proved the expensive folly of the gun-boat policy. On the other hand, it is realized—even painfully realized—that an aggressive policy in China on the part of any non-Asiatic power must inevitably lead to a clash with Japan, the supreme power in the Far East. It is in this sense that China is called the danger-spot of the world. Indeed, Japan is fully conscious of her superior position and, as is well-known, has made ruthless use of it. For the moment

the mantle of Great Britain has fallen on the shoulders of Japan.\* Nor is the slow emergence of China as a self-conscious nation from the chaos of civil wars a matter of indifference to the foreigners. It is not easy for Europeans, accustomed as they are to look upon the Chinese as an inferior race, to reconcile themselves to the changed situation, but on balance it is to be welcomed; because a strong and well-governed China will not only provide a check to the ascendancy of Japan in the Far East but also a market of almost unlimited scope for the manufactures of the West. Finally, remembering the early days of the recent revolution, it is feared that opposition to the Nationalist Government, now controlled by the moderate politicians, may only mean transference of the allegiance of the people to more dangerous quarters. The new policy indicated in the following passage may be taken as typical of the Western powers in China. Mr. Lionel Curtis says :

"To me the people of China are important, less by reason of their vast numbers, than for what they are, and, still more, for what they are capable of becoming. They can, and they will, make of themselves as noble a commonwealth as the world contains; but also, as Sun Yat Sen realized, the time which it takes them to reach that goal will depend on the help they receive from outside." (p. 301).

Among the vicissitudes of human history the existence of China as a political unit for thousands of years is a unique phenomenon. It has been, as Prof. Tawney puts it, "like Mediæval Christendom . . . the unity of a civilization rather than of a political system."† The moral order on which the vast corpus of the Celestial Empire rested was thus as much a source of strength as of weakness.

\* Cf. Count Hayashi's secret memoirs quoted in T. C. Woo's *The Kuomintang and the Chinese Revolution* (Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1927), pp. 245-46.

† These refer to the shooting of the Chinese by the British police. (Cf. Lionel Curtis: *The Capital Questions of China*, Macmillan and Co., 1932, chapter xix).

‡ *Ibid.* p. 163. The advance of the nationalist armies finally led to the transfer of the British concession to Chinese control.

\* Cf. Gyokuno Hanzawa's article "The Significance of the Shanghai Affair" quoted in *The Capital Question of China*, Appendix A.

† Cf. Prof. R. H. Tawney: *Land and Labour in China* (Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1932), p. 164.

As long as China led an isolated existence and the moral authority of her monarchs remained unimpaired the integrity of China was assured.

The remarkable stability of the Chinese Empire, as an English writer observed nearly three-quarters of a century ago, is to be interpreted in terms of moral agency, not only because its vehicle was the elite of the nation, the mandarins, but also because it derived its ultimate strength from the contingent right of the subjects to overthrow the ruler who failed to discharge his duty. The China of the past had seen rebellion but not revolution because the ethical foundations of the State were held sacred. The same observer wrote that "of all nations that have attained a degree of civilization the Chinese are the least revolutionary and most rebellious."\*

The first contact of China with the West was pregnant with possibilities. Had China, like Japan, the vision of the impending disaster, the face of things would have been different. While their moral authority was still supreme, had the Chinese sovereigns undertaken the reorganization of China in conformity with the needs of a scientific age, the fate of China, nay of Asia, would have been different. The physical separation of China from the rest of the world had, it seems, induced a moral estrangement in the rulers of the country too deep-seated to be easily reconciled. Indeed, instead of coming to terms with the foreigners, they wanted them to come round to their view. One disaster followed another in quick succession. By the end of the first decade of the present century, the moral authority of the Chinese Empire had been shaken to its very roots. The proclamation of the Republic in 1911 at once marked the culmination of an important phase of Chinese history as well as the beginning of another yet more momentous.

The fate of the Chinese Republic, which still hangs in the balance, immediately suggests two questions. First, why has it failed to consolidate itself? Secondly, what is its future. The first question, although

important in itself, is of relative insignificance, because the delay in the the stabilization of the Republic primarily issues from the magnitude of the problem itself. A study of the revolutionary history of France as Dr. Sun Yat-sen has pointed out, will clearly demonstrate that the ghost of a revolution in the background of an old civilization is not easily laid.\* The years of uncertainty and civil wars that have followed the revolution thus are partly the legacy of the past reinforced by foreign diplomacy, partly the result of the doctrinaire view of the Chinese revolutionaries† themselves and partly the consequence of the mistaken strategy of Dr. Sun in transferring the Presidency of the Republic to Yuan Shih-kai.§ But in the last resort, they were all symptoms not causes of the malady. It is in the absence of a sense of direction of the ultimate ends of the revolution, which are, as the Russian Revolution has shown, more fundamental to a modern revolution than ever before, that the failure of the first phase of the revolution must be traced. For, as a Chinese scholar pointed sometime ago: "Of all the enemies of human progress, the greatest is the confusion of ideas, because it obstructs views and paralyzes action and destroys the collective will of any large organization."\*\* If the study of the past has any value, the lesson for the future is clear.

But if nobody knew the objectives of the revolution of 1911, Sun Yat-sen did. He of all men knew that the destructive role of a revolution can often be exaggerated; the mere change of masters, far less the adoption of the most perfect democratic constitution of the world, solves little, if anything. But his fellow-workers, whose knowledge of China and of her needs were less profound, were dazzled by the example of America and thought that the reorganization of the government on the American model would usher in the millenium overnight.

\* Cf. Sun Yat-sen: *Memories of a Chinese Revolutionary* (Hutchinson); 127 et seq.

† *ibid.* See chapter entitled "Who was Right?"

§ For an interesting study of Yuan, see *An American Diplomat in China* by Paul Reinsch, who as American Minister to China, 1913-19, had unusual opportunities of closely knowing him.

\*\* T. C. Woo, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

\* Cf. T. T. Meadows, *The Chinese and Their Rebellion* (London; 1856) quoted in Prof. Holcombe's *The Chinese Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 1930), pp. 60-61.



How mistaken they were was to be shown by subsequent events. Yuan Shih-kai, the first President of the Republic, was separated from the revolutionary leaders by a deep moral gulf. They belonged to two different worlds. Yuan had a profound distrust of parliamentary methods, and, as would behove an ambitious militarist, he never whole-heartedly identified himself with the revolution. The leaders had naively thought that they would regain by parliamentary methods the power that they had delegated to Yuan, but the disillusion was not long in coming. While Sun Yat-sen was busy formulating his plans for the development of communications as a means to the unification of China, the President of the Republic stole a march on the revolutionary leaders and finally proclaimed himself the Emperor of China at the end of 1915. In this, curious as it may sound, he was encouraged by a liberal American professor, Dr. Goodnow\* but his final, though short-lived, success was due to the financial help Yuan secured from the foreign Powers in 1913.† But this facade of apparent security could not long hide his bankruptcy of power. The foundations of his authority were visibly crumbling away. By the acceptance of the notorious twenty-one demands of Japan in 1915 he completely "lost his face" in the eyes of the Chinese. But his death in 1916 saved him from the ignominy of being violently pushed from the Dragon Throne.

Meanwhile, although the revolutionary government had ended in failure, the revolutionary party was not crushed. Nor was the lesson of the first unsuccessful constitutional government lost upon the revolutionary leaders. They had gradually been awakened to the true meaning of the now famous phrase of Sun Yat-sen, "action is easy but knowledge is difficult."§ The best antidote

to discouragement inevitable upon defeat is knowledge—the knowledge of the cause of defeat. The consciousness that the failure of the initial phase of the revolution must be attributed to the imperfect understanding of the vital needs of the country thus became the starting point of the renewed revolutionary activity. Sun Yat-sen again took his rightful place at the head of the revolutionary party.

The new party organization crystallized round the so-called "Three Principles" (San-Min-Chu) of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.\* The ideal of democracy, as Lincon declared, is a "government of the people, by the people and for the people." Accordingly, Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism became the three pillars of the Chinese Nationalist Party. These are, as would be evident, mutually complementary, because in a vast country like China, which contains at least five distinct nationalities, the ideal of nationhood is not enough; in order of priority socialism or the so-called principle of people's livelihood must precede before China can speak as a democratic nation with the world outside.† The problem of Chinese reconstruction henceforth receives a new orientation. The reform of the Central Government by parliamentary methods, which the revolution of 1911 had attempted and failed, was relegated to the background. They were clearly unsuited to the regeneration of China, ignorant and economically backward. The concept of dictatorship, obviously inspired by the Russian example, was thus incorporated into the Chinese revolutionary programme and it became the organ for the realization of the Chinese Revolution.

Sun Yat-sen indicates three stages by which the above principles are to be realized.‡ Political power is to be consolidated first by military rule. At the end of this stage, people would undergo a period of tutelage to the Party when they would receive their

\* Dr. Goodnow of John Hopkins University was one of Yuan's political advisers.

† The Five-Power Consortium, namely, British, French, Russian and Japanese Bankers, provided him with a loan of £25,000,000 million pounds "for the reorganization of China."

§ "Therefore I consider myself bound to win the minds of my fellow countrymen and women away from the preconceived idea which has taken root in them that 'knowledge is easy but action is difficult,' and to the idea that 'action is easy but

knowledge is difficult,' by means of repeated explanations and proofs." (Cf. *Memoirs, op. cit.*, p. 118).

\* *Ibid.* Appendix 1.

† Cf. Dr. Sun's "Outline for the Reconstruction of China" in T. C. Woo's *Kuomintang and the Future of Chinese Revolution*, Appendix B.

‡ *Ibid.*

first lessons in self-government. In other words, self-government would begin at the bottom, with the "hsien," the lowest administrative unit. It would expand in ever-widening circles to the province, and when all the provinces had enjoyed constitutional government, the national constitution would be proclaimed. In short, the third or constitutional stage would mark the culmination rather than the beginning of the revolutionary rule, as under the first revolution.

The constitutional theory of Sun Yat-sen, although based on theory of the separation of powers, goes beyond the usual division into the legislative, judicial and executive. In accordance with the Chinese tradition, the power of control or censorship and examination for public services are made co-equal with the other three. In other words, a separate power would be constituted which would keep a controlling eye on the other departments and be in a measure above them, while the selection of candidates for public services would be left to a sort of Public Service Commission. The whole scheme of constitutional government\* was outlined by Sun Yat-sen as follows:—

#### The State Machine

People's Conference— Every district  
has one delegate  
Government

Punishing Judicial Executive Legislative Examinary  
authority authority authority authority authority

Minister Minister Minister Minister Minister  
of of of of of  
Justice Finance Interior Foreign affairs Education

#### Provincial Authority

District Authority— Direct right of  
citizens

Initiative Right of Recall Referendum Direct electoral  
rights

\* Cf. *Memoirs, op. cit.*, Appendix II. In order to understand Sun Yat-sen properly, it should be borne in mind that his theory of democracy is based on the distinction, as Prof. Holcombe puts it, "between the sovereign power of the people, which enables them to control the government, and the governmental powers, directly speaking, by means of which those who are competent operate it." (*op. cit.*, p. 316). In other words, he believed in a government of experts, of civil servants, subject to the ultimate control of the citizens of the Republic. (See also T. C. Woo, *op. cit.*, p. 66 *et seq.*)

The year 1924 proved a turning point in the history of the Chinese revolution. The party conference, which comprised delegates from the provinces including outer Mongolia, met at Canton in the middle of the year. Out of its deliberations emerged the General Constitution of the Kuomintang. Not only was this conference a personal triumph for Sun Yat-sen but, as T. C. Woo has pointed out, it was a testimony "to the maturity of opinion among the rank and file of the members to the necessity of such a reorganization."\* Henceforward, the Party became the supreme organ of the Revolution—the individual being subordinated to the collective action. This change was of fundamental importance, because not only was it designed to put a brake on individual ambition, but, what was more important, revolutionary activities in China were for the first time grounded on certain well-defined principles, which provided the goal as well as the standard of those activities.

Meanwhile, help had come to the Chinese revolutionary movement from another quarter. Thus, although Sun Yat-sen did not see eye to eye with the communists, he was not deterred from seeking Russian help for his cause. Indeed, there is no doubt whatsoever that the help rendered by the Russian experts at this crucial period to the Chinese revolution proved invaluable. The Nationalist Army, the backbone of the new revolution, organized with the expert advice of Galens and the skilful propaganda among the masses, inspired by Borodin, are examples which would strike any casual observer. While Sun Yat-sen was alive, his personality could work out a satisfactory adjustment with the Russians, the latter's sphere of activities being strictly delimited. But the death of Dr. Sun in March 1924 removed the sole influence capable of maintaining this delicate balance, for in the last resort this alliance was essentially an alliance of incompatibles. Nevertheless, for a time the differences between the right wing of the Nationalist Party and the communists and those members of the Kuomintang who stood nearest them was concealed by the onward surge of the revolution. Indeed, but for the united front of

\* *op. cit.*, p. 44.

all the revolutionary forces under the Nationalist banner, the lightning success of the revolutionary army in 1926 and 1927 could hardly have been expected. To quote T. C. Woo again:

"The gradual infiltration of the proletarian elements into the ranks of the Kuomintang during its life-history, and the gradual broadening of its basis to make it rest more and more on the masses of the peasants and labourers, resulted finally in the creation of that mighty political power which characterized the northern expedition of last year and this year, and brought the revolution to the threshold of success."\*

But the very rapidity of this success had frightened the militarists and the Imperialist Powers, who saw in it their own doom. The next phase is marked by the alliance of the various generals, the rupture with the Russians, and the violent suppression of the workers, peasants and the left elements.† In the struggle for power Chiang Kai-shek came out victorious, not because he was less ambitious or less unscrupulous than the other militarists but primarily because he did lip service to the ideals of Sun Yat-sen and had the support of the moderate wing of the Kuomintang, the support of the army and lastly the support of that important class, the Chinese merchants. The recognition of the Nationalist Government by the principal Powers, which was to follow shortly, put the final seal of authority on Chiang Kai-shek whom the Western Powers indulgently call "the strong man of China."

The Revolution, which was thus within an ace of success in 1927, ended in failure. The Nationalist Government at Nanking has been recognized by the world outside, but its effective influence still remains confined to not more than half a dozen provinces.§ The standing sore of dissension between Nanking and Canton is not yet healed. The open revolt of the latter has been temporarily balked by the Japanese aggression in China, but "launched, as it was on the eve of the greatest crisis in recent Chinese history, it was a tragic example of disunion."\*\* On the

other hand, nearly three provinces are controlled by the Chinese communists. Elsewhere the authority of Nanking is at best nominal. What is more serious is that even at the capital the authority of the party in power is not unchallenged. There is even talk of the formation of a Fascist Party, presumably with Chiang Kai-shek playing the role of Mussolini.\*

Of the Three Principles (San-Min-Chu) of Sun Yat-sen the most important is the principle of people's livelihood. This goes to the root of the problem of China. The Nanking Government has done little to alleviate it, far less to carry out the programme of Chinese reconstruction, as Sun Yat-sen conceived it.† It is in this factor that one must seek the principal cause of the weakness of the Nationalist Government and not in the unwillingness of the foreign powers to support it, as one recently pointed out.§ For, as Mme. Sun Yat-sen in her inspiring message on the eve of her departure from China said: "In the last analysis, all revolutions must be social revolutions, based upon fundamental changes in society, otherwise it is not a revolution, but merely a change of government."\*\* Thus, although when Professor Tawney exhorted the Nanking Government in a recent article to set its house in order in the provinces under its direct control and to seek to conquer the rest of China by example rather than force, he was only superficially right.†† If the Central Government is true to its salt it must either establish its authority over the whole country or abdicate. Where moral authority is at stake, divided allegiance is impermissible.

To state the problem thus is to find its solution. Force has been tried by Nanking but found unavailing.§§ It is no substitute

\* Cf. "Fascism in China," an article by a Student of Politics in *The People's Tribune* (Shanghai), March 16, 1933.

† Sun Yat-sen: *The International Development of China* (Putnam, New York, 1929).

§ Cf. *Communism in China—Is it a Danger?* by William Martin (formerly of the *Journal de Genève*) in *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Friday, July 14, 1933.

\*\* T. C. Woo, *op. cit.*, Appendix D.

†† R. H. Tawney: "The Future of China" in *The People's Tribune*, May 1933.

§§ Cf. "Communism in China," etc. *op. cit.*

\* *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

† For a graphic account of hope and disillusion in this period see Anna Louise Strong's *China's Millions* (1928).

§ R. H. Tawney, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

\*\* *Ibid.*



for moral bankruptcy. It becomes increasingly clear that the conditions which made the mighty revolutionary unity possible in

1926-27 must be recaptured, if the revolution is to be saved. There is no half-way house between reaction and revolution.

## MUSINGS ON WORLD POLITICS

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

**T**HERE may be astronomical or religious reasons for beginning a new year on the first of January. But with the great majority of people—in the hearts and minds of men—there is little doubt that the year ends with the passing of summer. This is a survival of course from more primitive times. In olden days the harvest was necessarily the climax of the year. After the harvest there was respite and then the cycle began anew. In England from the earliest times this process has been reflected in the ordering of public affairs. So soon as the harvest was gathered in, new scholastic sessions began, new sessions of the Courts began, Parliament was again called together. In our own and more artificial age summer brings respite not from the fields, but from the machine, but the feeling is the same. Summer holidays set a definite term to the year, allow men to pause for a moment and take stock of their position.

Anyone taking stock of the position at the present time must surely feel that there is, amidst so much that is chaotic, one good reason for being hopeful of the future, and that is the great display of *energy*. The world is menaced by the evil spirit of dictatorship, dictatorship which must always rest, in the last analysis, upon espionage and murder. But it is better to be menaced than to be complacent. And these dictators are telling the world what the timid vote-dependent democrats never would understand: that men will always respond to a bold lead.

But the decline of democracy is due to other causes besides the diffidence of the

politicians. Its influence is declining because it still clings to a nineteenth century individualistic guise, a guise which simply cannot meet the spirit or account for all the processes of a modern mechanized society. The central tenet of democracy, that the individual must be left free to pursue his own development so long as his freedom does not interfere with the freedom of his neighbour, is a tenet outworn and out of touch with present-day realities. The threat to a man's freedom is no longer a neighbour in competition with himself: it is a machine, and behind that machine an abstract irresponsible money power!

This point is very clearly developed in Mr. Bernard Shaw's latest publication entitled *The Political Madhouse in America and Nearer Home*. Says he:

"Scientific discovery has revealed new methods of producing wealth which require enormous plants costing prodigious amounts of capital. Today the dollars needed to start big enterprises are counted in hundreds of millions; and the ordinary employer is utterly unable to find such sums or to prevent the big enterprises swallowing up his little ones. He has, therefore, fallen helplessly into the power of a class of men whose business it is to find millions, the financiers.

*"They are the present masters of the situation."* (Italics mine.)

It is the great gap in our democracy that it does not take account of this new power. One might have thought that England would have been the first to be alive to the danger because, after all, the constitutional struggle in England has always been bound up with the struggle for control of expenditure. But it looks as if we will drift under the new tyranny with the rest. This new tyranny, Fascism, which, stripped of its

symbols and pseudo-mysticism (the dope so useful for the bemusing of simple men and the enslavement of incredibly simple women) is nothing but a junta of financiers riding the State.

These reflections are prompted after reading a remarkable book which has appeared this week: *The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror*. This book has been criticized in some quarters because it is written from a socialist (and indignant) point of view. The terrible facts which it reveals, according to such critics, would be even more terrible if presented impartially. But is there such a thing as an impartial account of a tyranny? However the most astounding revelation in the book, the most coldly evil, is an excerpt quoted from an article published in the *Deutsche Fuhrerbriefe*, "a private bulletin of the Union of German Industry." The subject of this article is The Re-consolidation of Capitalism and its tone is enough to make Macchiavelli turn green with envy.

First of all it points out that post-war Capitalism has been under a great debt to the Social Democrats. Did not the Social Democrats paralyse the revolutionary energies of organized labour and so "chain it firmly to the capitalist State" ?(!)

The Social Democrats, it continues, made the world safe for Capitalism through the wages victories and the social-political measures it secured. In this way it "canalized the revolutionary movement." Instead of the struggle from below there were concessions from above. (This is not a Communist talking but the Union of German Industry).

But the Depression put an end to the usefulness of the Social Democrats. There were no longer any gains to be passed on as a sop to the working classes, "and with the wiping out of these gains, the mechanism for the creation of divisions in the working class which depended on them also ceases to function..."!

So now they must all come under the Hitler umbrella. The last paragraph is worth quoting at some length:

"If National Socialism succeeds in bringing the trade unions into a social policy of constraint, as Social Democracy formerly succeeded in bringing them into a Liberal policy, then National Socialism would become the bearer of one of the functions essential to the future of capitalist rule..."

"The danger of a State capitalist or even socialistic development, which is often urged against such an incorporation of the trade unions under National Socialist leadership, will, in fact, be avoided precisely by these means..."

Men are, of course, at liberty to choose either capitalism or socialism. But what can one think of a set of men who will support their opponents-in-principle so long and for just as long as their usefulness is demonstrable? Irresponsible finance decided to put Hitler in the saddle—and the Jews and the Pacifists and the Socialists and Austria are all being oppressed in the name of the Swastika, Aryanism, Pan-Germanism and the rest.

Perhaps one further reflection may be permitted in passing. Nazi Germany resents as unwarrantable interference the protests against the Terror which are now being made in every civilized land. What she does within her own borders, to meet her own problems, she claims, is her own responsibility. But it is a moot point whether the right to oppress exists any longer in a world which has set up the League of Nations with its machinery for the Protection of Minorities. Germany is simply creating new minorities.

The truth is, of course, that a nation will strike the same note in its foreign policy as it strikes at home. Germany cannot become an iron State at home and a conciliatory Power as regards the rest of the world. And the conviction is growing every day that Germany is both re-arming and developing an air force. This weak-end Herr Hitler has held a monster rally of Nazis at Nuremburg. The docile German Press may rejoice at such a demonstration of national solidarity, such a symbol of the totalitarian State. But to the rest of the world it is merely proof that "Herr Hitler has reconstituted the whole German Army and has shown at Nuremburg that in a few days he can mobilize several hundred thousand men."

Incidentally, when one thinks of the Nazis swaggering in Nuremburg, one realizes afresh how the humourless Teuton is his own worst enemy. Herr Hitler would pick on Nuremburg, loveliest of German mediæval strongholds, "that rose red city half as old as time," and home of the toy-making industry, to parade his Storm Troops with their famous new

daggers inscribed *blood and honour* (whatever that may mean).

As regards the rumours that Germany is creating an Air Force—forbidden her under the Versailles Treaty—the Nazis again have furnished the gravest evidence. In every town the population has been engaging in elaborate anti-aircraft drill. Instructions have been given in the use of gas masks and everyone has been regimented and assigned his special task or place. Yet no one is contemplating an air attack on Germany. So what is the reason for all this activity? It is believed on the Continent that the Nazis themselves may deal some sudden blow at France or Poland and that they are training their people not to resist attack but a reprisal.

Germany, it might be added, is not the only country which is elaborating its air defence and preparing the minds of its people to expect a sudden attack from the air. The same kind of "rehearsals" have been going on in Tokyo, the Prussia of the East. The two "Prussias," indeed, seem to be exchanging points on various war-like considerations. Japan, of course, has been making war on China for years without ever declaring war. German militarists seem to favour the same method of stealing the advantage. The *News Chronicle* Foreign Correspondent reports how a well-known French military writer said to him recently: "I have been at Geneva and I have heard war possibilities discussed by both French and German experts. German officers have coolly expressed the view that declarations of war are 'old-fashioned' and that the side which strikes the first surprise blow will stand to win the victory. German journalists at Geneva have talked in like manner."

All things considered it is plain that the Disarmament Conference, when it meets next month at Geneva, will meet not a moment too soon. Hitlerite Germany may be a great discouragement to France and her neighbours to abate any part of their armaments. But the intolerable rumours and suspicions which are springing up seem to be uniting the powers on one vital issue. And that is that whatever Convention is finally adopted, it

must contain provision for the compulsory investigation of armaments every six months.

France is exceedingly anxious to carry this provision at Geneva. England does not care much for the idea, as she never does care much for any idea that infringes her absolute "sovereignty." But America is said to be in favour of it and America, these days, frequently turns the scale. It is to be hoped that this provision is carried. If it is, it will mark a tremendous step forward in principle. There will never be any real security until the nations think more in terms of joint security and less in those of private sovereignty. Such an advance would far outweigh the immediate usefulness of the provision—which is, of course, that it would at once call Herr Hitler's bluff. He could dispel all the sinister rumours, gain credence for his much advertised occasional pacific speeches, simply by deciding to admit League of Nations experts to investigate the state of German armaments.

America, land of constructive energy and dictatorship resting on consent, may yet infuse life into what, when it last adjourned, was considered to be a moribund Disarmament Conference. Mr. Norman Davis, President Roosevelt's famous "Ambassador at large," has come to Europe with a plan for a period of "trial disarmament." The plan cannot be revealed yet, but to give it a good send-off the U. S. Secretary of State for War announces that he will suspend his £15,000,000 programme for the modernization of the U. S. A.'s land and air equipment. (The cynics remark that the United States, with both eyes on the Pacific and Japan, have nothing to offer as regards reducing *naval* armaments.)

From time to time it is rumoured that war in the Pacific between America and Japan is imminent. American alarmists, in particular, seem unable to resist the idea. But all the tendencies at present seem to suggest that Japan is turning more and more towards Asia. The conquest of Manchuria has made her a great Asiatic continental Power—and it is the overlordship of Asia at which she is aiming. With, perhaps, a few exchanges with Russia so that she may



detach some of the coveted maritime territory bordering on Manchuria.

However much we may dislike her ruthless militarism, it is undeniable that Japan has a vision for Asia. It is most interesting to read, in the reports of the recent Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, of a scheme put forward by two Tokyo professors for a kind of Eastern Branch of the League of Nations. There does seem to be, in the economic sphere, a movement towards a regional grouping. In time, it appears, there will be about eight self-contained units. Similarly in the political sphere, it would seem to be a more reasonable, a more manageable arrangement, to decentralize the administration of the League of Nations.

If more than half of Japan's interest in an Eastern or Pacific Branch of the League of Nations is due to her unwillingness to co-operate with the League, which

voted against her at Geneva, it is none the less a fruitful idea which she has put forward. The League is far too closely identified with European politics merely. The United States is not a member of the League. The South American States are often in default. India is never effectively represented. Japan is out of favour and screams at the delegates that they do not know their history. Plainly a little decentralization and intensive administration are called for.

To get back to the point from which we started, the times may be uneasy but, thank God, they are *stirring*. If men are turning to dictators, at least they are no longer allowing the Depression to overwhelm them. And people after all always get the governments they deserve. The dictators will pass when they have served their turn—to bring a much-needed direction and definition into the conduct of public affairs.

## THE CENTENARY OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY, "THE FATHER OF MODERN INDIA"

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

**T**HE Centenary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy, which occurs in September, 1933, is to be celebrated in India on a wide scale. It should not be without notice in America.

This illustrious son of India was indisputably one of the very great men of the modern world. His achievements were remarkable in two directions, namely, in service rendered to the world as a whole and in service to India in particular.

It is unquestionable that he rendered high and lasting service to the world as a scholar. Many scholars affirm that he possesses a better claim than any one else to have been the founder of the important modern Science of Comparative Religion. This alone should insure for him a permanently conspicuous place in history.

### II

He rendered priceless service to India, of three kinds:

(i) It is the testimony of the highest authorities that, through his able, scholarly and extensive writings, he gave to the Bengali tongue (the most important language of India) distinctly increased range, versatility, strength and attractiveness, and did much to raise the literary quality and standing of all Bengali literature.

(ii) He founded the very important religious and social reform movement known as the Brahmo Samaj, which notwithstanding its somewhat slow growth in numbers so far in its history, has kindled a light in India which cannot be extinguished; has set up an ideal of religion so living, so vital, so in harmony with the best modern thought, and so adapted to India's practical needs today, that the whole religious and social thinking of

India must inevitably more and more realize its truth and beauty, feel its uplifting influence, and move in its direction.

(iii) It is more and more realized that he gave the initiatory word, the first clear impulse in creating India's modern movement to shake off her bondage to a foreign power, and to become once more free,—free to shape her own destiny, to develop her own institutions, to occupy again the great place among the nations which she filled so long, and to render to humanity the high service which her illustrious past and her rich spiritual genius so indisputably fit her to render.

Rammohun Roy wrote the great and

heroic declaration: "I WANT TO BE FREE, OR I DON'T WANT TO BE AT ALL." That was a clarion note, which meant nothing less than the political as well as the spiritual rebirth of his country. The spirit of that note has spread and spread until today all India is feeling the mighty thrill of it.

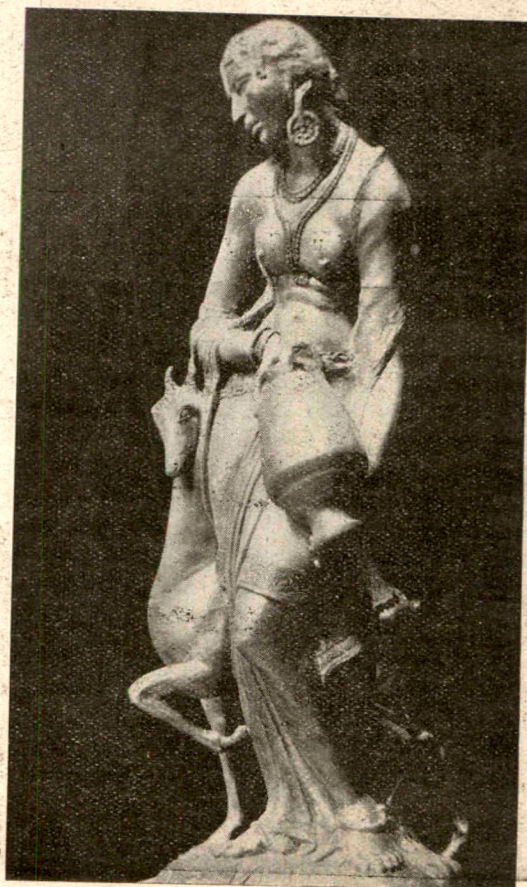
Such, in a few words, are some of the reasons why his appreciative and admiring countrymen have given to this distinguished scholar and reformer the great title of THE FATHER OF MODERN INDIA, and why all India's religious faiths, classes and parties are uniting to celebrate his Centenary.

## THE WORK OF AN INDIAN SCULPTOR

Kshitish Chandra Roy, a young Indian sculptor, who has just returned to his



Kshitish Chandra Roy



Sakuntala



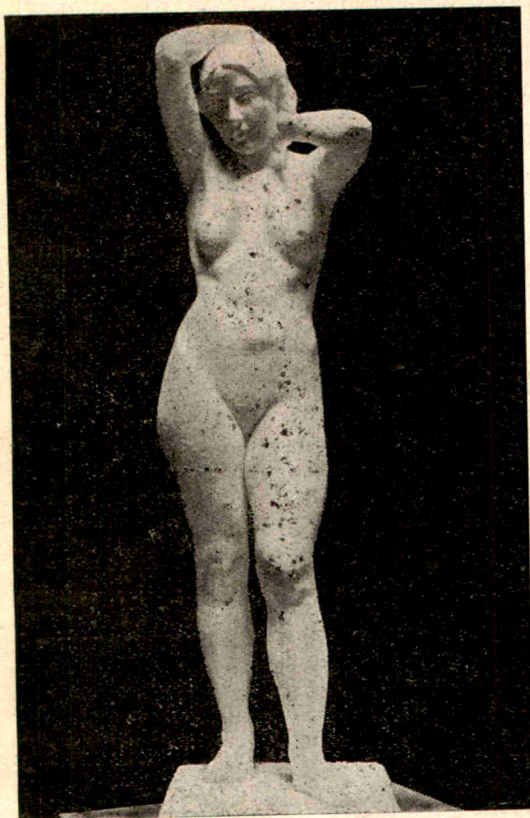
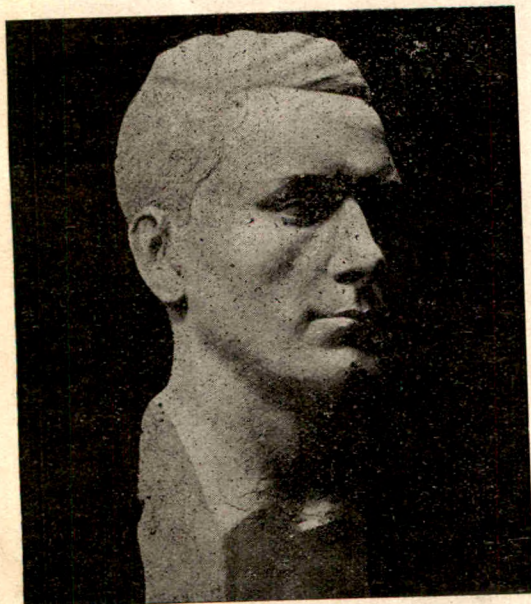


Figure Study



A Portrait Bust



Time and Tune

country, has been granted the A. R. C. A. diploma a year before the regular course and has been awarded the diploma prize as the best work in the final examination in the Royal College of Arts, London. One of his works, 'Sakuntala' was accepted by the Royal Academy for display in the last Summer Exhibition. This is believed to be the first time that an Indian sculptor has ever been represented at the Academy. Mr. Roy's bronze model is a fine study of the famous mythological figure. Notwithstanding his Western training, Mr. Roy adheres to the traditional Indian style of sculpture and possesses a highly developed sense of form.



## A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

'MASTER,' I observed, 'it is admitted even by science which does not deal with the unknown that there is no such thing as destruction even of matter. Nothing perishes; there is a constant change, there is chemical and other change, one substance assumes another form, either visible or invisible, but there is no waste in nature, there is no annihilation.'

'Very true, my son,' said the Master; 'the mountain may crumble into dust and may disappear from sight, but the substance of which the mountain was formed remains. The flesh decays and turns into dust, but it does not dissolve and disappear. Since there is no dissolution of matter how can another substance which is far subtler than matter perish? When we distinguish between the mortal and the immortal we really think of what is subject to change and what is changeless. The hint is written large all over nature. If she will not permit a pinch of dust to perish how can anything which is imperishable in itself ever cease to be? We are not called upon to strain our credulity to believe that the indwelling soul is immortal and retains its individuality. If the memory of previous births is lost it is because there is a veil whichever way we may turn and nothing is made easy for us. We are ever in the fray and we win or we lose as we strive whole-heartedly or only with a faint heart. Men have to struggle hard for even the possessions of this world and how can we obtain prizes far more precious without striving for them? It is the enemy in our own selves that we have to fight, but the contest is not the less grim because it is silent and unseen. The end of the struggle may come as it came to the Buddha when the triumphant soul crowns the heights and is at peace. It is only when the victory is won, and not till then, that the warrior may lay aside his armour.'

'And now,' said the Master, rising with a smile, 'shall we take off our armour for the night?'

### XXXII

A week went by. Every day the Master discoursed to us on the great problems that have at all times exercised the minds of thoughtful men and he spoke freely out of the inexhaustible store of his wisdom. With rare intuition he seemed to anticipate our inquiries and he illumined many a dark chamber of our ignorance. Of our own great teachers in the world that we had left behind a few questions had enabled him to know all that he desired and there seemed to

be a strange spiritual bond between him and our own departed teachers. He often spoke as they had spoken and we thought we were listening to the teachings of the Buddha or the Christ. He explained that neither distance nor different worlds and different planets mattered so long as the race of humanity was the same and was faced with the same problems. There might be other worlds inhabited by a higher order of beings and it was conceivable that they had found a ready solution for the problems that baffled us, but the law was uniform in its immutability. There was infinite variety in nature but there were no surprises. What seemed to surprise us was due merely to the limited scope of our intelligence. We saw that there was a graduated scale of the faculty of comprehension, but we could not know where it began and where it ended.

Urim and the other young scholars listened to the Master as attentively as we did and sometimes discussed the same subjects with us. We found out that the Master taught at certain hours and they were encouraged to think for themselves and find answers to the questions that pressed for a solution. Each novice was subject to an individual discipline and felt the vigilant eye of the Master upon him at all times. But on one subject they never opened their lips and that was the instruction they were receiving in the development of psychic powers. From what we had seen of Narga and Karos we were certain that some if not all of these young men were receiving a similar training, but it was evidently part of an esoteric teaching which could not be discussed with strangers like ourselves. There was a certain air of secrecy which we could not fail to notice. We were never invited to the cloisters occupied by the young men and during certain hours every day we saw nothing of them.

Maruchi had avowed frankly that he was curious. So were we. With such knowledge as the Master possessed there must be combined much higher psychic powers than what had been exhibited by Narga and Karos. An opportunity soon presented itself when Maruchi mentioned to the Master the miraculous powers attributed to the great masters and teachers of humanity. The Master listened in silence. He had been already told of Narga's powers and now Maruchi mentioned what had happened to Ganimet when he had suddenly clutched the arm of Karos.

The Master turned to Ganimet. 'Were you

hurt?' he asked. Ganimet was awkward but very respectful. 'Yes, Sir, I felt as if I had received a severe electric shock. There were tremors passing through my body for some time.'

The Master asked Maruchi, 'Doubtless your men of science have found out what electricity is?'

Maruchi shook his head. 'No, sir, no one has ever succeeded in analysing its component parts. We know what the air is and we can divide water into the gases of which it is composed. But about electricity we know nothing. We know of its terrible power and we see its blinding flash when the thunderbolt is hurled from the clouds. We can manufacture it and measure it like any other article of commerce. We sell it and buy it. We use it to light our houses and drive our fans and carriages and conveyances on the roads and our ships on the sea. The motive power for all our industries is electricity and we generate our own electricity to drive our ship through air and space. But as to its nature and its ingredients we know nothing.'

'There you are. Even in the material world you find things that baffle all your efforts to penetrate their secret. Electricity is like a familiar that comes at your call and carries out your behests. You can buy and sell it as a slave or like any other commodity in the market, but it defies you to find out what it is and of what substance it is made. You can easily imagine how much more difficult it must be to find out the nature of the forces in the spirit-world. By a prolonged course of discipline and training Narga and Karos have developed certain powers which are latent in most men and women, but which usually remain neglected and uncultivated. You noticed that Narga has developed powers higher than those possessed by Karos, but neither of them will be able to tell you the nature of the power they have. Narga has reached a stage at which she can control her powers at will as one controls a well-trained horse. Karos is not yet able to do so. There is a higher stage at which one can impart by a mere touch sensations which are quite different and of contradictory natures at the will of the man or woman who happens to have such power. Thus I lay my finger upon you, my Sahir, you who are calm and wise, and what do you feel?'

The Master put forth his right hand and touched me lightly with one finger on the breast. On the instant a great light burst out before my eyes, there was a rushing of many waters in my ears, my whole being was buoyed up with a sense of extraordinary exaltation and I felt my feet leaving the ground and my body being lifted in the air. I lost consciousness of my surroundings and appeared to be floating in an atmosphere a-tingle with the chime of musical bells and melodious with songs. There were other forms at my side and the faces had an ecstatic look. I felt repeated thrills of a delight which was

not physical passing over me. I next thought I was being transported through space at breathless speed and days and nights went by while I rushed on without any effort of my own.

And suddenly, again, I was looking into the smiling eyes of the Master and at the faces of my friends and the young novices, who did not appear to notice anything unusual about me. 'Well,' queried the Master, becoming grave, 'what did you feel?'

I stammered and related my experiences in a faltering tone. What had happened to me? I must have been in a state of hypnosis induced by the mesmeric fluid poured into my body by the touch of the Master's finger. I was much too bewildered to give a coherent and connected account and finally blurted out a question, 'How long was I asleep?'

Save for the presence of the Master I think my friends would have burst out laughing, but they could not help grinning. Orlon said, 'Why should you have been asleep? You have been sitting here like ourselves, and between the time that the Master touched you and you began speaking scarcely a minute could have passed.'

The Master turned to Maruchi. 'I know that your desire for knowledge is tempered by a strong feeling of curiosity. Would you like to have an experience of the same kind as Sahir, or would you prefer a sterner ordeal? You are strong and full of courage, and will not flinch from an experience that may be somewhat trying.'

Maruchi visibly stiffened. There was a challenge in the Master's words that Maruchi was the last man to pass by or refuse to take up. He looked Ashan squarely in the face. 'Let it be as you will, my Master. If Sahir has had the tasting of the sweet let me have the cup that is bitter even with the bitterness of death. We have been taught not to turn away from fear and I pray you do unto me as may seem good to you.'

The lightning leaped into the eyes of the Master as he rose to his great height and placed his hand for a moment on the chest of Maruchi.

Nothing happened so far as we could see. Maruchi sat still without any change of expression in his face or eyes but he had a fixed look which showed that he must have passed into temporary unconsciousness. In a few moments there was a marked change. Maruchi looked about him dazed. His eyes seemed to be haunted by a great terror, his face became very pale and his fingers twitched and trembled. The Master looked at him steadily and then said, 'You need not tell us just now what you felt. It will be better for you to take some time and to compose yourself. Every one can see that your feelings must have been different from those of Sahir. As you all see, I have certain powers developed by a long course of discipline and

self-control but I cannot explain them any more than you can explain electricity. But these powers are under complete control and they can be used to put either joy or terror into a man. They can be withdrawn at will in much the same manner as a feline animal of prey can withdraw its sharp claws into its velvety paws. See now.'

He placed his hand upon my shoulder and I felt nothing. I remembered that when while walking in the garden he had placed his hand upon my shoulder with an affectionate gesture I had also felt nothing.

'And now, my young friends,' concluded the Master, 'you had better go and rest a while. I shall speak to you again on this subject at another time.'

The Master left us and we returned to our rooms where Maruchi threw himself heavily into a seat and explained, 'By heaven, I have had all my silliness knocked out of me! Talk of our strength of mind and fearlessness! Why, men, every fibre of me has been jarred and racked into trembling and you can knock me down with a feather.'

'Tell us what happened. What did you feel?' asked Orlon. 'We have heard from Sahir what he felt and we are now waiting to bear you.'

Maruchi filled and drank a cup of water. 'My friends,' he said, 'it was like a nightmare. I saw the sudden flash in the Master's eyes and it seemed to strike and benumb me even before he touched me. With the touch came swift oblivion and then I saw myself standing in a strange place with a large lake in front of me. An utter silence gripped everything around me. Not a breath of wind ruffled the air, not a ripple rose on the surface of the lake. The water was pellucid, flashing blue and green in the light and cool to the eye. Suddenly the water parted and from the depths rose a mighty figure of a man with a lofty brow, white and smooth as alabaster, and eyes with depths of slumbering fire, anon darting gleams that went through one like a burning knife. As he strode forward towards me I saw wonderingly that he was quite dry and not a drop of water dripped from his coal-black hair and shining garments. Without any sign or word of greeting he put out his right hand and tore open my breast as if it were a sheet of flimsy paper. I had asked the Master for the bitterness of death and I got it. With a wrench that seemed to pull me to pieces the man drew out something from inside me which he flung down at my feet, saying at the same time in a voice of thunder, 'Behold thyself!'

I looked down and saw a midget no bigger than a man's thumb squirming in the dust. It was a human shape and bore an exact and uncanny resemblance to me in every feature and limb. It stood up and strutted about, cocking its eyes at me and imitating my movements and gestures with an exasperating exaggeration. Then

in a thin, quavering voice, sharp and shrill as a cricket's, it cried out, 'Dost thou know me? I am thy own self. That big shell of thine is but a counterfeit, I am thy real self.'

I felt so profoundly humiliated that I would have sunk into the ground with very shame if it had opened at my feet. I was struck utterly dumb while that hideous thing at my feet swelled out its chest and swaggered and attitudinised and leered at me and made mock of me and capered about in unholy glee. The man who had pulled out that evil imp from my body towered over me, colossal, silent and grim as fate. And then suddenly he picked up that mocking miniature of myself and thrust it again inside me, and I opened my eyes and saw I had never stirred from the place where I had been sitting with the rest of you.

'I understand that the vision I saw is a judgment I deserve. I was not content with the Master's wisdom and wanted a demonstration of his powers. I asked for it in a defiant spirit and have been rightly punished by the humiliation and bitterness I have experienced.'

'You accuse yourself unnecessarily,' said Orlon, 'we have known you so long and we have nothing but admiration for your fine qualities.'

'But that imp is in me, all the same. Perhaps all of us have got one but I have seen it in all its revolting hideousness and all the pride has been crushed out of me. The Master has scared and shrivelled it with a red-hot iron and I feel I can never sufficiently thank him for what he has done for me.'

A little after midday Urim came to call us to the Master's own room. 'You are finding more and more favour in his eyes every day,' he said, 'it is rarely that he admits any one to the privacy of his own cloister.'

After several windings and passing through a number of caves we were ushered into a fair sized cave chamber. The floor was covered by a matting of reeds, otherwise the room was quite bare. A faint and delicate fragrance of some incense came to our nostrils but there was no brazier and no smoke. The Master was reclining with his head on his left palm and his elbow resting on a cushion of antelope skin filled with mountain moss.

As we entered Maruchi bowed down low at the feet of Ashan and said with great feeling, 'I thank you, my Master, for what you taught me when you laid your hand upon me.'

With a sweep of his right hand the Master motioned to us to sit down. To Maruchi he said, 'You are right, but I know you can face the truth and therefore all will be well with you.' He smiled at me, 'You have drunk of the wine that is distilled from light and runs like quicksilver through our consciousness.' His eyes were grave as he turned towards Orlon, 'There is something that tells me there is a strong bond between you and this world to which you have come, but I



shall make no attempt to discover it, nor shall I forge a psychic link between you and me.' Finally he turned to Nabor and Ganimet. 'You, my friends, are happy that the spirit is not stirring strongly in you, though you left the haven of rest when you embarked upon your perilous adventure.'

He spoke to Maruchi again. 'By touching you and Sabir in the manner I did I have established with you an intimacy that entitles you to come to me whenever you please. Something of me has passed into you and now there exists between us a bond which is not the less real because it cannot always be felt. You, Maruchi, wanted a sign, an exhibition of some miraculous power and you have had a slight experience of it, though I would not call it by that name. The desire to witness a miracle is a human weakness. When a great teacher appears in our midst the truth that he teaches, the wisdom that he shows are not always enough for those who see and hear him. They crave for the supernatural, some manifestation of an occult power which will strike the eye and arrest the imagination. Men do not discuss the wisdom of a teacher so much as they talk of a miracle said to have been performed by him. They want to see him walk over water dry-footed as on hard land, they want him to still a storm with a word, they wish him to disappear from the sight of men even while moving among them, they want him to recall the dead to life and they want him to reappear in the flesh after his death. And when all this is done many disbelieve the evidence of their senses and call him a trickster and an impostor. A man may possess supernatural powers and yet he may be no teacher, while another may be a trusty guide of men without possessing any supernatural powers. It is no part of any man's work to try to upset the order of nature, for that is what the exhibition of miraculous powers means. To recall the dead to life is not to endow them with eternal life in the flesh for death is the end of all flesh. That which is eternal and defies death is not the physical body but the spirit that tenants it for a time. It cannot be denied that there are subtle powers, but they are not to be displayed like jugglers' tricks and are only to be put forth when necessary. They have their use and they are helpful upon occasions, but they are not to be used as a test, or shown as feats to a curious and sceptical crowd. We have only to look around us to witness feats of juggling that can never be equalled. When you see a juggler playing with a number of coloured balls and throwing them up into the air while holding only one at a time in the hand you are filled with admiration, but do you ever think of that other juggling which has thrown millions of balls that we call suns and stars with smaller spheres revolving around them and keeps them spinning for all time through space with never a clash or collision between any two of them? The greatness of the

wonder is lost in its familiarity while we are tickled by a trick of a sleight of hand.

'When you saw Narga rise from the ground like a bird, when you felt the magnetic shock of the touch of Karos, when you had strange experiences when I laid my hand upon you, you were naturally mystified and thought you would give a great deal to be able to possess the same powers. But what you have seen and felt is merely incidental; the essential is the realization of the truth, the growth of the spirit, the awakening of the slumbering soul, the breaking of the chain that holds us in ever-growing coils. These minor powers that you have witnessed are attendant upon the higher powers that are developed and which require no token or sign. It is a greater achievement to stimulate the spiritual elements in man's nature than to fill his eyes and mind by the performance of a miracle. It is the lower part of our nature that craves for a miracle, the happening of something that appears to be incredible and against the known order of things. You fly through the air in a machine which has been devised by the ingenuity of man. People who know this fact will call it a triumph, others will call it a miracle. So long as the mind moves on this plane the higher part of our nature remains in a state of suspended animation, stifled by the grosser part of our nature which presses upon it. The quest for the higher truth is a pilgrimage of faith without any feeling of curiosity. You look for no signposts to show you the road for it lies right in front of you. If you want some one to show you the end of the road he comes himself unbidden, or something in your own self will tell you where he is to be found. If you seek for a sign it may come, but that is not the main thing. It is the degree of your own striving that will be the measure of your reward. It is true that miracles have been attributed to great teachers, but those who came to see the miracles were none the wiser for what they saw. They learned nothing and they gained nothing. Only those who stayed with the teachers and strove to understand and follow their teachings were benefitted.'

A few minutes later we were dismissed, the Master saying that he would go out for a walk on the mountain side in the afternoon and we might join him if we liked.

### XXXIII

It was a beautiful afternoon. There was a gentle breeze blowing while the mountain crests with their capping of snow looked like dazzling crowns of gold in the afternoon sun. Nature was exhibiting her treasures of wealth with lavish prodigality. The trees nodded gently as if bowing to the departing sun. On one side the horizon showed the mountains in undulating lines with occasional gaps that yawned dark and black against the sunlit surfaces and heights. There was a whisper of peace in the breath of

the wind and the murmur of the hill streams. For the rest, the large silence of mountains held the air.

We were waiting outside the entrance to the caves and presently the Master came out with a long staff in his hand. For a considerable distance we walked in silence, the Master leading and we following close in his steps. We were walking in Indian file for there was no room for us to walk abreast. The Master climbed the hillside like a trained mountaineer but we were out of the habit and by the time we had reached the top of the hill nearest to us and which was not the great central peak we were considerably out of breath. But Ashan was as fresh as when he had started though his disciples were more or less winded. We sensed that the Master had an extraordinary control over his breath not due to the habit of hill climbing.

Arrived at the top the Master rested a while, leaning on his staff. His face was thoughtful, his eyes seemed to be looking at unseen distances. Then his vision ranged over nearer objects, and he turned to us with the remark, 'There is nothing more eloquent than the silence of nature.'

He continued, 'The language of this silence does not reach the ear but that finer hearing of the spirit which is possessed of senses more acute than the human body. In their search for the truth the teachers and the saints went to the silence of the forest and the mountain cave for there the great heart of nature speaks to the heart of man in words of irresistible power and supreme eloquence, and the spirit of man holds communion with the spirit of nature. Deeper and closer grows the intimacy until the great secret of being stands revealed to the soul of man and his long and strenuous quest is at an end. Even the forests and the mountains and the solitudes of open spaces beckon to us with an inviting hand and seek to convey to us the message left with them, but we go our heedless way without eyes for the waving hand or ears for the calling voice. Nature has an open book, but to understand its meaning you have to read between the lines and this cannot be done with ease. Whether in the physical or the spiritual world everywhere the truth is guarded jealously with sleepless vigilance. Our senses look like reliable guides but on examination they prove to be untrustworthy. The intellect seems to be a master key which will open all locks and doors, instead of which it frequently leads us into a maze of uncertainty and unbelief. But come into the large silences and bare your spirit and attune the instrument of your soul to the music of silence and the harmony will grow clearer and fuller till the whole meaning will burst upon you like a flash of light.'

'But,' asked Maruchi, 'since the truth is the object of our quest why are there so many

obstacles to the attainment of it? Would it not be more helpful to the fulfilment of our destiny if there were facilities instead of difficulties in our way?'

'A very natural question, my son,' answered the Master, 'and one that occurs to many of us. If we are earnest in our search for the truth why should we be hampered and not helped by the agency or agencies that hold the key to the truth? Such a question seeks to penetrate the purpose that lies behind the very existence of creation and it is one of the questions that must remain unanswered. What is the purpose of the creation? What purpose does the universe serve? What difference would it have made if there had been no chaos and no cosmos, no firmament and no stars, nor the inconceivable activity that is endlessly going on throughout the universe? Obviously, these are questions that admit of no answer. Then as regards our own problem you must not forget that many of our difficulties are of our own making. In each life we forge a new link of the chain that we drag behind us. Besides the veils that exist everywhere we swathe our eyes with bandages of our own weaving. Moreover, knowledge is like a new birth which is preceded by the travail and the agony of the mother. We might as well ask why childbirth is not painless and a new being cannot be ushered into life without such terrible anguish to another. Did not the Buddha say that pain is the beginning and the end of life, not one life but of many lives and we must search for the surcease of this pain? This cessation of pain is the attainment of enlightenment and the way to the truth is paved with pain.'

As the Master ceased speaking a large butterfly with gorgeous purple wings flew up close to him, fluttered and hovered about him for a moment and then settled on a mountain flower near his feet. The Master looked at it meditatively and said, 'I wonder how many of us ever reflect on what this beautiful moth represents. We merely admire its colours and perhaps catch it in a net and keep it in a glass case to gratify our eyes. Its brief life is spent in the sun-shine, in sipping the honey from flowers and in chasing other butterflies in sport and for selecting a mate. But the manner of its birth is a whole chapter of instruction in the evolution of the forms of life. We believe that the soul leaves one body to find another tenement, but here is the butterfly that passes from one body to another without travelling through the gate-way of death. It represents in itself two forms of life in sharp and complete contrast to each other. When you look at a crawling caterpillar, one of the most repulsive looking worms that creep on the ground and move on trees can you ever imagine that it will grow into a butterfly, one of the most beautiful living things in creation? The worm that slowly

crawls about and feeds on the leaves of plants weaves round itself the cocoon which resembles a womb and which later on is converted into silk, one of the finest fabrics for human wear. The despised worm weaves for man his most shining apparel. In this silken sheath or cocoon the caterpillar rests as the pupa in much the same manner at the human foetus rests in the womb during the prenatal period. The caterpillar is next transformed into the golden chrysalis which grows into the butterfly that finally cuts its way out of the cocoon and emerges into the glory of sunlight, a thing of beauty and of joy. A beautiful but fickle woman, who would be horrified at the sight of a caterpillar, is rather pleased when she is compared to a butterfly. The life-story of a butterfly has a very valuable lesson to teach if we could but read it. You have theories about the progressive stages of evolution, one species being evolved from another in an ascending scale of life, but here you see the same living creature appearing in two strikingly different shapes in a single period of life. If we did not know it for a positive fact would it not be extremely difficult to realize that the worm and the butterfly are the same, and though there has been a marvellous change of body there has been none of life? The principle of life in both the worm and the moth may be elementary but what a change in outer appearances and manner of life! Look at the loathsome little grub painfully and slowly wriggling and crawling along the ground and on the branches of trees, feeding on leaves and treated as the most abject thing in creation and then look at the fitting and fluttering butterfly, darting from flower to flower to taste the ambrosia hidden in the hearts of flowers and flying in swift spirals or zig-zags from the sheer joy and exuberance of life. We have no means of knowing whether the butterfly itself can realize the difference between its two shapes or whether it can remember the time when it was merely a crawling worm. We speak of miracles performed by men endowed with extraordinary powers, but what miracle can equal the metamorphosis of the caterpillar into the butterfly? It is just an illustration of the power that nature possesses to effect a transfiguration, but it also conveys a lesson from which we can learn a great deal. If there can be a change of forms in a single life why should not there be such changes in more than one life? To

emphasize the lesson nature has selected an insect and not a creature belonging to a higher order of life.

Assuming that a butterfly has the same sort of memory as a man it would retain no recollection of the period during which it rested as the pupa in the cocoon just as the human child has no recollection of the period it passed in the womb. But in grown up children the tenacity of memory varies and instances have been known in which memory extends beyond this life and can recall the incidents of former lives. Just as there is no break in the thread of existence of a caterpillar and a butterfly so there is no gap in the continuity of memory from one life to another in the case of a man more highly gifted than his fellows. This gift itself is a possession garnered in previous lives. There is abundant evidence, as you have already heard, that man is not merely a moving and talking machine of which no vestige is left when the machine is once broken up by death. Man can leave a heritage which death cannot destroy and man can continue to influence the lives of other men long after his apparent death. Do not forget that freaks are not tolerated by the sovereign Law that controls the universe. It is not by an accident or the mere whim of some unknown power that one man is born as a Buddha and another as a pleasure-seeker in the same life. Behind each is either a long or a short period of preparation, the influence of past lives, which makes one of the two turn to pleasure and the other to turn away from it. Behind and before each life is a long perspective of the past and an endless vista of the future. To the vision of most of us both look like a solid impenetrable wall, but they vanish before the eyes of the man who cultivated in his former births the power of spiritual insight. The incentive is always in our own selves whether to develop or to stunt our faculties and any help that we may get is also of our own seeking. Our many lives and our bodies are like so many sheaths or cocoons out of which we may emerge like butterflies spurning the ground on which we were crawling like caterpillars or in which we may perish as pupae. That seeming period of stagnation or rest is only a physical state and does not affect the spirit which knows no rest and is always active. It is the direction of its activity that affects the future of our existence not in the flesh, for that is merely transitory but in the other form which endures through many lives.





## MORAL IDEAS IN THE EPICS IN RESPECT OF PROPERTY

By UMESH CH. BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L.

**P**ROPERTY is one of the leading concepts around which our moral ideas grow. How was property viewed in Epic India? According to our notions of safety, the answer must be that in ancient India, property was not quite safe. This ought not to be construed at once as a denunciation of the great race of whom we are speaking. We only imply that the moral consciousness of mankind has taken long strides since then. We only wish to affirm that in those days physical courage and prowess were of far higher value to the people of India than a quiet submission to accepted canons of conduct. And nothing exhibits courage more than an attack on strong opponents and nothing proves prowess more than a victory over them. In order that a man could earn credit for prowess, it was necessary for him to make some adventures of this kind. And this was truer in the case of a Ksatriya than the other castes. A tame obedience to what we now call virtue would unfit him for life in those days and would bring him low in the estimation of his peers. If not for anything else, at least for this reason, life and property of others had to be taken by those who aspired to heroic honours. But in addition to this, however, we have to bear in mind the incomplete development of the notions of property in that age. All these facts made the capture of another's property as easy as the destruction of life. Kings and potentates made a virtue of conquests and conquests involved both destruction of life as well as appropriation of property. Some of the great religious ceremonies and sacrifices which kings, ambitious of imperial suzerainty, performed involved such conquests and confiscation of property. Such unprovoked and unwarranted attacks on their neighbours and appropriation of what was their neighbours' property, was always applauded rather than condemned.

We do not forget here that the world's opinion in this direction has progressed very slowly. It is only very lately that accredited political opinion has definitely gone against such invasion. But till recent times, attacking and appropriating a neighbour's property was regarded a political achievement and a national glory. The ruler or rulers of a country who could achieve such glory, were deified and went down to posterity as great men. Today, after a slow process of centuries, these ideas have changed. It is only now that unprovoked aggression is regarded as unrighteous.

But slowly or rapidly, the world has arrived at this position today. According to the unwritten law of nations and the international code of

ethics, unprovoked aggression is a wrong: and the wronged party in such cases will have the world's sympathy and moral support, though not necessarily redress of the wrong. This is an advancement. And according to this advanced standard, we find that epic India lagged very far behind. It was part of a powerful king's heroism to add to his stock of wealth by acquiring more by conquest. It was a glory for him and a sign of his greatness, provided, of course, he could carry it out successfully. If he was thwarted, he was a failure and a condemned weakling and history would take no notice of him. But if he aspired to be remembered by men after his death, he must show that he deserved it and proving his prowess at attempts at conquests was the chief recognized method of showing his mettle.

Those kings who wished to establish their superiority in arms and claim a paramount position among all neighbouring kings, would organize military expeditions on a large scale, send out a general challenge all round, attack and conquer all who resisted this claim and extort tribute and homage from all. This appears to have been done in two ways. One was the way of the Asvamedha. We have descriptions of this well-known sacrifice in both the Epics. In the Ramayana, King Dasaratha performed it and so did Rama. And in the Mahabharata, King Yudhisthira also did it. The descriptions in all these three cases materially agree. The underlying desire in this ceremony was the attainment of imperial suzerainty. But it was believed to have great spiritual efficacy also. Yudhisthira was advised to perform it to wash off, so to say, the sins that might have clung to his soul by the killing of his relatives in the great battle for which he was morally responsible. (Mahabharata xiv. 13.) But from Mahabharata xiv. 12, it seems that such an ostentatious display as the Asvamedha might be undertaken even as a cure for mental depression.

Whatever additional reasons might be forthcoming in any special case, an Asvamedha was a great display of wealth and power. The main thing in it was to consecrate a horse and let it loose to roam freely for a year. It was guarded by a powerful military force and wore certain marks by which it could be easily recognized. It was a walking challenge to all kings through whose territory it passed. Those who allowed it to pass without hindrance and molestation, admitted thereby the paramount position of the owner of the horse. Those, however, who were

not willing to relegate themselves to this position of inferiority without a protest, would have to arrest the progress of the horse and a battle with the protecting army would naturally follow. This would be a decisive test. We have no record of a case where such opposition to a horse-sacrifice was successful. Perhaps the kings who attempted the sacrifice but failed did not deserve to be remembered and have thus all been forgotten. But may we not say that though the successes only have been remembered, failures also must have been there? The cases that have been preserved for us are cases of success. The opposition was quashed and the horse was freed again and it moved on. At the close of the year the horse is led back home and sacrificed with considerable pomp and ceremony, into the details of which we need not go. But this submission to the suzerainty of the owner of the horse implied that, on the completion of the year, *i.e.*, on the day of sacrifice, all these subdued princes would have to wait on the suzerain king with presents and tributes and acknowledge him as their overlord. Their kingdoms were not necessarily annexed but they had to part with a considerable portion of their accumulated wealth in the shape of presents and contributions. In return, they were no doubt feasted for a few days. This was naturally a part of the display.

The other way which kings and potentates in Epic India followed for the acquisition of wealth and consolidation of power was the way of the *Rajasuya*—another great sacrifice, not without spiritual significance for the people of ancient times, but even for them a great imperial display and an excuse for conquests. We have a significant discussion in the *Ramayana* (*Vide* the Kumba Konam Edition, vii. 83. *et seq.*) about this sacrifice. There we are told that Rama wanted to perform this ceremony but Bharata dissuaded him and eventually persuaded him to perform an *Asvamedha* instead. The substance of Bharata's arguments against *Rajasuya* is this: Rama had already been recognized as the best and the greatest of all living kings. All kings looked upon him as their overlord and suzerain. The peoples of all countries also worshipped him as their father. He was the leader of the whole world and the protector of religion. Such a king as he ought not to start a ceremony which was to bound to destroy all the leading princely dynasties and all kings worthy of the name in the world.

*"Prithivyam ye ca purusa rajan paarusamagata :  
Sarvesam bhabita tatra samksayah sarvakopajah."*  
vii. 83. 14.

It is clear from the above that the *Rajasuya* was such a provoking challenge to all self-respecting kings and rulers that a general resentment was inevitable and a war might follow. It did follow in the *Mahabharata*. In the *Mahabharata*, the preparations for Yudhishthira's *Rajasuya* started with the murder of

Jarasandha, King of Magadha, and the ceremony itself was heralded by the murder of Sisupala and the subsequent events of that Epic were a necessary sequence of the enmities which these events provoked and fostered.

Now, this sacrifice had to start with cold-blooded attacks on neighbouring kingdoms for the collection of tributes and accumulation of riches. Any king who wished to perform this ceremony would send military expeditions all round for this purpose. Yudhishthira did it. Such expeditions were called "*Digvijaya*"—or conquest all round. Such conquests were effected by Yudhishthira also (*Mbh.* ii. 12. *et seq.*). If we consider the events described in these chapters, without bias, without preconceived ideas and without prejudices for or against and with a critical mind, then, it would appear that these glorified achievements of the Pandavas were not different in essence from the exploits of a Sultan Mahmud or a Chengiz Khan. If religious fervour is any extenuating factor, it was definitely present and operative in the conquering expeditions of Sultan Mahmud. But it is almost clear from what the *Ramayana* says about it and also what we have in the *Mahabharata*, that this sacrifice was openly a political display and a bid for political paramountcy. (*Mbh.* ii. 12.25 ; ii. 13.51 ; ii. 14.68 ; etc, etc.) And even if it was coloured by a religious fervour, the organized aggression against all neighbours indiscriminately and compulsory realization of tribute from them, can hardly be supported on moral grounds.

Four expeditions headed by his four brothers were sent out by Yudhishthira in four directions. And in all of them we have the same story : the march of a conquering army through non-combatant countries : those who offer resistance are mercilessly killed : territories are over-run : and if sufficient voluntary tributes are not forthcoming, tributes are compelled. How did these brilliant successes of the arms of Yudhishthira differ from similar exploits of the destroyer of Somnath? The feelings of a particular community or a nation may be different in these cases ; but the moral aspect of both is the same.

It is clear, therefore, that because strength and valour was very much praised and because conquering a neighbour was one of the chief ways of proving the existence of valour, for kings such aggression on neighbours' property was not a sin—it involved no moral turpitude : and exhibited on a large scale, it rather implied heroism and was praised.

In *Mbh.* iv. 29, we have a general enunciation of the policy which kings in those days were advised to follow. If they were prudent, they would be expected to attack others and subdue the weak by force and replenish their treasury by such means. So was Duryyodhana also advised by his counsellors, especially in view of the impending war with the Pandavas. And it was in accordance with this advice that he

planned and carried out an attack on the king of Matsya and attempted to carry away his cows. The attempt proved abortive. But that is another matter. It illustrates the proposition that wise kings were expected to increase their wealth by looting their weak neighbours whenever they could do so with impunity. And such plunders were attempted without notice, without any previous diplomatic correspondence, and without even the feigned discovery of a *casus belli*.

When it was a kingly glory to acquire wealth by such organized plunder, a strife between clan and clan and an internecine war was always a probability and nations' wealth could hardly be regarded as safe. When a king's property was always open to loot by a more powerful neighbour, the property of private individuals could not be more safe. For, this wealth-grabbing was praiseworthy in kings not only against kings, but even when it manifested itself against innocent private persons, it was hardly reprehensible. In fact, it appears to have been regarded as a legitimate means of acquiring property. Those who owned property—whether it was a good cow or things of greater value—were expected to possess means of defending it also. If he could not trust his own muscles or his own men, he might make allies and seek their help in defending his belongings. But society had not yet reached that stage of development at which a machinery for the protection of life and property comes into being. In Epic India defence of property was the owner's own affair—whether he was a king or a poor Brahmin. The question of ways and means for such defence was also his question. And if he was deprived of what he owned, luck was obviously against him, but he could hold no one *guilty* for it. There was no guilt in robbing another—no injustice in being robbed. Just as even in modern society, we expect a sensible citizen to be able to protect himself from the contagion of a disease from which his neighbour is suffering, and if he catches the contagion, he has himself to thank, so, in those good old days, every sensible man was expected to protect his property against the possible depredations of greedy neighbours. If he failed in this, he was of course poorer and his neighbour richer: beyond this the event would evoke no other sentiment.

Thus in Mbh. i. 178. we have the story of the scions of a royal dynasty looting the wealth—even the hidden treasure—of their own priest's family. First, no doubt, they demanded the wealth without any show of force: but when they discovered that a large part of the wealth had been hidden beneath the earth, they not only plundered the whole wealth, but in their rage, killed all the members of that priestly clan wherever they could be discovered. The explanation offered in the following chapter is after all a

camouflage. There, we are told that the spirits of the murdered Brahmins return to their only descendant left alive and declare that they wished their own death at the hands of the Ksatriyas and hid their wealth underground just to excite the ire of these Ksatriyas. Whatever the value of this explanation, the fact of the loot and murder is not denied but is rather confirmed and that is enough for our purposes.

And in Mbh. iii. 116, we have the spectacle of a poor Brahmin's home being invaded and devastated by a war-intoxicated king and the poor man's calf stolen by him.

Again in Mbh. i. 175, we have what is substantially the same story as given in Ramayana i. 53. *et seq.* (Kumbakonam Ed.). And what are the main facts of the story? It was all about a cow. A respectable Brahmin, Vasistha, had a good cow. A king Visvamitra, who happened to be his guest for a time, wanted to have it. The Brahmin would not part with it, even though the king was willing to give any price he demanded for it. But a Ksatriya king must have his will. What he could not effect by bargaining and by importunities, he wanted to do by force. He forcibly carried away the cow. A tussle ensued between the two. Eventually it developed into a class-war—a Brahmin *vs.* Ksatriya war. The rest of the story, though very interesting, is not material for us. We are told that the Ksatriya king was eventually routed and was impressed by the superiority of a Brahmin's spiritual force as against the mere physical strength of a Ksatriya. Thereupon he decided to become a Brahmin himself and by dint of sheer penances and austerities, actually did become one in the long run. Perhaps we are prepared to admit even now that spiritual force is superior to mere physical strength. But that is a different matter altogether. It is important for us to note in this connection that in spite of his spiritual superiority, even a Brahmin could not look upon his property as quite safe.

What conclusion can we draw from these anecdotes regarding the epic peoples' notions of right and wrong about property? We have seen that persons of high rank could easily attack and appropriate the property of another. Without trying to delineate the exact socio-political conditions of the times, we may safely conclude that property in those days was unsafe. But it is not merely a question of insecurity. Insecurity may be due to various causes—to disturbed conditions of society, to defective policing, and so forth. The insecurity that is bound to follow in consequence of social or political revolutions, for instance, does not imply a necessary lowering of the moral tone. Loot and plunder may take place, yet thinking people may condemn them. Was it so in Epic India? The times were not abnormal: society was not more disturbed than was usual in that age. We have descriptions of glorious kingdoms and prosperous countries,



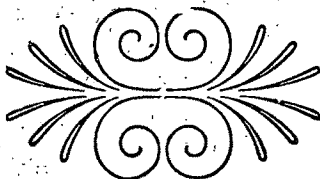
and magnificent cities. We are told of immense wealth and great religious sacrifices. Learning was flourishing—so was commerce. Princesses could call together a galaxy of valiant princes from whom to select a husband. The incidents that we have considered cannot, therefore, be regarded as due to disturbed conditions of society.

Can they be dismissed as isolated events, not indicative of the general tendencies of the times? That is exactly what we cannot do. These incidents do indicate the spirit of the times. For, in the first place, so far as the unprovoked attacks by kings on others are concerned, we have seen that such attacks were advocated as perfectly justified. There were few other ways in which empty treasuries could be replenished and new wealth could be acquired. The kings were advised to follow this course and they followed it as a matter of fact. A king or a country may attempt such things even now: but the world-opinion would condemn such endeavours. And most wise kings or countries would first try by diplomatic correspondence or other means to set up a case—may be a false case, but still some case—against his prospective enemy, before he thought of attacking him. This shows that though individuals may attempt such plunder, the prevailing opinion is against such things. It does not appear to have been so in Epic India. It was not always vicious men like Duryodhana who attempted such plunder. The king who has been acclaimed as the very incarnation of virtue, *viz.*, Yudhisthira, also did the same thing and was never thought of as having done anything wrong. This is a clear indication of the difference between those times and now.

In the second place, in the case of private

individuals also the same mentality is apparent. Of course, unless an individual had become famous, the story of his gains and losses would find no place in history. So, we have fewer records of plunder by and of individuals than similar events with reference to kings. Yet even in the few such cases that we have before us, we find the same moral outlook. The plunder in itself was not morally wrong. It meant a loss to one and gain to another. And if there was a serious struggle leading to more serious consequences, it would involve considerable display of fighting skill and power and the event would be remembered—as in the case of Vasistha *vs.* Visvamitra. But otherwise the moral sense of the time did not feel scandalized by such events.

This might be inferred from the fact that kings were after all individuals—generally richer than others—having command over greater military resources. And his kingdom was his private property. So the morality of kings and ordinary citizens was exactly the same. It is not so now. In modern thought there still lingers a distinction between private morality and public morality. What is considered definitely wrong in private morals, is often excused in public life—*e.g.* lying is not condemned, at any rate to the same extent, in diplomacy as in dealings between private individuals. But such a difference does not appear to have existed in ancient times. We cannot claim that there were two different moral codes. Hence the morality of the kings was a clear index of the morality of the private citizens also. Where kings could plunder with praise, individuals could do the same at least with impunity. In other words, the ideas of property and propriety in reference to it, were not as developed in epic India as now.



## THE NATIONAL IDEALS OF TAGORE AND A. E.

BY AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVERTY

**R**EADERS of Tagore's *Gitanjali* and of A. E.'s *The Divine Vision and Other Poems* or *Homeward Songs by the Way* may discover some real soul affinity between Tagore and A. E. A. E. is the poet of "the Symbol seduceth"; his mystic penetration into the eternal mystery of things is not through the way of symbol but through a stern grasp of reality, of the facts of life and the verities of human experience. The author of the *Divine Vision* is therefore the author of the *National Being*; the mystic poet was also a colleague of Sir Horace Plunkett in the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. Similarly, all Indians know Tagore less as a mystic, but more as a practical educationist, the founder of the Bolpur School and as a humanitarian regenerator of society who denounces the social tyranny of the "privileged" classes of India over the teeming masses of her population. His book on *Nationalism* presents only the latter aspect of Tagore—his severe arraignment of the Western State organized for power and his equally hard invectives against the Eastern society with its stratifications of caste crushing down under its dead weight the life of the masses. Western readers are yet unfamiliar with the constructive programme of the poet in regard to the national regeneration of India. Here also he has wonderful affinity of spirit with the Irish poet A. E.

The socio-political writings of the poet Tagore form the bulk of his prose; most of them were addressed to vast audiences when there was an agitation in Bengal on account of the partition during Lord Curzon's administration. This agitation, known popularly as the "Swadeshi movement" (1906-1908) stirred the heart of Bengal such as no political agitation could ever dream of doing. There was the scheme of national education, of the revival of national arts and industries, of organizing the villages and districts on a basis of co-operation. The seeds of these

schemes were sown broadcast; a few of them generated into shape. When, therefore, the flood of agitation subsided, it was found that the soil was richer than before in spite of some wild movements of anarchism and the like which however were practically confined to an insignificant minority of the people.

In a way, Rabindranath Tagore may be called the uncrowned king of this great national movement. While the Bengali demagogues busied themselves in harangues and Demosthenic fires, this poet was slowly laying out a constructive programme of nation-building and national regeneration.

Like A. E. he also believes that "civilizations are externalizations of the soul and character of races." The soul of India, he said, has always been seeking to establish, in her religion and social polity, "a unity amidst diversity." This unity did not consist for her in the past in a political unity, but in a higher one, a real cultural, communal and spiritual unity in which the individual becomes the embodiment of the *en masse* and the universal takes form in the individual. The absence of a credal religion in Hinduism, the note of absolute freedom allowing individuals liberty of choice among diverse paths and disciplines in religion with a fundamental basis of synthesis working among them, is one example of the working of the soul and character of the Indian people. Similarly, the communalism in social order based on the principle of mutual aid and co-operation (which afterwards has deplorably degenerated into the rigidity of castes), the absence of cheek by jowl competition, the four stages of life beginning with the *Brahmacharya* stage or the stage of spiritual education and ending in *Yati* or the stage of the pilgrim spirit at the end of youth—these were the germs or signs of a real spiritual civilization not based on diversity and strife as in the West, but on unity and peace.

But while the soul of India was being

laid bare by the searching vision of the poet, he was not oblivious of the causes of India's degradation. No one was more keenly conscious of them than Tagore. Therefore, like A. E. again, he had little faith in the "excited, political controversies," in Congresses and Conferences, "in their passionate attempts at the re-adjustments of the superficialities of things." In one of his Bengali lectures Tagore observes: "Just as wine to the inebriate becomes more important than his food, so the intoxication of patriotism was much greater to us than the country herself. Without having any touch with the real country, we thought that the Durbar of the British Raj was the only place where we might best serve the interests of the country. One great defect of not having direct, complete and genuine *knowledge* of the country is that it makes us unfit to serve the country truly."

In his book, *The National Being*, A. E. remarks that "passion should never enter into national policy," for "in national life it is the most dangerous of all guides." Tagore's arraignment of the national demagogues and the so-called leaders of the country which made him so very unpopular at one time and even now with them was based on this criticism that they were supplying the country with wine instead of food.

A. E. writes: "We have no more a real democracy in the world today. Democracy in politics has in no country led to democracy in its economic life. There is in all a vast population living in an underworld of labour whose freedom to vote confers on them no real power, and who are most often scorned and neglected by those who profit by their labours."

Tagore wrote in one of his Bengali addresses: "In industries I cannot think it good to allow the capital to assume such huge proportions as to choke the growth of small labours... We are struck by the splendour of civilization when we see the externals of it, but the submerged humanity which is being sacrificed day and night underneath its fair fabric, is completely hidden from our views." "What Europe calls 'freedom' keeps myriads of people in chains of slavery for self-protection."

These myriads of people—cultivators, farmers, labourers—have been described by A. E. as "primitive economic cave-men" satisfied, before the co-operative movement was introduced, with small, isolated production, served with regard to purchase and sale by private traders. The "primitive economic cave-man" of A. E. did not know the principles of Economics; he had no conception of a world-market. A. E. has chalked out a plan of emancipating this primitive economic cave-man into the light of larger national and international interests. Similar was the programme of the poet Tagore. In a paper entitled "The Problem" he wrote: "Each small individual must realize his unity with humanity through various agencies of service. In India, the highroads of our knowledge, our work, and our dealings and relationships with humanity have been split up into blind lanes and alleys leading to isolated groups only. Our feelings and volitions have centred themselves on mere family and family interests, on the village and its concerns and have not been widened in the direction of universal humanity."

A. E. describes, in his book, the changes that have taken place within a dozen years in a district in the north-west of Ireland after a co-operative society was started there. The farmers have organized their concerns and are controlling their buying and selling. They have social gatherings, concerts, committees. The profits are the joint property of the community. They are taking advantage of the scientific discoveries and inventions and using modern appliances. Where there were isolated individuals there is now a well-ordered, solid community forming the real unit of the nation.

Rabindranath Tagore was once chosen as the president of the Bengal Provincial Conference, during the Swadeshi agitation. In the course of his presidential address he said:

"The villages must be organized into communities. If the executive heads of these communities could so organize the various rural activities as to remove all wants and to make the communities self-sufficient, then, there would be real 'self-government,' in the country. We shall have to encourage



these communities to establish their schools, schools for training in the arts and industries, their common seed-stores and stores of grain, their co-operative credit societies and banks. There will be a common hall for each community where the villagers will gather together for conferences and amusements and there the executive heads will settle the disputes of the village in their own ways.

"So long as the *ryots* and the small holders of land will cultivate their plots isolatedly, their poverty will not be removed. Many scientific and labour-saving appliances have been invented in Europe and America. If these communities can unite the plots of land of individual cultivators and cultivate them co-operatively, greater profits and less labour are bound to follow by means of the use of modern scientific appliances of agriculture. Thus if the different provinces of India can be organized into self-governing communities, then the real central unity of the provinces will be an established fact and those central units will resolve themselves

ultimately into a great federation, a national being."

Needless to say that this policy laid out by the poet has not been taken up by his countrymen. The reason is two-fold; first, the mendicant attitude towards the Government is the attitude of the majority of the people; they are always expecting windfalls. Secondly, the so-called "extremist" attitude of some politicians rouses passions in the hearts of people without preparing them for higher thoughts and actions. The educated Indian has really no faith in the people. A. E. says: "The problem of Europe is to create a harmonious life and the creation of a harmonious life among a people must come from within," and Tagore says that self-government in India, must evolve from *within*. He does not believe in boons lavished on a people who have not been taught the art of organizing themselves into serving the large interests of the nation.\*

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\* This article was written more than fifteen years ago. The writer died in 1918.

## ORIENTATIONS IN POLITICAL THEORY

By NIRMAL CHANDRA MAITRA

**T**HE chief point which detracts from the scientific character of what is called Political Science is that it is not as yet far enough advanced for a rational systematization of the items of knowledge which are the material texture of it. By this, I mean that the absolute insistence on the purely *a priori* method of enquiry which results in regarding units of thought as atomistic, rigid, impervious and inexpensive and in regarding categories as closed and "mail-clad" (to adopt an expression from the language used of "instinct" in modern psychology) still dominates the intellectual landscape in Political Science.

An ultimate effect of this attitude is to be traced in the inability of both theorists and publicists to tackle the concept of the Empire in quite the same abstract manner in which they have tackled the concept of the State. The Empire is vaguely supposed to be a species of the genus State or to be coincident with the State, and this radically wrong method of

approach has prevented a distinct, coherent scheme of political theory about the Empire from appearing. In an article published in *The Modern Review* for March 1928, I sought to differentiate between the concept of the State and the concept of the Empire and to supply the outline of a system of philosophy of "Empire" from the points of view of Logic, Political Science and Jurisprudence.

Another instance of the lop-sided attitude of current political theory is now mentioned.

It is an historically ascertained fact that, in a certain pathological stage in the evolution of States and Empires, some peculiar and sinisterly functioning "groups" come into existence in the political system, as a protest against State-Absolutism and Imperialism. In the beginning, they appear to be nothing more than voluntary associations of more or less nebulous character; but, as time passes, their compulsory features become emphasized, the outlines fill in and their proportions acquire definiteness and rigidity.

Their internal sovereignty is made manifest when defection from or betrayal of these associations of or by any of their constituents is punished with death.

The difficulty which the State or the Empire often experiences in coping with them has the inevitable effect of investing them also with certain aspects of external sovereignty.

These "groups," from the time of their inception throughout their career display certain features of State-life which point to the hypothesis that they are embryonic States, functioning like *imperia in imperio* in the bosom of the State or the Empire. These "groups" continue to exist as the active nurseries of Libertarianism or Nationalism until the Absolutist State or the Empire succeeds in destroying them by means of superior force or the Absolutist State or the Empire itself vanishes and the *raison d'être* of these "groups" disappears.

Now, the inadequacy of modern Political Science consists in the failure on the part of Pluralists to recognize the validity of these "groups" as "groups," that is, as possessing all the fundamental and generic attributes of sociological "groups" and to assign to them a place in the institutional scheme of "groups" into which the modern State is sought to be ionized.

To illustrate that the minds of the Group-Autonomists and Pluralistic political philosophers never function but in the traditional grooves and along the most approved landmarks in thought, the opinion of Ernest Barker may be cited as being typical of his class.

In his *History of English Political Thought from Herbert Spencer to the present day*, he suggests a few points for "autonomous groups"; and at the very outset, he says that "groups," in order to be entitled to be considered at all, must possess this negative virtue that they must not, like the Camorra, be opposed to "public policy." In other words, he regards non-opposition to "public policy" as the most primary and essential virtue of "groups" and as the *sine qua non* for any "group" to be suffered to exist.

Group-Autonomists generally are merely the *alter ego* of Ernest Barker in that they not only do not discuss such "groups" as the Camorra, but even refuse to posit of them mentionable existence. Their vision does not sweep over the whole area of the *status quo*: they remain tethered to the most authoritarian positions of eminence in the *status quo*.

Groups like the Camorra and the Mafia with the avowed purpose of opposing public policy have existed in all past ages, in certain specific conditions of "milieu"; and, whether for good or for evil, they exist in the age in which we live. They are not only historically as old as the State and the Empire, but are also politically no less of a potent source of effort to large numbers of individuals during large tracts of

time, than the State and the Empire. In brief, they are much too significant to be philogized away by mere verbiage, consisting of *ex cathedra* statements. And the inability to orient Pluralistic political theory to this unignorable fact and to render it completely objective in technique and spacious in outlook so as to be inclusive of all "groups," good, bad and indifferent, is the result of either intellectual indolence or intellectual cowardice.

The attitude of mind which excludes some "groups" from examination on the ground that they are opposed to "public policy" is highly unsatisfactory and unscientific. It is the business of science to take in all facts without a single exception, as they come along, and to seek a rational, objective explanation of all of them on a synthetic basis through systems and laws. Praise and censure are activities of the human mind with which the Scientist, in his technical capacity, should necessarily feel absolutely out of sympathy.

The Sociologist who denies to the problem of prostitution or to the problem of juvenile criminality the importance which is due to it, on the ground that prostitution or juvenile delinquency is opposed to public policy or immoral, stands convicted of the same lack of a scientific perspective as is here urged of the majority of Pluralists and Group-Autonomists.

Besides, "public policy" is a phrase of which the acutest logicians would despair of delimiting scientifically the connotation and the denotation.

The demand at the present moment is for the determination of the exact nature and the exact properties of the "groups" which function in opposition to State-Absolutism and Imperialism and to "public policy," whatever that phrase might mean. From the point of view of Political Science, they must be organically oriented to the hierarchy of group-institutions in which a niche is to be found for them.

The present age in Political Science is the age of the discredited State. The State is already finding it a perplexing task to reconcile its own authoritarian claims and its Bodinian paraphernalia of *puissance souveraine* with the libertarian claims of Pluralists, Group-Autonomists, Philosophical Anarchists, Syndicalists and Guild-Socialists: and in the crucible of Pluralism, this suggested orientation will mean a definite enlargement of theory.

About the nature and institutional significance of these "groups," the following suggestions are made on the basis of theory.

(a) Characteristic differences exist between the "groups" which come into being as protests against State-Absolutism and those which come into being as protests against Imperialism. Of the former sort, the "groups" which sprang into existence at the time of the French Revolution in the "Cafes" near about the Palais Royal in Paris may be offered as typical instances:

And of the latter sort, the Carbonari of Italy, the Ko-La-Hui and the Tungmenghui of China may be mentioned as typical of the class.

(b) While in the case of State-Absolutism, these "groups" are exceptional growths, in the case of Imperialism, they are normal, though, of course, highly pernicious institutions. It is only when States lose their foundations in "the consent of the governed," that is, in the "general will" of the people that such "groups" arise; they are the symbols of the condition of antagonism between the People and the State, of the State versus the People. In the Empire, however, the normal, natural condition of the *status quo* is a "state of war" by which is meant not that there is actual war, but that the element of consent on the part of the governed is always lacking, that incipient dissatisfaction on the part of subject peoples with the superimposed system is omnipresent and everpresent and that there is a disposition "to cross the Rubicon" as the constantly recurring menace to Imperialism; therefore, it must be admitted that though such "groups" as come into being as reactions to Imperialism are extremely injurious in their effects, yet they are the normal and natural substratum of fact with which every Imperial system must, of necessity, have to reckon.

(c) Contrary groups arise in the State only when the State has a tendency to loose Statehood. These "groups" are therefore the precursors of the futurist State which would arise when the natural and proper relations between the People and the State are resumed and the "versus-ship" between them disappears.

On the other hand, in the Empire, such "groups" appear as "revenants," so to say, of the States which were destroyed when the Empire was established. Every empire derives itself from antecedent States by destroying which it comes into being. The physical destruction of these States by means of superior force leaves to them a spiritualized but no less potent existence in the minds of the vanquished people who become reduced to subjection. The memory of independent and sovereign political existence is cherished by them, fed on historical studies and handed on from sire to son. It is a feeling of lost sovereignty coupled with a feeling that it is recoverable that makes subject peoples in an empire so acutely susceptible to projects of rebellion and it is for the physical resuscitation of those pre-imperial States that they rebel.

Because those pre-imperial States have to exist in a "milieu" which far from being congenial, is highly inimical to them, their manifestations in the shape of these "groups" are necessarily somewhat crude, elementary and embryonic: but, as has been suggested above, these "groups" partake of the essence of State-life inasmuch as they are compulsory associations, possessing, in part, both internal

and external sovereignty. Just as, biologically speaking, a splotch of protoplasm is no less of an "organism" than an adult "homo", in the same manner, these halting, tentative manifestations of the States that had existed before the Empire was born cannot be denied Statehood from the point of view of Political Science.

The differences between the two types into which such "groups" are classified may then be summed up in that those "groups" which are against Absolutism are exceptional facts which face towards the future, towards the State that would be, those "groups" which are against Imperialism are natural and normal facts, logically incidental to Imperialism, which face towards the past, towards the State that was.

And, the common points between these two types of "groups" are that both of them are against "public policy" and that both these types show the fundamental attributes of the State.

#### INDIVIDUALISM AND NATIONALISM COLLECTIVISM AND IMPERIALISM

Another obvious failure in contemporary political thought is the inability to evolve the necessary synthesis between Individualism, and Nationalism on the one hand and between Collectivism and Imperialism on the other.

Individualism denies the right of the Collectivity or the State to legislate for the physical and moral benefit of the individual, asserts the sovereign character of the individual and repudiates the right of the State to limit his freedom. The attitude of the Individualist towards the State may not inaptly be summed up in the phrase, "hands off the individual".

Similarly, Nationalism denies the right of other nations to legislate for the physical and moral betterment of the nation and repudiates the authority of other nations to limit the freedom of the nation-State, the absolute sovereignty of which it asserts. The attitude of the Nationalist towards all nations and States may be similarly summed up in the phrase "Hands off the nation."

Nationalism is nothing more than an international projection of the international doctrine of Individualism. Nationalism and Individualism are concentric theories, and Nationalism is Individualism "writ large."

The fundamental principle of Collectivism is faith in the benefits to be derived by the people from the intervention of the State even in matters which might be left to the uncontrolled management of the individuals concerned. (See *Law and Public Opinion in England in the Nineteenth Century* by A. V. Dicey).

The underlying article of faith of Imperialism is contained in the phrase "the burden of trusteeship." The Imperialist professes unlimited faith in the benefits to be derived by one "inferior" nation from the paternal domination of



it by "superior" nations. Imperialism has two facets: the one is the denial that Nationalism is anything more than the mere "barking of village dogs" and an incompetent dog-in-the-manger attitude. The second is the belief that the "superior" nation which is the God's anointed has a right to interfere in all the affairs of the "inferior" nation, children of Ham. Imperialism is Collectivism writ large.

Collectivism is acutely opposed to Individualism; and the same degree of opposition exists between Nationalism and Imperialism.

The sole difference between Individualism and Nationalism, between Collectivism and Imperialism turns upon this that in Individualism and Collectivism that unit is the individual while in Nationalism and Imperialism the unit is the nation.

It ought to be recognized, however, that to the great exponents of Individualism, this logical nexus between Individualism and Nationalism was not very clearly apparent. This is proved, in the first place, by the following extract from John Stuart Mill's essay "On Liberty" and, in the second place, by the concept of "public law" which the Individualists evolved in the system known as Analytical or Positive Jurisprudence.

"Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided the end be their improvement, and the means justified by actually effecting that end. Liberty, as a principle, has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion. Until then, there is nothing for them but implicit obedience to an Akbar or a Charlemagne, if they are so fortunate as to find one." (John Stuart Mill *On Liberty*.)

It is doubtful if the most arrogant, tub-thumping Imperialistic demagogue could write more altruism-coated Chauvinistic stuff than this. It seems that, in this passage, the author takes leave of the essentially scientific obligations of the political thinker and, being unable to transcend the age in which he lived and worked, identifies his vocation with the "cultural compulsive" of the professional Imperialist.

The paragraph quoted above militates against the very basis of the conceptions of individual liberty and of Nationalism. It betrays on the part of the author a curious mental twist which has the effect of producing a flagrant lapse from logic, unusually remarkable for a person who, we know, was somewhat of a stickler for Logic. It was not, after all, for nothing that William James dedicated his *Pragmatism* to John Stuart Mill and accorded him a place among the Pragmatists.

Professor A. V. Dicey observes of this paragraph:

"This concession goes further than Mill seems to perceive. Its principle seems to apply to every case where a government is far more intelligent than the governed." (*Law and Opinion in England*).

And, to this observation, the following critical observations may be added.

(a) In seeking to make "civilization" the criterion for Nationalism, Mill goes on ice that would not bear. The expressions "civilized" and "barbarian" are categories in the Social Sciences and, scientifically speaking, they do not convey any sense of dignity and superiority and any sense of derogation and inferiority. The "Civilization-Concept" is predicable of the hypothetical, cave-dwelling troglodyte as accurately as it is predicable of the beef-loving John Bull.

(b) From the point of view of not only the modern educationist who is equipped with all the apparatus of Psychology which is fast evolving towards being an exact science, but also from the point of view of the Victorian, Benjamin Kidd, with his profound faith in the sovereign efficacy of education, the language quoted above—"any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion"—is meaningless. There is no stage in the evolution of man when he is not capable of being improved by "education" which is not perhaps wrongly taken to be the same thing as Mill wants to be understood by "free and equal discussion."

(c) Historically, it cannot be urged with truth that Charlemagne or Akbar had to deal with "barbarian" subject peoples or that these despots ruled at a time anterior to the time "when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion."

Rather the contrary position might be more truthfully maintained that both Charlemagne and Akbar were educated by those over whom they ruled.

In Charlemagne's time, the ark which sheltered civilization was the Catholic Church of Rome which, though politically subservient to him, yet culturally conquered him; this is proved by the fact that Charlemagne himself had to recognize the necessity for orienting himself to the superior Roman civilization through the Church of Rome. (Coronation of Charlemagne at St. Peter's in Rome in A. D. 800).

And the well known educative activities of the great Frankish emperor would be robbed of their entire significance if it is considered that he ruled at a time when mankind had not as yet become receptive to education.

So with Akbar. He was educated by those illustrious people over whom he ruled who made his court the centre of contemporary culture.

*Jurisprudence*—The Individualists produced what is known as the Analytical or the Positive system of Jurisprudence: the "alpha" and the "omega" of the concept of "public law" according to this, are that "laws are general commands by the Sovereign," that they are expressed *par excellence* through the duly constituted legislature, that there should be "sanction" (which is



Dwijendranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi at Santiniketan





Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi at Santiniketan



defined as "a conditional evil annexed to a law to produce obedience to that law" and which can be briefly described as "pains and penalties") inextricably associated with every "law" and that the duly constituted Judiciary is to adjudicate upon questions of alleged violations of the law and is to enforce the "sanction."

Now this so-called "positive" concept of law shakes the bastinado before the individual at every point that he has occasion to come into contact with the State. The bastinado is the "sanction" attached to "law." Therefore, it knocks the bottom out of individual liberty which is the kernel of the doctrine of Individualism and is flatly inconsistent with the general scheme of Individualism of which it is supposed to form a part.

Says N. M. Korkunov who, before his death in 1902, was Professor of Public Law in the University of St. Petersburg, in his *General Theory of Law* :

"In the minds of the great mass who know not how to fix limits for the possible application of constraint, the notion of Law has become involuntarily associated with its coercive enforcement. When a rudimentary idea once made without the aid of critical analysis, is formed of Law, it always carries the persuasion that all laws without exception can be made respected by force. This elementary notion may have its social value, but has none in Science, since it cannot withstand a rigorous analysis."

A remarkable fact is that in the English language "Law" does not include the concept "right" and that there has to be a separate word, "right," to signify it. According to the Continental system of Jurisprudence, however, "law" and "right" are synonymous. "Recht" in the German language, "Jus" in the Latin language, "Droit" in the French language, "Diritto" in the Italian language mean both "law" and "right" together.

The conservative and authoritarian character of the positive concept of "law" is responsible for "law" and "right" not being synonymous in the English language; the right-conferring aspect of "law" has been subordinated to and eclipsed by the duty-enforcing aspect of it. The self-complacency of the English writer of the article on Jurisprudence in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition) when he says that the English language is free from the ambiguity which exists between the words "law" and "right" in all Continental languages, is highly amusing.

The phrase "lawless law" can have no meaning according to the British positive concept of "law." But according to the deeper and more permanent view of "law" as systematized in German juristic thought, the phrase is full of meaning. Laws, opposed to the *Volkgeist* which is the profound and sovereign repository of legal consciousness, which are nevertheless enacted by a Legislature hostile to those whom it represents, are "lawless laws."

Bentham opined: "Rights properly so called are creatures of law, properly so called."

Holland, his intellectual legatee defines "legal right" as being "one man's capacity of influencing the actions of others, not by means of his own strength, but with the assent and assistance of the State."

Both of them understood by "law" only "positive laws." Customary laws have practically no place in the Positive Scheme.

In contrast to this cramping view of "right" as given by Bentham, Holland and others is the following spacious declaration of German Jurisprudence :

"We, on the other hand, are able to recognize that legislation is one force for creating rights, but that it is only one of the forms on which right, the work of conscience is based". (Quoted from N. M. Korkunov's *General Theory of Law*.)

According to the positive concept, then, there cannot be any "legal right" or, for the matter of that, any "right" on the part of the people to rebel against the State or to indulge in any extra-constitutional agitation against authority. No State in the world would, by means of laws, create rights on the part of others to destroy itself or to rebel against itself or give its "assent and assistance" to activities subversive of itself.

Therefore it can be properly urged that the place *par excellence* for the positive concept of public law is in the scheme of the Absolutist State-System and of Imperialism. In fighting with antagonistic attempts at disruption, it can find in the positive concept of public law an effective, legal rampart to crouch under.

The Continental concept of public law, on the contrary is founded on the broad basis of freedom and is a source of inspiration to people fighting for freedom, all the world over. It even goes to the length of recognizing that large-scale popular movements and "direct action" also are entitled to be considered as a proper, formal source of "law" and, in that character, are to be placed on the same basis as the Legislature.



# ANTI-INDIAN PROPAGANDA

## ITS METHODS AND RESULTS

By C. F. ANDREWS

I  
IN a central position in the ship's library on board the *S. S. Cathay*, on which I recently travelled from Europe to India, I discovered a much-used and well-thumbed copy of Mrs. Patricia Kendall's book, called *India and the British: A Quest for Truth*, published by Scribners, London and New York.

It had evidently been eagerly sought after by the ship's passengers as they passed to and fro from Great Britain to India and Australia and *vice versa*; for it had all the appearance of having been handled by many readers. Indeed, it seemed to be one of the most popular books on the ship. This itself was a fact which seemed to carry its own significance, as I shall show later.

When I had read it carefully it gave me the impression of being more specious in its power of subtle suggestion than Catherine Mayo's notorious *Mother India*. That book was downright in its brutality. This volume seeks to flatter at the very time it deals its secret stabs. Yet the two books are evidently parts of the same deliberate propaganda which has been started from America in order to impress people with its 'fairness': for Mrs. Kendall's book could hardly have been written in such a style, if Miss Mayo had not already paved the way.

"Come with me to India," says Mrs. Kendall, in her most engaging manner,

"India has gifts for you. She offers her marvels and mysteries to all who seek; for return she demands only intensity of purpose; for this ageless Titan is a vital land of vital creeds. To the casual eye or casual heart, she inexorably locks her thoughts and bars her treasures. Life then streams by like a fabulous dream, a picture pageantry of shadow shapes. But to the ardent mind and eager guest she discloses profundities that stir one's depths."

Thus she begins in a soft and almost purring voice, as if she were about to enter with us into the profound depths of India's

heart and could herself feel the beauty and the suffering of the land she invites us to visit. Along with all this, she urges at once the tolerant, open mind. "Take with you," she says, "a back-ground of deep and wide research into the histories of the streams of races and currents of centuries that have interwoven for four thousand years to produce her peoples of today; take with you a knowledge of the cause and effect of the British wave of colonists that came to govern this land of many countries; above all, take with you *tolerance* for the conditions you will find, if you would fathom India's transcendent beauties and her deep truths."

I have placed the word 'tolerance' in italics, for it needs to be remembered later when she gives us with regard to Hinduism a specimen of her own 'tolerant' mind. She closes her introduction with these words:

"As you traverse the length and breadth of that vast sub-continent, throbbing life will flow into historical annals, that now seem but inanimate records; and vibrant meaning will flow into statistical charts. If you have not the leisure to make such a long pilgrimage and wide study, let me be your conductor!...Come with me to India!"

At the top of every page of the book, on the left hand side, she gives the head-line '*Come with me to India*' in large letters.

We naturally imagine that a sympathetic and kindly account will follow. But little by little we discover, as we read on, that there is only one serious object kept in view, namely, to depreciate Hindu India while praising the British administration.

Miss Mayo and Mrs. Kendall are members of that peculiar class in America which prides itself on its British ancestry and connection. It is often more 'British' in its views of the Empire than the British are themselves. Mrs. Kendall calls herself a 'full-blooded' Southerner, coming from the Southern States. This, in America, often implies descent from some Cavalier or

Royalist family in Great Britain, which had helped to colonise Virginia, or Maryland Carolina, in earlier days.

This new volume by Mrs. Kendall has fortunately not received in India the same publicity, which *Mother India* received more than five years ago. Indeed, Indians themselves have almost ignored it and have been quite wise in doing so. For there can be no doubt that the immense excitement in India over *Mother India* enormously added to the sensation it caused in the West. Therefore, it was right not to give Mrs. Kendall the same advertisement. Nevertheless, this new book has been used to the full in the West, as a means of propaganda against India, and since it is to a certain extent a sequel to *Mother India*, it has carried on the shock and the sensation which that earlier book produced. At the present critical moment, when the newspaper press throughout the world is being largely employed on the side of big finance, which is hostile to Indian aspirations, its influence is likely to be considerable in spite of the extraordinary ignorance it displays.

## II

Two factors combine together in this book with the clear intent to do mischief. On the one hand Mrs. Kendall seeks to detract from the reputation of Gandhi and Tagore whose names are well-known in America. These names are today India's greatest world-asset. Therefore, she deliberately seeks to under-rate them. At the same time she depreciates Hinduism as a religion in contrast to Islam, thus seeking to make out that Hindu religion is the source of India's social and moral degeneration. All this is designed to lead up to the conclusion that it is impossible for Great Britain to withdraw her hand.

Since the book has superficially the appearance of a work of historical research and investigation it is likely to carry weight with the more ignorant public which cannot judge its true value. Just as with *Mother India*, this new volume is drawn up with all the paraphernalia of bibliography, blue books, Government reports, etc., which greatly impress the lay mind. Each Indian name, referred to in the text, has a carefully

docketed footnote, taken from the '*Indian's Who's Who*,' which impresses the outsider. Miss Mayo started this form of documentation, and her successor has gone even farther in the matter of foot-notes. Yet at almost every point where she can be checked by one who knows intimately the true facts her failure to represent the truth is overwhelming.

## III

On the subject of Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Kendall refers to his own writings, which I have edited, as her chief authority. It is therefore easy for me to check her presentation of facts. At one time she calls me 'Gandhi's disciple'; at another time, she raises me to the rank of 'Gandhi's apostle.'

In addition to the facts about Mahatma Gandhi related in this book she has also published recently a long lecture on him which she delivered at the College of Political Science built in memory of Mr. Bonar Law for the training of young Conservatives as future members of Parliament. Both in her book and in this published lecture she deals at considerable length with Mahatma Gandhi's career in South Africa. Her ignorance of what really happened (in spite of having Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography before her) is so bewildering that I have asked Mr. H. S. L. Polak who was with Mr. Gandhi to check up her mis-statements. This criticism may be published later.

One gradually gets used to the constant inaccurate spelling of names such as Probandar for Porbandar; Jagganuth for Jagannath; Mahandas Gandhi for Mohandas Gandhi; Lord Bentinct for Lord Bentineck; Joe Charnock for Job Charnock. These errors, which are as thick as mulberries, must not be taken too seriously. But one *does* expect that, when she uses Mahatma Gandhi's Autobiography as her text book, she will not misrepresent his own plain and palpable meaning. Yet I cannot find any true appreciation of the points at issue either in the South African struggle or at Champaran or in Kaira.

A single glaring example will suffice. About the Kaira peasants Mrs. Kendall declares: "Mr. Gandhi does not claim over-



taxation or oppressive collection." Now those two things were exactly what Mr. Gandhi *did* claim. He actually sent me in person to Lord Willingdon, who was then Governor of Bombay, with this very claim, that the Kaira peasants were over-taxed.

With all the patience I could muster, I have read through page after page of distorted statements like these dealing with Mahatma Gandhi's work and life in its different stages of development. She is intent all the while on finding flaws in his character and twisting round against him almost everything he did. Her account of him gives an entirely wrong impression to those who know little about him and who draw their conclusions from her own account. Yet she calls her own book, in big letters on the title page, 'A Quest for Truth'!

Let us take one of her many general statements in condemnation of him. She writes: (Mr. Gandhi) "*has not grappled with the economic and social problems of India.*" (The italics are mine.) How if Mahatma Gandhi *has* grappled with anything in this life, it is with the economic and social problems of his own country. By his amazing personal influence he has grappled with the *economic* problem of the villages and has revived village industries as no one has ever done before. He has also grappled with the *social* problem by dealing a death blow at Untouchability. Yet Mrs. Kendall can make this altogether ludicrous statement about him! How does she account for the reverence of the villagers, almost amounting to worship, if he never grappled with their problems?

I have just read through with the deepest interest another book on India, called *Rusticus Loquitur* by Mr. M. L. Darling, I. C. S., dealing with the Punjab villages. His profound respect for Mahatma Gandhi's economic and social work is marked on every page, wherever his name is mentioned. This is in striking contrast to Mr. Kendall's perpetual depreciation.

Passing on from the name of Gandhi to that of Tagore, we find the same kind of calumny everywhere at work. Tagore, is mentioned much less frequently; but beneath Mrs. Kendall's references there is an underlying contempt and also an ignorance which

is colossal. For example, she states that Tagore 'abhors Western education': that he has 'upheld child marriage'; and has supported 'Aruvedic (*sic*) treatment of disease.'

It is quite easy to see from her mis-spelling of the word 'Ayurvedic' that she has taken these libelous falsehoods mainly from Catherine Mayo's *Mother India*. Some years ago, to my cost, I went out of my way expressly to interview Miss Mayo in America in order to ask her to withdraw these very libels, whereby she had tried to represent one of the noblest men in the world as a hypocrite. I asked her to give me *any* reference in *any* Tagore's writings, where he had spoken slightly of Western medical science in comparison with the Ayurvedic system. She confessed to me that she could not do so. Yet I found out later on that in a new edition of her book, issued after the date of my interview, she had not withdrawn her libel. Tagore himself publicly challenged her but she did not take up his challenge. Now we find Mrs. Patricia Kendall accepting and repeating her fellow country-woman's libelous statements. What is to be done with such people? Where are these calumnies to end? Is India never to get a just and impartial hearing from the West? Must both the newspaper and the literary press be perpetually biassed against India?

In spite of this, as I have stated, Mrs. Kendall dares to call her book, 'India and the British: *A Quest for Truth*' (the italics are mine). She also dedicates her book, "To India. For the Truth can make Free!" That is to say, she slanders throughout her book the two greatest living personalities, Gandhi and Tagore, who more than any others represent India and whom India most of all reveres, and then asks Indian patriots, both men and women, to learn from *her* what she calls the Truth about their own country.

Let us put the case in another way. Mrs. Kendall tells us that she herself is a 'full-blooded Southerner' in the United States. This means that she comes from the land where lynching has been practised for more than half a century, where 'coloured' people are obliged to travel in 'Jim Crow' cars and where other racial abominations are

practised. She leaves her own country, with all these evils unredressed, to preach to Indians what *they* ought to do in *their* country. She does not come to live among the poor in India, and serve them with a life-long service and devotion, which would have entitled her to speak as a friend. No ! As far as we can judge from her book, she simply pays a flying visit as a 'bird of passage' during the cold weather months and under the easiest possible conditions, picking up any information which she can use for her own purpose, and then she sets to work to write a sensational book. Under the name 'A Quest for Truth,' she carries her own bias with every word she writes.

Christ scathes the hypocrisy of the Pharisees, who were priding themselves on their own self-righteousness while condemning others. He uses the awful words : "Thou hypocrite ! First cast out the beam that is in thine own eye. Then shalt thou see clearly to pluck out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."

#### IV

I now come to the most pernicious part of the whole book, when one goes right through with it and studies its implications. For again and again Mrs. Kendall goes out of her way to put in the mouth of some missionary or doctor or official whom she meets on her journeys the most scurrilous attack on Hinduism which has yet appeared. This attack is all the more intolerant, because Hinduism is set over against the religion of Islam and the reader from the West is induced to take sides with the latter religion against the former. None of the more beautiful aspects of the Hindu religious faith are mentioned, but on the contrary all that is ugly is brought prominently forward entirely out of proportion. Her book, in this respect, is in no sense 'A Quest for Truth,' but rather a quest for everything that is evil and superstitious to the neglect of what is pure and good. It is repugnant to me to quote from these pages, but it is absolutely necessary to expose a writer of this kind. She meets an American woman doctor, who had practised somewhere near Madras :

"What," she asks, "is Hinduism as a religion ?"

"To cut through to the truth," this doctor replies, "*it is a social disease.*"\* It is a worship of the elements, of natural features and forces of deified men and animals, even of weapons and primitive implements, but principally of the powers of life, the organs of sex."

"Good heavens, !" Mrs. Kendall cries. "But degeneracy is an affliction of every race, is n't it ?"

"But only in Hinduism is degeneracy deified. The teachings, and not just the interpretations, of Hinduism sink to such an extent that decent and proper words cannot describe their level."

The girl listener, who was with Mrs. Patricia Kendall at the interview with this American lady doctor, asks at the end :

"Then, Hindu religion is phallicism!"

"Yes," replies the doctor ! "It is exactly that ; and that is what I meant when I said, that it is practically a social disease..."

"I don't want to see the Temple tomorrow," replies the girl. "It is all too disgusting."

"I advise you to go," the doctor answers, "you must see some Hindu temple ; for how else can you change that disgust into pity ? Is n't it a pitiful thing, that these wonderful peoples have never been able to create a belief in a Divine and Righteous Being, exterior and above themselves, to whom they can aspire and pay spiritual homage ? You must face their afflictions if you would fairly judge the Hindus and adequately foster their evolution. The Jagganuth (*sic*) Temple here is n't so bad after all. The carvings are n't nearly so obscene as those at Madura, for Aurangzeb, called 'the Iconoclast,' mutilated many of the vilest depictions. By all means go!"

Catherine Mayo's brutal contempt is surely preferable to this hypocritical plea for pity which conceals a far deeper arrogance behind it.

She goes on, in another passage, to describe with lurid details, which will hardly bear repeating, a visit to Kalighat Temple in Calcutta. "It is a revolting task," she writes, "but we really should visit this temple !" She explains at length, how "until the British forced the priests to stop the slaying of human victims, including pilgrims who came from far and wide to worship at this sacred site, the Goddess was best mollified with the blood of a virgin."

"A shadowy Gandhi," she continues, "stands at our side and we speculate upon the 'love and beauties' of the creed of this Mahatma, who expounds the purity and humanity of his doctrines. What does he do when he attends the monstrous rituals of this major Goddess of his religion, the wife of the God Shiva ? I do not know ; but of

\*I have italicized this monstrous sentence.

Hinduism he proudly says: 'I am a Hindu before I am a Swarajist.'

If Mrs. Kendall does *not* know what Mahatma Gandhi feels about the hideous mockery of Hindu religion, which goes on at Kalighat, she could easily have found out. Gandhi and Tagore together, each in his own way, have done more to make the soul of India revolt against these cruel animal sacrifices than any two living persons. Yet in her 'Quest for Truth' Mrs. Kendall is ready, without any enquiry, to spread abroad in the West this deadly falsehood that Mahatma Gandhi is indifferent to these things.

Most of the sensational pages in Mrs. Kendall's book, which gloat over this theme of Hindu depravity and degradation, are written in the form of conversations between herself and missionaries from her own country. Here is another specimen:

"India," reports an American missionary to her, "although the second largest aggregate of peoples on the earth has never contributed a Science, a Religion, a Philosophy, an Art, or even an invention to the growth of the world beyond her own frontiers, with the exception of Buddhism, which is repressed within her own borders."

"What an indictment," says Mrs. Kendall, "of almost four hundred million people of today, much less! (*sic*) the millions upon millions of their ancestors!"

"It is worse than an indictment," the American missionary replies to her, "History makes it a conviction."

She does not give the name of this missionary, whom she calls an eminent scholar with twenty-four years of devoted teaching and preaching in Madras.

"Of course," she states later, "popular Hinduism is as degrading and debased as the phallic rites and worship of Baal which so deeply shocked the Jews in older times."

Mrs. Kendall then makes the following remark in the form of a question: "Then India is like an Octopus, that has sucked into its vitals streams of peoples from every direction and has never repaid the world with a single compensation of digested thought?"

"That seems a harsh judgment," says the missionary, "but it is a true charge. The Hindus have absorbed the cultures of other nations and have never evolved a constructive culture in return. Their minds are fluid and clastic, but not creative."

This American missionary then introduces Mrs. Kendall to a Christian teacher in an Untouchable school. This teacher himself is an 'Untouchable.'

"Is not Gandhi helping you?" Mrs. Keddall asks.

"Gandhi!" he replies, "He sometimes offers us lip service, and that only in conversation with you, Americans, or other White people... Your great Lincoln gave Negroes a Proclamation of Emancipation. Does Gandhi offer us one? No! He and the rest would lose their servants, their slaves, their serfs!"

Later on in this conversation this teacher, who has sprung from the 'Untouchables,'\* states, "If the British go, we are condemned to everlasting hell on earth."

## V

In all these conversations, Mrs. Kendall adopts the role of an astonished and almost incredulous enquirer. What soon becomes clear, however, to the reader is that all this question and answer, business is merely a pose in order to make the lesson to be drawn more crushing and convincing. All through the book this form of dialogue is carried on; and every now and then odious comparisons between the Muhammadan and the Hindu are made. Take the following example:

"And the Moslems and the Hindus?" she asks concerning the treatment of the 'Untouchables.'

"Many of the Moslems," replies this Christian 'Untouchable' "assist our cause, some because of free democracy, some to solicit our political strength. As for Hindus, hope at their hands is a distorted chimera! It is not only their selfish and vicious prejudice. Our defilement is a definite ingredient of Hindu religion. In some sections a Brahman is entitled to kill an 'untouchable' if the pariah approaches the high caste men. He wouldn't dare now-a-days, if in British-governed territories; but they often commit such murders in Native States."

In another passage, Mrs. Kendall indignantly asks a Brahman:

"Who determined their caste, you Brahmans, or God? Why doesn't Mahandas (*sic*) Gandhi offer definite reforms to advance these pitiful souls?"

"The Mahatma" the Brahman is made to reply, "is a devout man. He reveres the word of Manu. I fear you are ignorant of our metaphysics. Madame does not understand."

\*Mrs. Kendall gives the number of Untouchables as about 68,000,000.

† I cannot make out this sentence. Is it misuse of words—C. F. A.



Here again in this "Quest for Truth" a palpable lie about Mahatma Gandhi is unctuously recorded.

In the interview with the 'Untouchable' teacher, the conclusion is thus described: "Plead," he cries to them, "with your people (in America) to ignore the honeyed tongues of politicians who proclaim themselves saint.\* Not what is said, but what is lived is Truth. Ask your people to come and behold the Truths. Will you, Madame?"

"I promise," I fervently replied.

"Will you, Madame?"—the Untouchable turns to my companion.

"I will,"

"God bless you!"

On the following day,—so the book proceeds,—Mrs. Kendall and her young American friend asked the opinion of a British official in their "Quest for Truth."

"Did the English," they ask, "find any plan of Government, any type of Art, and mode of Life, superior to, or adaptable to, their own?"

"None, absolutely none!" Emphatically replies the British Government Officer.

This official's reply is truly staggering when one considers the well-known fact that the land revenue system, the method of administration itself and a thousand other things were taken over from the form of Government set up by the Great Akbar whom Mrs. Kendall herself acknowledges as the greatest ruler who ever ruled in India.

But let us leave Government on the side and turn to Art. Was there no type of Art, superior to, or adaptable to, that of the British? Mrs. Kendall has already praised, in an extravagant manner, with many touches of typical American journalese, the Taj Mahal at Agra. Was not *this*, we ask, superior to what the British brought to India from the West? No! To such an obvious enquiry, the following is the reply of the British official, whom she quotes: "They (i.e., the Great Moghul buildings) have not affected the Art elsewhere, since these buildings are borrowed architecture themselves: they are Saracenic in design." He goes on to say, "As for literature it was almost

entirely Vedic and certainly entirely Brahmanic, and therefore resolutely restricted by the Brahmins, as exclusively esoteric."

It is hard to believe that any British official talked such utter nonsense as this! More and more, one realizes that Mrs. Kendall herself is the real author of these astounding aphorisms about Indian literature, Government and art, and that her un-named persons, whether missionary or doctor or official, are namely lay figures whereby she seeks to popularize and give authority to her own ideas. It is noticeable that she never cites the name of any single one of them,—a habit which is constantly met with also in Miss Mayo's *Mother India*. It is also noticeable that her own peculiar words such as 'integrant,' etc., appear in the speeches she reports.

## VI

We now come, at the end of the book, to the final reasons, bluntly stated, why Americans, such as Catherine Mayo and Patricia Kendall, do not wish Great Britain to relinquish its hold upon India. Here I quote in full, as far as space allows, because it becomes more and more evident, as the book proceeds, that here is the ultimate bias underlying all Mrs. Kendall's statements:

"The problem," she declares, "of India's future concerns the world. If the policies of Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants are realized, disaster and financial hardship will fall on every American citizen as well as those of the British Empire; for the avowed intentions of the Swarajists are the seizing and destroying of banking, shipping, and railway commodities as well as commercial industries, all of which were introduced into India by the British and subsidized by them to the extent of ten billion dollars.

"If the heavily taxed British should lose ten billion dollars by seizure and destruction, the crash of London credit would resound around the world. The recent Wall Street debacle was a mere ripple compared with the deluge that would sweep away the values of world-wide Stock Exchange Securities.

"In the appropriation of properties and the repudiation of debts, the Indian Swaraj leaders are planning to follow in the footsteps of the Russian revolutionists when they set up their Communist Republic. Should Mr. Gandhi die and with him his doctrines and should Jawaharlal Nehru succeed him, as seems probable, the Communists would no doubt send forces into India, as they did into China, where they were 'keeping the pot of revolution seething'."

"While the Communists have done great damage in China to foreign holdings and foreign trade,

\* This is an obvious sneer at Mahatma Gandhi.

China is a comparatively unimportant factor in world affairs, while India is a vital and influential integrant. Great Britain sells more to India than to any other country in the world, and she buys more from her than from any other country except the United States. We also (Americans) are large exporters and importers in our commerce with India. With the United States foreign trade at the lowest level of five years, with a decrease of \$133,861,000 in this past year alone, we badly need a foreign market with assured financial facilities. England supervises and insures sound banks and securities in India. How long can these banks pay American notes or American acceptances, when the first official figures on Indian Government revenues, and the India Offices Survey on Economic conditions, report a poverty of collected taxes, a stifling of industry, and an appalling amount of Government expenditure for the maintaining of law and order?

The down-fall of Government would wreck the British financial investments that now produce 20 per cent of the direct or indirect income of every man and woman in Great Britain, according to the statements of Lord Rothermere.

"British interests in the Great Indian Dependency are so enormous and devious that they underpin Great Britain's national prosperity at every point. Hundreds of Millions of pounds have been used to establish not only the great shipping lines of India, her banks and insurance companies, railways, and irrigation works, but even her collieries and iron works, jute, cotton, woollen and paper mills, coffee plantations, tea plantations, and wheat-fields. To lose these investments would paralyse the commercial organization of England and undermine her finances.

Ten billion dollars in securities and investments cannot be wiped out in any country without the crumpling up of the values of all bonds and securities.

"The problem of the world cannot afford to be indifferent to the Indian problem."

## VII

So here is the big black cat jumping out of the bag at last! All the pious concern for the 'untouchables,' and child marriages, and Kalighat, and so on, is after all reduced to a matter of pounds, shillings and pence, or rather to dollars and cents. It is the ten billion dollars that really talk: All sorts of things might happen in Borneo, or New Guinea, or Central Africa, and very little would be heard or said about them, but the West is flooded with propaganda when the ten billion dollar securities, invested in India, are even called upon to undergo the scrutiny of an impartial audit. Even the suggestion of such a thing is 'pure Bolshevism' and red revolution!

To those who might regard this as too cynical an estimate of what is written, I would point out that Mrs. Kendall's book

leads up step by step to this one supreme conclusion. All this, which I have quoted, is printed under the caption—"The Pith of the Problem." There can, therefore, be no question at all where Mrs. Kendall's final emphasis is laid. It is laid on the 'ten billion dollars!' That is the Pith of the Problem.

## VIII

But having thus let the cat out of the bag and appealed in this brazen manner to the cupidity and selfishness of Great Britain and America she does not leave it at that, as Miss Mayo might have done, but returns to her lip-sympathy with India's democratic aspirations, while at the same time setting forward the suggestion that any advance in India presents an insoluble problem.

"How," she cries, "can India evolve a working federation with such disrupted and disjointed provinces? How can a co-operating whole develop from such conflicting constituents? The problem seems insurmountable."

"One of the greatest stumbling blocks," she continues, "in the path of rapid progress to self-rule is the failure of the people to realize that the success of a democratic system of Government depends on the ability of the majority to secure the acquiescence and co-operation of the minorities. No country has ever been infested with such a number of minorities as India, where even the Hindu majority is fissured by the conflicting castes.

"The Road to Federation must necessarily be travelled slowly, no matter how impatient the people are of the doctrine of gradualness. The attainment of economic prosperity and political power will be most easily, quickly and profitably secured for India by her co-operation with the gradually diminishing guardianship of Great Britain."

Cold comfort indeed is such a recommendation by an outsider of the 'policy of gradualness,' as alone compatible with the safety of the American dollars and British pounds sterling invested in India. Translated into action it would mean that India would sink year by year into greater and greater demoralization of dependency and helplessness, while the aggressive West insisted on their 'safeguards' being kept which were fettering, binding and choking her true progress. Meanwhile the present exploitation, which is the nemesis of economic imperialism would go on.

Not in this way do great nations recover liberty and moral fibre. Mrs. Kendall has not realized that ten years of resolute, unflinching

struggle, on the part of Mahatma Gandhi, whom she continually decries, have done more to restore moral backbone and high courage to the people of India than a century of 'gradualness.' Great nations by themselves are made, not by leaning perpetually on others.

Let us hear her final word :

"However unprofitable," she writes, "to world

progress India's political experiments may seem ; however costly to world commerce her economic theories may prove, the cordial sympathy and warm wishes of all democratic citizens will follow her people in their efforts to translate their own ideals into ideas, and their own aspirations into actions. May India's future bedim even her illustrious past and become a living emblem of glorious achievement."

Words, empty words, so long as the fear of the ten billion dollars of investments upsets the mind at every turn and kills the soul.

## COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN THE SERVICES

BY NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A.

**I**T is upon the character, ability, and experience of the permanent civil servants that the efficiency of a Government Department now mainly rests. It is consequently fit and proper that only the best men available in the country should be appointed to the civil service. It was Napoleon who first appreciated this principle and opened careers only to talent and merit. It became a fixed practice with him to select and promote his officers both civil and military only on the ground of proved merit and ability, no matter from whatever group of the people or stratum of the society they might have emerged. The principle thus accepted and acted upon by Napoleon appealed gradually to the reforming minds of the different European countries. In England it gained greater and greater foothold during the next half century and since the early fifties supplied the incentive for remodelling the basis of public service recruitment. In most of the departments at Whitehall, it became the rule to recruit the probationers only on the basis of their superior qualifications. People irrespective of the class of the society to which they belonged came now to be entertained in the public service provided they had successfully competed in the test prescribed for the candidates. Fair field and no favour became thus the motto of public service recruitment

in England. As, however, the competitive examination was adapted to the syllabus of the universities to which only the rich and aristocratic classes could resort, it turned out that men of the lower and less fortunate classes very rarely found an opportunity of entering the administrative service. There was consequently a demand for so altering the system of competition as to suit the representatives of the lower and backward orders of the society. The Government, however, advised by expert commissions have not found it possible to satisfy this demand. But an arrangement of scholarships and other educational facilities has been made in order that meritorious young men of the poorer classes might go over to the University and avail the public service examination. Two principles have thus been accepted for the recruitment of civil servants in Great Britain. The first is that the appointments must be open only to talent as proved in a prescribed competitive test and the second is that there should be a wide, if not universal, diffusion of education and knowledge among the people and a special facility for sending poor young men of good intellectual calibre to the university so that ambitious men of every class and group of the people may have an equal opportunity of proving their merit and talent in a public competition.



Indian conditions have been regarded so far as unfavourable for the salutary principles enunciated above and acted up to in Great Britain to be frankly and whole heartedly applied in this country. India is *par excellence* a land of communal and territorial sectionalism. However paradoxical it may sound, along with the growth of national feeling provincial patriotism has developed apace and it must be recognized that this spirit of provincialism is every day becoming more and more exclusive and aggressive. And side by side with this feeling of vertical localism exists now in the country in a still more intensive form a horizontal sectionalism. People think indeed to a great extent in terms of the district and the province to which they belong, but they think more in terms of the religious and social group to which they are affiliated. Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Christians represent the broad communal divisions of the Indian people. Among the Hindus again innumerable subdivisions are noticeable. But of late there has been a tendency to the crystallizing for political purposes of these castes and sub-castes into two broad groups known commonly as the caste Hindus and the depressed classes.

Territorial sectionalism will indeed be considerably regularized and accommodated in federalism on the basis of which the Indian State is being organized. In a federal mechanism, national and provincial patriotism will have opportunity of working side by side and inspiring people's mind at the same time. Even then, of course, the administration of the central functions will not be plain sailing. Interests of nationalism and the demands of justice and efficiency may warrant the recruitment of the central services from among the best of the candidates irrespective of their provincial affiliations. But the interests of provincialism will cry for recruitment on the basis of some recognized provincial quota. Every province, it may be argued, should be represented in the central services on the population basis. How far that will be practicable and desirable, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss. But that such a demand will go forth is certain.

Provincialism may somehow find its due place in the new administrative and constitutional mechanism. But no practical and acceptable scheme has yet been devised anywhere which may effectively reconcile territorial and communal patriotism. In Canada the racial and religious sectionalism of the French *habitants* could be reconciled, however roughly, with the interests of the wider body politic simply because of the fact that it is almost exclusively localized in a particular territorial area. It is this identity of the local patriotism of lower Canada with the communal patriotism of the French catholics which has made possible the recognition of this latter sentiment in the Canadian State. In India, however, communalism is not of a localized character. It is nowhere conterminous with provincialism or other forms of localism. It cuts across district and provincial boundaries.

But, however scattered these communities are, sectionalism is their predominant trait. The Mahomedans are, of course, the pioneer of this separatist movement. But other communities also are now following in their footsteps. The Anglo-Indians who constitute a community of less than one hundred thousand souls in all India are now vying with the Moslems in sectional demands. These communities regard themselves as separate entities and want to be included in the State as such. The State, according to this communal view-point, is to be a union not of individuals but of communities. The individuals are first and foremost to be members of these communities and are only distantly to be associated with the State. The connection of the individual with the State is thus not to be recognized as immediate and direct. He is first to be a Mahomedan or a Hindu and only next a Bengalee or Indian. He is a member of the State only through the community to which by his race and religion he belongs. The State being thus a union not of individuals but primarily of communities, it is fit and proper that in its organs not the individuals but the communities should be as such represented. The legislative organ is to be constituted not by the representatives of the individuals as organized on the basis of the

localities they inhabit but by the representatives chosen by the different communities from among their own members. The civil services are similarly to be manned not by the best of the candidates sent forth by the State as a whole, but by the quotas of men supplied by each community according to its population and other sources of strength. The idea is that the representatives in the legislature are not so much to look to the interests of the State as a whole, as to grind the axe of a particular community from which they are sprung and by which they are returned. The civil servants in the same way are not expected so much to be an instrument in the hands of the State as a whole as to be a source and symbol of power to the communities to which they happen to belong. The Indian State thus envisaged is to be a double federation, a federation in the first place of territorial provinces and States and in the second of religious and racial communities.

The principle of communal representation has been accepted by the Government since the time the question of higher employment of Indians came first seriously to be tackled. It was in 1868 that Sir Strafford Northcote provided for the appointment of Indians to some superior administrative offices in his Government of India Amendment Bill of that year which after some vicissitudes of fortune became the Government of India Act, 1870. Speaking on this Bill, Sir Strafford foreshadowed for the first time the appointment of Indians on a communal basis. He laid some emphasis on the peculiar conditions of India which would rule out the recruitment of the superior Indian Civil Servants by competitive examination. That method would bring into the public service only intellectually the quickest among the Indian people. But other communities and races which should be represented in the public service would be barred out altogether. So some other principle or principles of appointment should be resorted to by which different communities might find their due place in the higher posts to be opened to Indians by the proposed measure. The idea of communal representation thus envisaged by Sir Strafford was given effect to by the Indian authorities

in appointing the Statutory Civilians under the Rules of 1879 (Rules framed under the Act of 1870). These Rules were so framed as to make it possible for the Government to distribute the offices evenly among the different major communities. And altogether we find, were appointed forty-eight Statutory Civilians of whom twenty-seven were Hindus, fifteen Mahomedans, two Parsis, two Sikhs and two Burmans.

In 1885 the Government of India sent out a special circular to the provincial Governments to the effect that henceforward they should pay more attention than they had done hitherto to the recruitment of Mahomedans to the public services. For five years from 1884 the direct recruitment to the Provincial Civil Service in Bengal was made by competitive examination. None of the Mahomedan candidates could, however, successfully compete. If they were to be taken at all into the public service, the system of recruitment must, therefore, be changed. Rules accordingly were altered in 1889 and provision was made for the appointment of Christians, Mahomedans, Eurasians, the Oriyas and Biharis (Orissa and Bihar were then included in the province of Bengal) and the members of other communities irrespective of their position in the competitive examination. The service was henceforward constituted not by the best talent available in the province but by the cadets of different communities irrespective of their merits.

The constitution of the Provincial Service thus illustrates the preference of the Government for the recruitment of civil servants on a communal basis. This principle of communal representation in the public services appealed also to the Public Service Commission of 1886-87. This body was presided over by a civilian and in its membership the civilian element predominated. Three of the Indian members recommended indeed the institution of simultaneous competitive examination in London and India for the recruitment of the civilians but the rest of the Commission set their face against this proposed departure from the existing arrangement. They feared that the proposed system would bring into the Civil Service young men of only one class or com-

munity to the exclusion of the cadets of other groups. This would be, they thought, an undesirable contingency.

That all communities as such should be evenly represented in the public services was also the view expressed by the Under-Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons in 1893. The occasion was the introduction of a resolution by Mr. Paul for the holding of competitive examinations in India for the appointment of Indians to the superior civil service. The Under-Secretary opposed the proposal mainly on the ground that it was not suited to Indian conditions. India was a land of diverse communities and racial groups. It was desirable that all these groups should have their representation in the public service. Competitive examination, however, being suited only to the genius and temperament of some classes would exclude other groups altogether from the Civil Service.

The same attitude was taken also by the Civilians who appeared as witnesses before the Islington Commission. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Mr. A. G. Cardew, in opposing the institution of competitive examination deposed that all communities, Brahmins, non-Brahmins, Indian Christians, Mahomedans should be represented as such in the public services. In any scheme of recruitment, he argued, some percentage of the total number of appointments should be reserved for the different communities. Mr. N. G. Beatson-Bell, then Commissioner of the Dacca Division, also spoke in the same vein. He not only wanted that each broad group, like the Hindus, Christians, Mahomedans, should have its due share in the public service but he advocated that even the different sub-groups of the Hindu community should be adequately represented in the Provincial Civil Service. He was shocked to find that most of the Hindu Deputy Magistrates had been chosen from the higher classes. He, of course, did not care to enlighten the Commission at the same time on the fact that education, especially higher education, was almost exclusively confined to the higher classes. Nor were the people, and the least the higher classes, responsible for this inadequate spread of education.

It was again not merely the British Civilians who recommended the principle of communal representation for acceptance in the public services. The leaders of the communities which were backward in education and consequently fought shy of open competition now came forward to give their hearty support to this principle. Mr. Fazlul Huq, for instance, in his evidence before the Commission demanded fifty per cent of the appointments in the Provincial Civil Service to be reserved for the Mahomedans. Maulvi Azizuddin who was a member of the Madras executive service also put in a plea for communal representation on political and administrative grounds in the civil services.

The Report of the Commission was not published till 1917. But the Government of Bengal without waiting for its recommendations took to a resolution in 1914 which further developed and crystallized the principle of communal representation in the public services, a principle which had been followed so far only in a haphazard manner. The Government now decided that one-third of the appointments in the Bengal Civil Service would be definitely reserved for the Mahomedan candidates. Communal representation became henceforward the leading feature of civil service recruitment. In 1916 the Hindu Nationalists who had opposed so long the principle of communal representation in the legislatures as introduced by the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, accepted it as the basis of a compromise between the Congress and the Moslem League at Lucknow. This heartened the separatists all the more and stimulated their demands for greater communal concessions in the recruitment of the services. In 1917 when Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt introduced a resolution in the Bengal Legislature for revising the system of recruitment of the Provincial Services, Mr. Fazlul Huq again pressed for more even representation of the different communities in the civil services. He was not satisfied with the arrangement that 33 per cent of the posts in the Provincial Service was reserved for the Mahomedans. He wanted to raise it to fifty per cent. Four years later in February 1921, when a similar resolution was introduced by



Mr. I. B. Dutt he thought it necessary to make provision for safe-guarding the interests of the different communities. Communal representation had thus come to be inevitable.

In 1922, the patronage system was abolished in Bengal and the principle of competitive test was introduced for recruitment to the Bengal Civil Service and some other services. The selection committee which was placed in charge of this examination was, however, instructed that of the total number of posts to be filled in the different services one-third must go to the Mahomedans and one-sixth to the Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, or the depressed classes. So whatever be the method of selection the principle of communal representation remains sacrosanct. Again not only this principle has been observed with regard to first appointments but demands have gone forth that it should be acted upon in matters of promotion as well. In 1923 a question was put in the Bengal Legislative Council to the Member in charge of the Appointment Department as to the number of Mahomedan Sub-divisional Officers in the province and as to whether it would be increased so as to make it proportionate to the strength of the Mahomedan Deputy Collectors in the service cadre. With regard to promotion from the Sub-deputy Collectors to the Deputy Magistracies demands were similarly made to the effect that the proportion of Mahomedans fixed for direct recruitment to the Provincial Service should be observed in this respect also. This communalism in matters of promotion could not be accepted by the Government as a principle, and Sir Hugh Stephenson, the Home Member, definitely pointed out that efficiency was the only basis of promotion from the lower to the higher service. But although in theory the Government set its face against the principle of communal representation in this respect it cannot be said that when questions of promotion are actually settled, communal considerations are wholly ignored. In Madras, the situation is worse still. Non-Brahmin officers in this Presidency have been openly and brazenfacedly promoted over the head of many competent Brahmin officers. When in 1929 during the

debates on the Madras Public Service Commission Bill Mr. Satyamurti pleaded that once first appointments were made zeal and efficiency should be the only basis of promotion and no communal consideration should be made in this respect, Sir A. P. Patro made a very staggering and disconcerting reply. He thought too much of a fetish had been made of efficiency and some relaxation of it would not matter much.

Communalism which has been a distinctive feature of Indian politics since the beginning of this century got a new momentum with the inauguration of the new constitution in 1920-21. The Mahomedan members elected to the new legislatures on a separate communal ticket looked at every question from a communal angle of vision. They continually clamoured for new rights and privileges for their community. More loaves and fishes for their co-religionists became the burden of their song. They pressed their demands so insistently and made their support of the Congress movement so conditional upon the acceptance of these demands that the late Mr. C. R. Das in a moment of weakness was persuaded to enter into a pact with the Moslems of Bengal which not only embodied the acceptance by the Hindus of the vicious principle of communal representation in the public services but actually provided for the reservation of the eighty per cent of all new appointments in this province for the Moslem candidates for a considerable period of time. There was, of course, the proviso that this pact was to go into effect only after the acquisition of complete *Swaraj*. But once the pact was entered into, most of the Mahomedan publicists in and outside the Council ignored this provision and looked upon the pact as a concession to be effective at once. Their agitation also could not go long unheeded. In 1925 the Government of Lord Lytton was convinced that some further concession should be made to the separatist demands of the Mahomedan public. Accordingly by a resolution it increased the percentage of the posts reserved for the Mahomedans in some administrative services from thirty-three to forty-five. Even this concession does not appear to have satisfied the

communal claims of the Moslems. Their aim is to raise the percentage to fifty-five so as to make it commensurate with the population-strength of the Mahomedans in the province. Recognized and accepted in the Provincial Services, the principle of reservation for different communities could not but be extended to the Superior Services as well. It is true that the Mahomedan leader, H. H. The Aga Khan, had demanded in his evidence before the Islington Commission communal representation only in those services which did not require in their members much of intellectual and moral resource and set his face completely against the acceptance of such a principle for the higher services. Sir Abdur Rahim, a member of the Commission, had further emphasized in his excellent minority note the view-point propounded by the Aga Khan. But the vicious principle once accepted could not be limited to the lower services. When after the war some Indians were nominated under the Act of 1915 to the Indian Civil Service, the Government based their selection considerably upon the communal claims and affiliations of the candidates. When again competitive examination for recruiting Indians to this Service came to be held in this country for the first time in 1922, thirty-three per cent of the total number of appointments to be made in this country was reserved for the communities whose cadets would fail to get into the service by the front door of competition. Even this arrangement did not satisfy the communalists. On the 24th of January, 1923, Col. Gidney, the Anglo-Indian representative, introduced a motion in the Legislative Assembly for a more frank acceptance of the principle of communal representation in the Indian Civil Service. The minor communities, he complained, were being neglected and not getting their due share of loaves and fishes. Two months later a depressed class representative from Madras moved another resolution in the same House to the effect that the Government of India in making their appointments to the public services should give preference to the candidates of the communities not so well represented in them. A Mahomedan member from Bengal observed in course of the debate

on this resolution that a community derived a considerable part of its importance and influence from its share in the public administration. It was consequently necessary that every community should be adequately represented in the services. This insistence on greater communal representation continued with unabated vigour and in 1925 the Government thought it necessary to meet the new demand as far as possible. Up till then only one-third of the appointments in the Indian Civil Service made in this country was reserved for the unrepresented communities. But in 1925 it was laid down that henceforward one-third of the total number of Indian appointments made both in India and England would be reserved for the candidates of the communities not represented that year in the Service through competition. This rule came into force in 1926 and has been in operation ever since.

We should now appraise the effects of communalism so far as it has been accepted in the recruitment of the civil servants. It is obvious that this principle of communal representation cuts across the principle of opening public services only to talent. If different communities are to be separately represented on a population basis in the civil services irrespective of the comparative merits of their cadets men of inferior acumen and equipment will, as a matter of course, get appointments to the exclusion of candidates of superior ability. This proscription of superior talent cannot but tell upon the efficiency of the civil service which would now naturally be less alert, less vigorous and less resourceful than it might have been if it was constituted only by the best talent available. This loss of efficiency in the public service should not be dismissed so light-heartedly as it is done now-a-days in some quarters. While in every modern state a growing emphasis is being placed on the importance of the civil service and arrangements have been made by which only the most well-equipped of men may get into this body, it will be foolish on the part of the Indian public to be indifferent in this matter. Even in the U. S. A, the land of the spoils system, the principle of opening public services to merit has gained a considerable

foothold. Ever since the passing of the Pendleton Act half a century ago, offices have been increasingly taken out of politics and filled by the most competent men available. It appears that India, instead of keeping pace with this reforming movement is anxious to take to the outworn clothes of the United States. In America people secured civil service posts in return for the services they might have rendered to some particular political party, and here in India people secure appointments in the public services because they are affiliated to some particular community and profess some particular faith.

Not only the general efficiency of the services will suffer because of the acceptance of the communal principle in their recruitment and promotion, but they will on this account be inoculated with a virus that will sap the very foundations of public administration in this country. If appointments are made on the communal basis, the civil servants thus recruited cannot but feel that their communal affiliations were the real passport to the office they have come to occupy. It will, therefore, be their endeavour more and more to grind in their official capacity the axe of the community the membership of which has placed them in the public service. Just as the judges and the civil servants in America brought into office by the victory of their party in the polls have

always regarded it as their first duty to subserve its interests through the influence and power they have commanded in their official capacity similarly in India also it is being noticed that both judicial and executive officers recruited on the basis of their communal antecedent are every day becoming more and more communalist in their sympathy and outlook. Unless the principle of communal representation is abandoned without further delay, impartiality and fair play will be rare features in our public services. The civil servants are appointed to render services not to this or that community. Their business is to serve the interests of the state and minister to the welfare of all people irrespective of the class or community they might belong to. If they are to discharge this business faithfully they must forget their own communal and racial affiliations and remember only that they are the servants of the State. This feeling, however, remains out of the question so long as their recruitment is made on the communal basis. It is time for the representatives of all the communities and groups of our people to think seriously on this subject of civil service recruitment. If the existing system of recruitment of the civil servants continues for some years more, communal rivalry will further be accentuated, chances of national solidarity will be further undermined and prospects of democratic government will be further remote still.

## ECONOMIC PLANNING FOR BENGAL

By NALINAKSHA SANYAL, M.A. (CAL.), PH.D. (Lond.)

IN course of his speech at the last St. Andrew's Dinner His Excellency the Governor of Bengal issued an almost general invitation to all thinking people to propose suitable measures for improving the economic condition of the people of this province and admitted at last that "the Government cannot claim to have a monopoly of ingenuity and statesmanship required to solve" the great problem of the economic distress and backwardness of the province. It will not therefore be entirely out of place if we make an attempt to examine the problem in our own way. Indian economists and statesmen have for some years past been urging the adoption of some definite economic policy in consultation with experts in the field of trade,

industry and public finance. It is gratifying to note that even the European commercial men have had their outlook changed in this respect, in recent months, and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, as is evidenced through their recent circular No. 434 dated 20th December 1932, have at last begun to think like ourselves and have realized the necessity for abandoning the present policy of drift in the matter of economic life of the people as pursued by Government.

### ECONOMIC COUNCIL FOR BENGAL

Instead of proposing small changes in the present economic organization here and there, it is necessary to draw the attention of Govern-



ment to the immediate need for formulating a well planned out national economic policy which alone can bring about improved economic conditions for all classes of people. With a view to achieving this end, it may be necessary to form "a small standing Bengal Economic Council," of an expert nature, which would "study and co-ordinate" all available materials, and would draw up a definite plan of action. Such a plan of action may have programmes for immediate adoption, as also ideals for ultimate structure of socio-economic life of the people which will have to be examined with an absolutely unbiassed mind, and not brushed aside merely on the ground of their present impracticability or difficulty. It is hoped that in the same spirit as given expression to by His Excellency, the Government will shake off their false sense of prestige, if any, and will not hesitate to take the advice of persons and organizations of different ways of thinking, however unpalatable they may be to the present members of the bureaucracy.

#### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE IDEAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

In this connection, we would like to offer the following preliminary observations just to indicate the lines along which some "thinking people, who have any affection for the land in which we live, or for its people," have been pondering over the great problem of unemployment and economic suffering. This is more with a view to find out the final and ultimate solution of our problems rather than to suggest certain patch-work remedies for immediate attention.

It has been admitted by economists and statesmen alike of the present day that a policy of *laissez faire* or drift can no longer be expected to provide the most suitable economic organization for a people. Planned economy has, during recent years, definitely taken its place instead of the so-called "economic freedom" of the 19th century, in moulding the economic life of nations. From a broad study of what is happening elsewhere and what experience we have in this country it may be stated that so far as the ultimate structure of the economic life of our people is concerned, four possible forms of organization may engage our attention, *viz* :

(a) A self-contained economic life of the people of India with the spreading out of industrial activity of the nation into small cottage industries carried on in villages, which are and will remain the principal places of work for her entire population.

(b) Complete nationalization of all institutions of production and their re-distribution along communistic lines by which distribution will be guided mainly on the basis of rationing according to needs or deserts, production will be by plans and programmes and all sorts of vested or special interests will disappear.

(c) Co-operative organization of the entire field of economic activity, including production, distribution and exchange, by which the individual will have his sense of private property retained permitting him to take advantage of his superior intelligence, skill or diligence, while most of the evils due to competition and jealousy may be removed.

(d) Organization of strongly protected group economic life, spread over the whole nation (nationalism), or parts of it (provincialism), or several co-operating nations (imperialism) by which, as in the case of modern Italy and U.S.A. to some extent, the group may, by rigid adherence to certain ruthless measures, arrange employment for its members and provide food and other amenities of life for them for a certain period of time at least.

It is not possible for any body to state definitely which particular organization out of the above four will ultimately be found suitable or necessary for the welfare of the people of India. Hardly any useful purpose will therefore be served, at this stage, by quarrelling over ideologies, which, though necessary in drawing out a long-period and comprehensive economic plan, are likely to trouble the heads only of the generations to come. On the whole it may be stated that the destinies of the millions of India will depend more on nationalism, co-operative institutions and some modified degree of socialism than on communism, imperialism or rural self-contentedness. However leaving the question of ultimate social structure aside, we feel that for the next decade at least, if not a quarter of a century, there will be good deal of common ground to traverse, whatever difference may arise in ultimate ideology. Moreover, it is quite probable that after the basic foundations—more or less common to all structures—have been laid, the future generation will find out a much better solution for the people of India than what is apparent to us today,—a solution which will provide for the preservation of the culture of the East as well as secure for our countrymen the vitality of the West.

#### IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS

As things needing immediate attention with a view to ameliorate the economic condition of the people of Bengal, emphasis should be laid on three things :

(i) Providing suitable employment for all classes of people, rural and urban, middle class and the masses.

(ii) Increasing the efficiency of each labour unit of production with suitable arrangements for health, education, capital, and distribution of work.

(iii) Preventing undue concentration of wealth in a few hands permitting the leisurely and idle life of some at the cost of even the bare necessities of life of millions.

Without wasting any more time over enquiries and reports it is desirable that the State should devote all the resources at its command to achieve the above ends.

It must be pointed out that there are many things affecting the economic life of the people of Bengal which do not lie under the purview of the provincial Government. Any plan that the local economic council will formulate must therefore be supplemented with measures of the central Government of India and must be co-ordinated with the economic measures of other provinces, particularly of those which are adjacent to Bengal. In the light of these observations the following tentative measures may be proposed for consideration of the Government of Bengal and of the Economic Council that may be formed.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT—HOW TO SOLVE IT

The problem of foremost importance is indeed, the provision of suitable employment for all classes of people so that the entire population can have an opportunity of earning their bread through their labour. To find out the exact possibility of providing such employment a comprehensive survey has to be made of all the needs of the people and their present production, it will then be possible to find out how far, by careful planning, more of the requirements of our countrymen can be supplied through local sources, without unduly causing a restriction of our production for purposes of export.

#### NATIONALIZATION OF LAND AND ITS EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION *per capita* FOR CULTIVATION NEEDED

It will not be wrong to say that India has not yet been over-populated in the sense that nature's resources have become inadequate for giving food and clothing to her children. Taking at its worst the production of food per acre *per capita* in India is still sufficient to provide the barest necessities of life to all our population, and consequently, with due regard to the standard of living of the people, the quantum of population has not been overstepped. Further, there is considerable room left for improvement in agricultural technique and in methods of production in general.

In order to ascertain the possibility of giving employment to our population, which is largely rural, we should direct particular attention to the availability of land for cultivation *per capita*. It must be recognized that for purposes of economic reorganization it is necessary to co-ordinate the resources of adjoining provinces, and so far as Bengal is concerned, the unutilized natural resources of Behar and Orissa and of Assam should be taken into consideration. Certain difficulties may arise in putting into action an economic policy that may involve inter-provincial co-operation and pooling of resources. But the necessity for such co-ordination of resources is so great that no obstacles of technique or sentiment should be considered insurmountable in bringing this about.

The following table gives the population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam and corresponding areas of cultivable and cultivated land.

TABLE I

	Area and population showing land cultivated and cultivable <i>per capita</i>				
	Rural Population	Net area (in acres)	Area Cultivated (in acres)	Cultivable Waste (in acres)	Forest (in acres)
Bengal.	43,509,000	49,187,000	28,757,000	6,018,000	4,571,000
Bihar & Orissa.	32,627,000	53,173,000	30,796,000	6,920,000	7,384,000
Assam.	7,428,000	35,230,000	7,822,000	19,070,000	3,837,000

It will be seen that the rural population of Bengal and Assam come up to about 52 millions, whereas they may have between them net cultivated area of 36 million acres and culturable wastes of 25 million acres. This shows that by a proper redistribution of land it may be possible to allow the rural population of Bengal and

Assam to cultivate a little more than one acre of land per head. In the following table is given the yield per acre of crops in Bengal. Rice may be taken as the general measure of minimum productivity as each acre of other crops is more or less resorted to as a better substitute for rice.

TABLE II  
YIELD PER ACRE OF CROPS IN BENGAL. (IN LBS.)

Name of the crop.	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.	1930-31.
Rice (Cleaned)	951	931	827	829	871	829	779	1,014	908	1,002
Wheat	470	520	429	444	482	556	461	583	587	533
Sugar-cane, Raw Sugar	2,422	2,363	2,406	2,283	2,553	2,396	2,529	2,469	2,489	2,792

Name of the crop.	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.	1930-31.
Tea	331	398	486	479	451	503	511	490	564	487
Cotton	92	94	118	125	133	130	103	91	108	99
Jute	1,238	1,233	1,212	1,181	1,280	1,223	1,272	1,227	1,302	1,240
Linseed	269	353	312	352	301	329	247	322	373	367
Rape and Mustard	370	384	361	371	257	391	351	394	426	405
Sesamum	366	345	357	338	366	378	376	337	371	381

It will be seen from the above that provided the land in Bengal and Assam is suitably redistributed each person can have to himself about 1000 lbs. of rice per year. The annual consumption of rice or food grains may roughly be put at 500 lbs. per head. With the balance it should be possible for every one to secure minimum amount of clothing, say, 15 yds. of cloth per head, as also reasonable shelter. Those of the rural population who are more efficient and energetic than the average should be able to obtain additional amenities of life out of their superior productive capacity. The first and foremost consideration for the Government of Bengal should therefore be a thorough revision of our land laws preventing the accumulation of large areas in a few hands and enabling every agricultural worker to have as much land as he needs for himself and his family on the above basis. How this redistribution of land can be brought about without undue hardship to the present holders of property will have to be carefully examined by the Bengal Economic Council, to be formed. It may only broadly be pointed out that a thorough reform in the land system alone can remedy most of the evils that we are suffering from today.

When the rural population will have their barest minimum, provided as above it will be easy to provide ample occupation for the urban population and the middle classes.

#### INDUSTRIES

Regarding industries it must be recognized that there is great scope both for certain large scale industries as well as for small and middle sized ones in their respective spheres. It is not desirable in this respect to be guided by traditions and sentiments. The Bengal Economic Council, or the Government of Bengal should institute a thorough and expert enquiry into the possibilities of each class of industry, cottage or factory, as judged from past and present experience and progress of industrial technique, and then should devise ways and means to develop each class of industry, as and to the extent found economically justifiable and necessary.

#### WHAT ARE NEEDED TO MAXIMIZE EFFICIENCY OF EACH LABOUR UNIT

Having outlined the immediate objective as above we would like to see that all facilities are

provided to bring about the required economic improvement in rural life as well as in the cities. This means that provision should be made to improve the efficiency of labour not only by securing them healthy and sanitary environments of work but also by providing them with necessary technical education, financial facilities, transport arrangements, marketing facilities and rationalized methods of utilizing their energy in all directions. Various Commissions and Committees have during recent years examined different problems affecting the economic and social life of the people, and considerable material has been collected by them. It should be easy for the Government or for the Bengal Economic Council to obtain suitable guidance from the findings of these Committees and also from departmental enquiries. Where suitable materials are not available, it should be possible for Government to collect useful statistics for the formulation of a definite economic policy. The statistics of trade and industry collected so far are extremely faulty and deficient in the essentials that are needed for making a survey of the internal conditions of the country. An attempt should therefore be made forthwith to collect data indicating the directions in which economic reforms should be undertaken, particularly showing the various commodities needed by the people of Bengal, the number of persons engaged in the production thereof locally and in India, and the possibility of substituting the present commodities with those manufactured by and with the assistance of local labour and capital.

#### PROBLEM OF RURAL SANITATION

It is perhaps not necessary to draw the attention of Government to the increasing inefficiency of labour in rural Bengal, due largely to ill-health and poor sanitary conditions and also to ignorance and illiteracy. One of the first measures that should be adopted by Government is to improve the conditions of health in the rural areas and to open out canals, clear jungles, cleanse the tanks, rivers and water-courses and provide with an iron-hand for everything that may conduce to physical health of the villagers. It may be mentioned in this connection that Bengal may obtain considerable amount of guidance from the Governments of Egypt, Italy and Holland in effectively fighting the scourges of nature and in controlling some of them for the service of mankind.



## RURAL FINANCE

Having secured just sufficient land per head of our rural worker and sanitary surroundings for work, we shall have to provide suitable financial facilities to the people to enable them to carry on their agricultural and small industrial pursuits in the rural areas. The various Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees as well as the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee have gone into the problem of financing agriculture and of meeting the present problem of rural indebtedness. While the Bengal Economic Council should be entrusted with the working out of details and of evolving any new and more convenient scheme in this respect, it may be, broadly speaking, stated that the financing of agriculture will depend upon properly constituted Land Mortgage Banks for capital expenditure on land and a number of scattered Co-operative Rural Credit Societies for the purpose of recurring expenses. In order to enable suitable marketing and warehousing arrangements, other financing institutions may also have to be thought of, both of an indigenous nature as well as on the models of Germany and the United States.

RURAL COMMUNICATIONS : LANDWAYS  
vs. WATERWAYS

Next in importance to questions of land reforms, sanitation and rural banking, stand the problems of communication. So far as Bengal is concerned, it appears to us that there is much room left for the development of water-courses, which will solve both the problem of irrigation and health as well as the problem of transport. The development of railways in this province has not been all to the good of the people because railway embankments have mostly prevented the free flow of water and have led to water-logging and deterioration of the rivers. Recently, attention has been drawn to the need for good roads in the province. While appreciating the necessity of proper road connections to link up the villages and rural parts with the centres of trade and with each other, we feel that the possibilities of improving inland water-courses and providing communications through them should first be explored and the place of the road, the railway, and the waterways in the economic life of Bengal should be properly gauged before any scheme of transportation is taken in hand. It may be remembered in this connection that for an agricultural country cheapness in transport is more to be desired than quickness in service.

## RURAL MARKETING

The marketing of agricultural produce in Bengal also needs considerable overhauling, if not a thorough change. The system of collecting agricultural products through a large number of *Beparies* acting either for the intermediate

*Mahajans* or *araddars* or as agents of the big export-houses and mills, is not conducive to the best interests of the agriculturist. When there is a rise in prices, the cultivator hardly gets the full benefit of it and whenever there is a fall the poor agriculturist has to suffer bitterly. Nor can this system ensure proper adjustment of production to possible demand either by a process of restriction or by necessary measures for expansion. It is therefore felt that while each commodity, *e. g.*, tea, jute, grains, rice, Hides, etc., may have special arrangements for marketing to suit the particular requirements of each, there should be a general provision made for co-operative marketing of agricultural products through a more or less elaborate system of village and central Co-operative Societies or on the Berar Cotton Marketing Plan.

## VILLAGE OUTLOOK TO BE CHANGED

It must be pointed out here that the foundation of rural reconstruction lies more in the subjective appreciation of the problem by the people than on any superimposed plan of work. To create that appreciation and to inspire every rural worker with some zeal in the task of rebuilding his village an extensive propaganda should be undertaken to educate our countrymen properly, not only in the rudiments of literacy but also in the fundamentals of living. Self-help, cleanliness in habit, co-operation with neighbours, service to society are sentiments which, of late years, have been growing less and less important in the village life of Bengal. For the new generation the outlook of life must be changed and some of the healthy impulses of our forefathers will have to be brought back, tempered this time with the inspiration of science and knowledge.

## VILLAGE EDUCATION

The system of education in the village should provide for such a new outlook on life. While on the one hand, the measures of the State may be directed to procure adequate environmental facilities for more efficient production, on the other hand there should be arrangements made to improve and if possible to transform the subjective condition of work, namely, the will to work for self, for family, for the community and for the country.

## CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

In the same strain it should be stated that the reconstruction of our rural economic life cannot be thorough and complete without the spread of the co-operative movement and education in improved methods of agriculture.

The co-operative movement in India so far has at best been a force of superimposed benevolence, if not a mere measure of publicity for the supposed solicitude of the State officials for the illiterate masses. The essence of co-

operation namely, self-help and initiative, have been entirely lacking. It is now time to review the position critically, not so much with regard to the figures of societies and their funds as with respect to the conditions of their functioning.

#### AGRICULTURAL REFORMS

The immense possibilities of improvement in agricultural technique have not so far been realized by our people,—educated or uneducated. Government experimental agricultural farms have not yet been able to tackle even a fraction of the problem. Their methods have been rather exclusive for the people and all the defects of a self-conscious bureaucratic superimposiveness have kept them away from the villagers. The machinery for introducing improved methods in agriculture therefore needs overhauling. The problem of irrigation, of improved machinery and tools, of efficient labour, of suitable rotation of crops, of agricultural readjustment according to nature of soil, and of seeds are amongst the important problems requiring attention. Each district, or perhaps each different soil condition requires different manner of tackling these problems. The Government, or rather the Bengal Economic Council, should make proper enquiry into the necessities of each area with regard to the above and should propose suitable measures with adequate financial backing. Even with the present backward methods of agriculture arrangements may be made by proper redistribution of land, to provide for each member of the society just efficient food, clothing and shelter. With a slight improvement in the technique of agriculture other amenities of life can soon be assured to them.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

With these general observations about the improvement of economic life in rural Bengal, let us proceed to indicate the lines of work for the development of Bengal's industries—rural, small scale and large.

It must be recognized that there is ample room for all types of industries—large scale, small and rural, in the economic life of Bengal. But a thorough investigation should be made as to the proper nature of each industry and its minimum or maximum economic unit. There are a number of our countrymen including economists and business men, who believe that the salvation of India, and of Bengal in particular, must lie through the development of a large number of cottage industries scattered all over the country, providing employment to our rural population in a healthy atmosphere of life. On the other hand, there are economists and industrialists who think in terms of large industrial establishments, alone and who are of opinion that the economic future of the people must not be dependent eternally on spoon feeding and on artificial methods fostering inefficiency. These gentlemen

want India to build up big factories with up-to-date machinery so that India can stand on equal terms in world economic competition, and, if possible, can take advantage of her superior efficiency in production over others.

The best interest of the country, however, cannot be achieved by a blind adherence to either of the above schools of thinking. Our country is vast, our resources unlimited and varied, our labour power is composed of diverse elements. If a scientific examination of all the factors of production in an industry, together with the social reactions of different types of organization, shows that for particular industries particular types of organization are more conducive to economy and efficiency, as also to maximum social welfare, there should be no hesitation in building up our industrial structure with such types of institutions.

The Bengal Economic Council should examine the industrial possibilities of the province with an unbiassed mind in the light of the above observations. Our aim is to attain maximum socio-economic welfare and not to preserve, perpetuate or create a certain type or types of industrial or economic life.

#### ORGANIZATION OF KEY INDUSTRIES

In a very general way it may be stated that such industries as iron and steel, coal gas and electricity supply, petroleum and kerosene and transport should be nationalized and managed as commercial trusts by experts with statutory obligations determined by the State. The commercial success of the basic industries must be judged from the broad point of view of national efficiency, in order to secure which, effective measures of safeguarding may have to be adopted.

#### LARGE NON-KEY INDUSTRIES

So far as middle-sized industries and large industries which are not of the nature of key industries are concerned, suitable scope should be provided for the employment of private enterprise and capital. The organization of these industries may be either on the joint stock plan or on limited or unlimited partnership basis, or under individual or family ownership, as can be arranged in view of capital and other requirements of each. Amongst such industries may be counted cotton and wool manufacture, jute, tea, glass, pottery, leather, hardware, electrical requisites, etc. The commercial success of these industries will have to be judged both with regard to their technical efficiency as well as with respect to their eventual ability to satisfy Indian customers on equal terms in competition with the products of such foreign countries as work under normal conditions of employment of labour and fluctuations of currency. For a period of time these industries may require protection either in the form of import duties, or through bounties on

production, or through both. And apart from protection, it may be necessary for the State to encourage selected industries out of this class by guarantee of return to a portion of the capital, by underwriting a portion of the shares, by advancing money on debentures under certain conditions, by providing facilities for transport and by the supply of free expert advice in promotion of the industries and suitable arrangements for getting young men trained up to undertake work.

#### SMALL AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

So far as small industries and cottage industries are concerned, the investigation of the Bengal Economic Council should show which particular industry or industries satisfy the conditions for more efficient organization in the small scale. The fact of certain industries being at the moment run on cottage lines or certain others in the factory system should not be taken as conclusive evidence of the economic efficiency of a particular method of work. The Bengal Economic Council should see that the organization for our industries of different types is such that there is maximum utilization of the nation's resources in men, money and materials, and the economic forces of the nation are not diverted into uneconomic channels. It is known to every body that industries requiring personal attention to details, such as ivory and jewellery works or industries meant to satisfy selective tastes such as silk, embroidery, cigars, mats and carpets, toys, shawl, etc., are better done at home under the domestic plan than in a factory for mass production. Moreover, in consideration of the social and economic life of the province certain other industries like husking paddy, extracting oil for food, making earthenwares for domestic utensils, repairing agricultural tools, household carpentry, rope making, and certain classes of weaving may be perhaps better left for the rural homes. It should be the function of the Bengal Economic Council to examine these in detail and to guide the future economic reconstruction in the light of results obtained.

#### FINANCING OF INDUSTRIES

The financing of these industries, large-scale, medium-sized and small, will have to be undertaken in different ways, and the attitude of the State will largely determine the organization of finance for each. So far as the key industries are concerned, it may be generally stated that the State with its direct responsibility in the administration of these nationalized undertakings, or the trusts formed for the management of these industries under specific instructions should be empowered to raise capital on the credit of the State. For middle-sized industries and large non-key industries, the capital must be found from private sources mostly, with the provision

that for selected industries, it should be permissible for the State to encourage the raising of necessary capital either by a limited guarantee of return or by a proportionate holding of shares by the State. For small industries, and particularly for rural industries, capital must be found entirely from private resources either on individual or family proprietorship basis or on co-operative basis. The State in these cases should come forward with the requisite amount of technical information and assistance for improving present methods of working.

It has to be pointed out that the Bengal State Aid to Industries Act has not been sufficiently comprehensive and cannot be effective enough to give sufficient impetus or to provide adequate assistance to different classes of industries. The Provincial and Central Banking Enquiry Committees, however, have indicated lines along which industrial finance can be arranged, and the Government of Bengal should revise their attitude more in accordance with the recommendations of these committees than along lines suggested so far in the logical legislature.

#### MARKETING REFORMS

Having thus secured agricultural and industrial advancement it should be necessary to see that the marketing is properly arranged both internally and abroad, and with that end in view co-operative and corporate commercial houses will have to be promoted to effect more rational distribution than what is possible at the present time. Here also different types of marketing, namely, Syndicate and Kartells, multiple shops and departmental stores, and co-operative sale depôts will all have to be given their due place to facilitate production in anticipation of demand and to adjust supplies properly to requirements.

#### PRICES TO BE WATCHED

An important problem that has to be watched in connection with marketing is the fluctuation in prices, both due to adjustment of supply to demand, as also on account of changes in the quantity or character of the currency. One of the permanent duties of the Bengal Economic Council should be to advise Government about the course of prices and the measures that the Government should take to prevent unhappy developments in the trade and industry of the country due to abnormal fluctuations in price-level.

#### FISCAL AND CURRENCY REFORMS NEEDED

It must be recognized that the above measures cannot be made effective without active co-operation of the Central Government. In fact, the fiscal and currency reforms should be concurrently undertaken so that these may be adjusted to the economic requirements of the people, and may measure for economic regeneration that may be thought of by the provinces



must be linked with simultaneous measures in the field of tariffs and currency by the Government of India. The attitude taken by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce with regard to tariffs is not quite sound. It will serve no useful purpose to raise provincial feeling by the talk of burdensomeness of recent protective import duties on the children of Bengal. The justice or injustice of fiscal measures will have to be judged from the view-point of national economic advancement taking India as one unit, and if there is any necessity of adjusting burdens as between the Provinces, it may be easily arranged by various methods for distributing the incidence, as may be decided upon by inter-provincial negotiations. The Government of Bengal should not allow their attention to be side-tracked by false issues like this and not to help to perpetuate the domination of non-nationals in the field of industry and commerce by creating dissensions in the country.

#### FOREIGN TRADE AND EXCHANGE BANKING

An important direction in which the talent of Bengal should find scope for employment is the organization and administration of foreign trade and of exchange banking. Bengal should take more and more direct and active interest in trade, commerce and banking, for the development of which, rather than for large industries, this province is particularly suited. The details regarding this problem must be left for the Bengal Economic Council to work out.

#### PROVINCIAL FINANCE

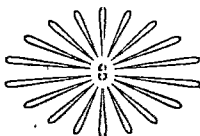
While talking of economic readjustment and improvement in the province one cannot ignore the arrangement for provincial finance and the administration of ways and means by the Provincial Government. Much has been said on these topics during the last few months, and the injustice done to Bengal in the allocation of revenue has been thoroughly exposed. The Bengal Economic Council should make it a point to devise new and improved methods of raising revenue and

the Government of Bengal should make every effort to fight the case successfully for this province at the time of the new arrangements that are under contemplation.

It must be emphasized, however, that unless the Government of Bengal substantially alter their methods of handling public funds and unless they take effective measures of retrenchment and economy thoroughly changing the top-heavy nature of every branch of public administration, it will not be possible for the country to acquiesce in proposals for further taxation. To prove the *bona fides* of Government in the matter of economic improvement the Government of Bengal should start immediately with a programme of retrenchment in their expenditure, as has been proposed by their own committee a few months ago. The task of economic reconstruction will require large financial resources and Government must be prepared to set free a large proportion of their revenues for nation-building work. When this is assured the country will gladly accept additional burdens by way of increased taxation or productive public debts.

#### CONCLUSION

Enough perhaps has been said in the above paragraphs about the lines along which in my opinion economic reforms should be undertaken with a view to improve the economic condition of the people of Bengal. It has not been my purpose to provide any detailed study in course of the present article and consequently I have refrained from dealing piecemeal with this or that industry or with this or that problem before us today. The problems of jute, tea, coal and other industries in this province need serious and immediate attention. But I think that when we are out to draw a plan or programme of thorough economic regeneration our outlook must not be narrowed down by the immediate problems before us however important they may be. In the above paragraphs, therefore, attention has been drawn more to the problems of to-morrow than of today.



# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

## ENGLISH

**WESTERN INFLUENCE IN BENGALI LITERATURE:** *By Priyaranjan Sen. University of Calcutta. 1932. Pp. XIII+417.*

Mr. Sen's work is an attempt to study one of the most interesting literary problems of modern Bengal, and as such it is bound to appeal not only to the professed scholar but also to every educated Bengali.

As the work is the first of its kind in the field and does not pretend to be exhaustive, one need not be too critical; but it is difficult to escape the unfortunate impression that the author has only scratched the surface instead of digging deep. He writes with enthusiasm, but enthusiasm in a difficult subject like this should not exhaust itself in mere glittering generalities and sweeping surveys. It is true that the very theme of the work does not, to a certain extent, lend itself to exact treatment, unless one confines oneself to a particular author, work, period or aspect of the subject. The immaterial things known as "influences" are hard to envisage and define in literature as much as they are in other spheres of human activity. But the danger of dealing with such an elusive theme should in itself guard against superficial and inadequate handling. Mr. Sen rightly contends that there is no dearth of materials for a systematic study, but perhaps it would have been wiser if the treatment had not been so general and indefinite. If the scope had been restricted to an intensive study of particular periods, works or authors, or to particular phases of the problem, the work would certainly have gained much, and its documentary or critical value would have been undoubted and permanent. As it is, we have here an useful and extensive essay of the popular journalistic kind, which makes delightful reading with its bits of miscellaneous and desultory information, but something more than mere collection of information or facile presentation is needed to touch the care of the problems and give a definite shape to an already indefinite theme.

Of the eight chapters into which the work is divided, the most informative is that which deals

with the Bengali stage and drama, but this piece of compilation from already accumulated materials is more an historical narrative of the growth of the stage and drama than a critical study of the immediate question of Western influence, which receives only casual attention. Instances are generally given of items of imitation, adaptation and other obvious superficial effects; but the author appears to forget very often that the question is not a question of contact merely, but one of infusion or accession of ideas, of the moulding of the literary spirit and form, of the deeper change of thought and vision. It is somewhat surprising that there is in this connexion hardly any discussion of the important, and in a sense fundamental, question, which would strike even the most casual reader, of the comparative failure of the Bengali drama to reach the same height of excellence as attained by Bengali poetry under almost identical literary condition of foreign influence.

The other chapters of the work are even more disappointing from this point of view. One turns, for instance, with eager expectation to the chapter on Bengal's Favourite Authors, but one comes merely across a few uncritical items, culled mostly from biographies, of information regarding particular European works studied by particular Bengali authors. The writer is here chiefly a chronicler, but he is not even a satisfying chronicler, for he tantalizes us with only scattered bits of information. Almost nothing is said about the way in which such early study of alien models and methods exercised its divergent and far-reaching influence, nor is any attempt made to trace or appraise its total effect on the general trend of Bengali literature. The author has not, for instance, referred to the interesting question as to why the age of Madhusudan and Bankim was still under the thrall of English Romantic Movement at a time when the early romantic fervour in English literature had already toned down to the concrete richness of thought and expression of the Victorian writers. The question gains an added interest from the fact that the period of Bengali literature which admired Scott and Byron also admired Pope and Goldsmith, while Shelley, Keats, and Wordsworth were thrown into the background.

The problem of Western influence on Bengali verse-forms has not received any better treatment. It does not help to record merely such obvious items of information as the introduction of the blank verse, sonnet and other Western forms, which is a matter of common knowledge; while practically nothing is said about the way in which the English blank verse, whether Miltonic or otherwise, as well as other foreign measures, is assimilated and suited to the entirely alien genius of Bengali language and versification. The relation of the English literary epic to the Bengali *Mahākavya* is treated in the same superficial and summary fashion; while the new Bengali lyric is not considered in its proper perspective in relation both to the new European lyric measures and the old Bengali lyric forms. We are told that Rabindranath and Satyendranath had for models Western measures, but such facile statements or even the citation of one or two instances of obvious imitation or adaptation are hardly of any use in understanding the character, extent and direction of foreign influence in this sphere.

In the same way we are treated in another chapter to some obvious generalities on the much-talked-of influence of Vaisnavism on modern Bengali poetry; but it is important to consider in some detail the manifold character of this inherited influence in relation to the influx of the new poetical tendencies. We are, again, informed in one place that Persian poetry "fired many poetic souls" in Bengal, but besides the general information that a minor poet Krishna Chandra Majumdar was widely read in Persian poetry and adapted some passages from it, and that Debendranath Tagore had a passion for Hafiz, the topic is left extremely indefinite. A single line contains a reference to the influence of Sufism, but there is nothing about the nature and extent of this influence.

We have perhaps now said enough to indicate the author's general method and treatment of particular aspects of the problem; and it is not necessary in a short review like this to enter into details or dilate further upon the other chapters of the work. Mr. Sen has chosen a subject with beautiful perspectives, but the subject still remains to be treated.

We cannot, however, close our review without drawing attention to a large number of unfortunate errors of facts revealed even by a cursory reading. Nidhu Babu's death did not occur in 1834 but in April 1839; nor did Haru Thakur die so early as 1813, but he died on August 6, 1824. The date of the first publication of the *Bangadarsan* is not 1873 but 1872; and the *Kulin-kulasarvasva* was published in 1854, and not 1855. The date of publication of Madhusudan's two well-known farces should not be left uncertain as "1859-60," but should be definitely stated as 1860. The author appears to be under the impression that Madhusudan's *Bis na dhamur-gun* was published as an unfinished fragment, but as a matter of fact it was never published. The name of the nameless distinguished artist in the footnote to p. 241 is Holbein. The *Samachar-chandrika* on p. 302 should obviously be *Samachar-darpan*; and as there was no *Brahmin Mayazine* the name on the same page should be *Brahmunical Magazine*. The *Janaki-vilap* of Hari Mohan Ray, published in 1867, cannot be the first "opera," for the *Sakuntala*, also an opera, of Annada Prasad Bandyopadhyaya was published two years earlier in 1865. The old files of the *Bijnana-soradhi* are not so rare as the author appears to think. It is incorrect to say that the *Lilabati* (which ran only

for three nights, and not for several nights) was staged by the National Theatre; for the Amateur Bagbazar Theatrical Party had not yet transformed itself into the National Theatre. There is no point in mentioning on p. 12 Sridhara Svamin's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* (and not *Bhāgavat*) and the *Bhavartha-dipika* separately as if they are distinct works, for they are in fact identical.

On matters of opinion there is room for possible and legitimate difference. But one hardly understands what the author exactly means by "Bankim Chandra's political Hinduism," which he would distinguish from what he calls "cultural Hinduism" of Bhudeb Chandra. To say that Bankim Chandra's Hinduism is not cultural but merely political is an unfortunate misreading of facts. It is strange also that the author, who is anxious to do justice to facts, should still be, so late in day, under the impression that the Brahmo Movement is a legacy of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. It is also desirable that there should be a clear exposition of the relation between the reformist movement, starting with Ram Mohun and ending with Keshab Chandra, and the Hindu revival of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda, and of their respective effects on the modern culture of Bengal.

One must also take exception, in a professedly scholarly work, to the slipshod way in which transliteration of Indian names and words are done throughout. It is a matter which does not make much demand upon an author, but it certainly causes great inconvenience to the reader.

S. K. DE

NEW LIGHT ON FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS: By Dr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyengar, M. A., Ph. D. Published by the University of Madras.

Under this somewhat ambitious title, the author gives a summary of Bergson's philosophy and attempts to prove its superiority over other systems of thought, especially those of the Absolutist School. The summary is clear and lucid; but the claim of Intuition to over-ride Intellect does not appear to have been conclusively established. The author, however, is not to blame for this. He cannot—and has not tried either—to go beyond Bergson. In a foot-note in chapter X, he says:

"Nothing has been added by me either by way of criticism or by way of construction to what Bergson himself says" (p. 104).

Now, what he admits here about the special subject-matter of that particular chapter, seems equally applicable to his book as a whole.

There are plenty of quotations in the book. But the quotations from the author's own teacher's unpublished notes, are perhaps of little interest to the outside reader who has no access to them, though they admirably prove his devotion to his teacher.

The writer is obviously one of those who have nothing but enthusiasm and admiration for Bergson's system. And his account of this philosophy is quite creditable. There are no doubt many expositions of Bergson's philosophy already in the field; but that is no reason why this Indian attempt should not be recognized as a good one.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN: By The Late Major B. D. Basu, with the collaboration of Dr. Phamindra Nath Bose, Professor, Nalanda College, Behar, and Professor Nagendra Nath Ghosh, Living Christian College, Allahabad, pp. i-vii+570 with 53



*Illustrations. Printed at the Prabasi Press and Published by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1933.*

A melancholy interest attaches to the publication of this volume, which its late lamented author of revered memory did not live to see. It was projected by him as the natural continuation of his *Magnum opus*, "Rise of the Christian Power in India." The erudite author was able to collect the necessary materials and to prepare elaborate notes with full references to his sources, but, owing to his failing eyesight, he had to seek the assistance of two learned collaborators to work them up into a complete manuscript which could be published. The two collaborators were both professors of history, but what adds to the melancholy interest of the publication is that one of them, Dr. P. N. Bose, has not also lived to see his part of the work come to light.

The volume consists of 18 chapters dealing with the Viceroy's, from Lord Canning to Lord Reading. The method of treatment is that which Major B. D. Basu had made peculiarly his own, namely, to let the documents speak for themselves without letting the writer's subjective factor, his imagination, or bias, influence their interpretations, a method which has attained such success in his earlier masterpiece on "The Rise of the Christian Power in India." It is a pleasure to go through the pages of this voluminous work which reads like a romance and has throughout a touch of freshness that can only come from the evidence directly culled from the very words and writings of those who have been the makers of the history of the period. But the matter of the work also adds to its attractions as much as the manner of its presentation. Major Basu's conception of history is responsible for the selection of its matter. It is not confined merely to the skeleton of a political and chronological history centring round the Viceroy's. He gives to the skeleton flesh and blood, form and colour, so as to produce a comprehensive history of the country, and not merely of its rulers, a picture of national life in all its phases, an account of civilization of Modern India. Accordingly, to take a few examples, for the time of Lord Canning the Sepoy Mutiny is treated equally with Indigo disturbances and the *Nil-darpana* Case. Lord Lawrence and Keshab Chandra Sen both receive their due attention. The administration of Lord Ripon, so interesting and important from the Indian point of view, has received a more adequate attention than that given to it in Anglo Indian histories. Some unknown facts of its inner history are brought to light for the first time; e.g., the story of the Missing Millions, when in March 1880 an estimate of the costs of the war, then in progress, was put forward, leaving out of account items of expenditure totalling five millions; or the farsighted view of Lord Ripon that it was 'a great mistake to attempt to govern India from London.' It is also interesting to note that the late Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose was chosen by Lord Ripon as President of the Educational Commission appointed by him, a position which Mr. Bose, with his accustomed modesty, declined to accept. There is a reference to Lord Dufferin's curious mentality in considering that the Taj Mahal of Agra was 'from an architectural point of view the outcome of a period of art on the verge of degradation,' and to his advanced political view that 'he would rather see the Europeans, Hindus and Mohommadans, united in criticizing the Government than that they should become estranged from each other by unworthy prejudices or animosities of

race and religion. God forbid that the British Government should ever seek to maintain its rule in India by fomenting race hatreds among its subjects.' But, apparently his advice has been lost upon his successors, the present framers of Communal Award! The tribute that Lord Lansdowne paid to Mr. Justice Gooroo Dass Banerjee on his appointment as first Indian Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in 1890 is well worth quoting: 'I do not believe that any more suitable selection could have been made. As a member of the University conspicuous among his contemporaries during his career as a student, as a man of cultivated tastes and scholarly attainments, as a distinguished ornament of the Judicial Bench, and as a gentleman occupying an honourable position in the community most largely represented in the Calcutta University, he is admirably qualified to take a leading part in its affairs.' From the time of Lord Lansdowne onwards, Major Basu has freely drawn upon that mine of interesting information on contemporary politics, the work called 'A Nation in Making' by the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee. The administration of Lord Elgin was marked by the first arrest of Bal Gangadhar Tilak under Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code and his being sentenced to transportation for life. It was also noted for Dadabhai Naorojee's membership of the British Parliament in 1892. The work makes appropriate quotations from important speeches of Dadabhai on Indian questions in Parliament. The history of the stirring times of Lord Curzon is adequately documented. The Partition of Bengal, the outstanding event of his Viceroyalty has received a full account together with those popular movements and methods of agitation which ultimately resulted in its cancellation. The latter aspect has been described in the words of Sir Surendra Nath Banerji, the leader of the popular movement against the Partition to whom more than to anybody else Bengal owes the unsettlement of what was thrust upon her as a settled fact. The work of the University Commission of 1901 has also received a due notice together with the classical Minute of Dissent of Sir Gooroodas Banerjee laying down his famous dictum that in education we should not "sacrifice surface in order to secure height, and that we should aim not only at raising the height but also at broadening the base of our educational fabric so that while the gifted few shall receive the highest training, the bulk of the less gifted but earnest seekers after knowledge may have every facility afforded to them for deriving the benefits of higher education." Lord Curzon's Convocation speech in 1905 at the Calcutta University was another of the sensational events of his administration for his attack upon the Hindus and Moslems as having lower ideals and standards of truth than those of the Western peoples. The reply to that speech was given by the Town Hall meeting of Calcutta through its President, the late Sir Rash Behary Ghose, whose speech on the occasion will rank for ever as a masterpiece of its kind in English literature. He flung back with great effect against Lord Curzon his earlier Guild Hall speech in praise of the Indians in the following words: "It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations equally of Damerara and Natal; with Indian trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile; with Indian forest officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam, with Indian surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth." In this picture drawn by the hand of no mean artist, the Indian stands in the foreground it is true, but only, you will notice, as a tiller of the earth

making it flow with milk and honey not for himself but for his masters." The time of Lord Minto is noted for Minto-Morley Reforms with the introduction for the first time into Indian Politics of the unprecedented institution of the Communal Electorate. The following sentences from Lord Morley's *Recollections* are very aptly quoted: "I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the (Muslim) hare." So the evil of Communal Electorate is fathered upon Lord Minto. The later times of Lords Hardinge, Chelmsford, and Reading are still quite fresh in the public mind but their account is made most interesting by citation of select contemporary documents bearing on them. The book, therefore, under notice will be found eminently useful not merely to the university students of Modern India but also to publicists as a convenient book of reference for so many important contemporary documents to which access is difficult.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

**IDEALS AND REALITIES: A selection of Essays and Addresses for students. Edited by Dinan Chand Sharma, M.A., Professor of English, Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore. Oxford University Press, 1933. Rs. 2-8.**

It is a matter of importance to prescribe books for students: if education does not help the growth of standards of judgment, life and learning, then it defeats its purpose. Mr. Sharma has selected passages from the writings of modern authors, none going back beyond the nineteenth century, passages such as "give students the right attitude towards life and its problems." He has gone to the best sources—Ruskin, Stevenson, Haldane, Inge, Middleton Murry, who need no introduction from the view-point of form or content; the selections show judgment and cover a wide range. There are biographical and textual notes which will be useful to the students for whom it should be recommended as a text-book; it will supply delightful and stimulating reading to those who are students in the wider sense of the term.

**WHAT I OWE TO CHRIST: C. F. Andrews, Hodder and Stroughton, London. 1932. Pp. 311.**

This is an essentially human document which will not fail to please. The career of Charles F. Andrews is known to most people that are in touch with contemporary India; the book takes us into confidence and whispers only these facts which can give us an intimate view of the writer and places us on the footing of a personal acquaintance. Mr. Andrews has been living a life of idealism, of changes in pursuit of the ideal, and he has been fortunate in receiving divine guidance, guidance to the ideal of Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam, for him embodied in Christ. Christ's redemption of mankind is not to him a mere dogma, but a living idea closely associated with a personality that has stood by him through all the crises of his life. Religion to him is an ennobling current which wafts the soul on high and keeps it going from higher to still higher planes, until the dross that is mixed up with pure gold wears off and the shine of the truth appears to view. Mr. Andrews tells the very interesting story of his life from this view-point, detailing his struggles and his advances.

The influences that have helped him in these struggles have been those of his parents, of Sadhu Sundar Singh, Principal Rudra, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi among others, and the result has been that Mr. Andrews has devoted his life to the active ministering to the needs of men, the lowliest on earth. This ideal has taken him to Fiji and South Africa, to the North of England and to India, and it is this mission of service that has been his "Holy Communion." The story of his wonderful friendships, of his gradual enfranchisement from dogma and convention, has been wondrously told, in a simple and moving manner, and the perusal is sure to benefit the reader.

**KABIR AND HIS FOLLOWERS: By F. E. Keay, D. Litt. (Lond.) Paper Rs. 2, Cloth, Rs. 3. Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta, 1931.**

Rev. Dr. Keay has been a well-known name to the reading public both for his 'Hindi Literature' and 'Ancient Indian Education.' Kabir's was a great personality, and the influence exerted by the weaver saint has been wide and far-reaching. It was quite to be expected that Dr. Keay would be attracted to this intensely religious spirit; in the volume under review, contributed to the *Religious Life of India* Series, he has tried to describe the mediaeval bhakta, in his environment, as well as just as he appears in legend and history, giving at the same time an account of his doctrines and of the sects which draw their inspiration from him, and concluding with a comparison of the Indian saint and Christianity. As a store-house of valuable information the book will commend itself to all lovers of Indian culture, to all seekers after truth who will find in Kabir a most valued pioneer. The glossary, the index and the illustrations will serve to make the reading more useful and interesting. It is gratifying to note that the treatment of the subject won Rev. Keay the doctorate of the University of London. It is unfortunate that till now there has been no standard edition of Kabir's writings. Dr. Keay does not find Rabindranath's translation trustworthy, and complains that it is inaccurate, that of the hundred poems translated only five may be attributed to Kabir, and even these have been mutilated: he has been guided in this by Rev. Ahmad Shah. The diacritical marks used in Dr. Keay's book have not been always correctly placed: e.g., *paisa*, *Kasi*, etc., specially in the glossary. More interesting, however, is the concluding chapter where the writer's conviction is struggling against his historical sense. Christ is worthy of all reverence, but where is the historical link between his doctrines and Kabir's? "In those days of slow travel and communication it does not seem very probable, therefore, that Kabir had any direct contact with Christian teaching, though we cannot say that it was altogether impossible." One feels tempted to enquire, what is the value of such speculation? Is it necessary to imagine the influence of the Christian sacrament when we hear of the *Mahaprasad*? Kabir with his idea of the Sabda as subjective impression received by individuals and not any revealed scriptures, Kabir, absorbed in the love of God and oblivious of any obligation to his fellowmen, is considered by Dr. Keay to have defects in his teaching 'from the Christian standpoint'! We wish the last chapter to have been excluded altogether; the book would have then gained in importance. The mystic way is not for all, certainly not for those who are



obsessed with a sense of duties to be done in this world; and the mystic weaver should be discussed only by those who can appreciate the value of mysticism.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**GANDHI:** *Carl Heath, Pp. 30. Obtainable at the Friends Book Centre, Euston Road, N. W. 1, Price Six pence.*

This small book firstly sets forth the religious nature of Gandhi's philosophy and actions and also shows how closely it resembles the teachings of Christ. The author then gives a picture of how Gandhi's advances of love and honourable friendship have been rejected by the so-called Christian Power in authority in India. It is followed by an appeal to the Christian spirits of England to respond to the cause of India's freedom, so that the honour of Christianity may at least be vindicated.

The whole thing has been written with much feeling and sympathy. It shows us that Gandhi's sufferings for love have, at least, touched the hearts of religious men in England. Whether their response will be strong enough to move the whole of the British people to confer justice upon India is, of course, another matter. That would require some amount of suffering on the part of our brothers of the West in the act of resisting the government of their own land while it is doing injustice to India.

But, of that, the prospect seems to be dark at the present moment.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

### PERSIAN

**SUKHANVARAN-I-IRAN: POETS AND POETRY OF MODERN PERSIA. Vol. I. By M. Ishaque, M. A., B. Sc. (Jamia Press, Delhi).**

I have had the pleasure of receiving for review a survey of some poets of modern Iran by Mr. M. Ishaque, Lecturer in Arabic and Persian in the Post-Graduate Department of the University of Calcutta.

The very first thing that strikes one is the fine quality of printing and paper, which cannot always be said of Indian publications. Most of the Persian books printed in India, that I have come across—many of them taught in Indian schools—have been so distorted by careless printing and proof-correcting, that I have often blushed to recognize the language written there, as the language of which we are so justly proud. Certainly, Mr. Ishaque and the Jamia Press of Delhi are to be congratulated for breaking away from such a sorry tradition and setting such a happy standard.

The book, which covers about 450 pages, gives short sketches of the lives, with specimens of their

poetry, of thirty-three poets. Thirty-two of these poets are represented by their portraits.

As Mr. Ishaque is well acquainted with Persian language and literature and has, I understand, spent some time in Persia, where he had the opportunity of coming in contact with many of its poets and writers, he may be relied upon to have made good choice of his subjects.

This seems to be the first systematic attempt of its kind in Persian by an Indian since the end of the Moghul Rule in India, in the middle of the last century. During that time, there has been little intellectual contact of India with Persia. The book, therefore, is to be doubly welcomed as breaking the dark barrier of unhappy ignorance between two peoples who were once so culturally accessible to one another.

Indian readers are more or less familiar with classical Persian writers. They should, therefore, particularly notice, even on a cursory reading of the specimens of modern Persian poetry given in the book, that how little the language has changed since the great classic of Firdausi was written about a thousand years ago.

Persian language has been justly envied for its wealth of poetry of all types, its epics and its lyrics, its elegies and its satires, its mystical flights and its humorous innuendoes. The new contribution of modern Persian poetry to the old treasures is the patriotic fervour. Go through any anthology of modern Persian poetry and you cannot escape this sentiment. In the present book are represented, as is evident from the portraits, men of widely different types and social and economic standings. Some look as though they might have been picked from an aristocratic boulevard of Paris; and some preserve in their appearance and in their mode of dress the Persia that once was. But in the utterance of each one of these types is burning that passionate love of their land and pride in their ancient culture which is the glory of modern Persia. I, for one, would have little respect for our modern poetry, were it not radiant with this new life and this heroic consciousness. It is inspiring to see the same impulse of emotion move the old heart of the late Adib-i-Pishavari, with the burden of nearly ninety years on his back, and the young heart of Parvin-i-I'tisami, one of the weaker sex and hardly twenty-two years of age. There is hope for a people when the rhythm of new life beats so universally in their bosom.

For the Indian readers the message of our modern poetry is: awake ye too, and discover the rhythm of new life in your motherland! For in the love of your land alone will ye find your salvation and your glory.

I congratulate Mr. Ishaque for having carried this message of Persian poets to his compatriots in India. And if the message, he has carried, finds its response in the hearts of his readers, he will have done his duty as a worthy Muslim of India.

POURE-DAVOUD



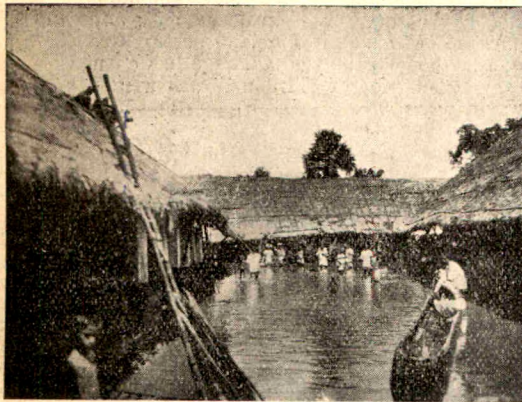


# ORISSA'S GRAVE SITUATION

JAGANATH CHAUDHURY

Orissa villages have been the proverbial abodes of poverty, disease, misery and ignorance for fifteen decades past as a necessary consequence of unnatural dismemberment and negligence on the part of the Government. The vast extent of fertile lands has been concentrated in the hands of a few landlords, many of whom are absentees, and all capital in the hands of a few alien traders and money-lenders through usury, trickery, dishonesty, litigation and exploitation. The very life-blood of the masses has

existence. Now there is before us a still more woeful spectacle of the extremely helpless condition of the Oriya masses owing to devastating floods never witnessed during living memory. From the 2nd August it rained unceasingly till the morning of the 7th and it again appeared on the morning of the 8th continuing till the 10th noon. There are serious breaches on the banks of the Kathjuri, Kuakhai and other rivers. A large sheet of water is witnessed all round. Hundreds of villages are under water. Thousands of houses have collapsed. Thousands of babies, women and men have been rendered homeless and have been actually starving on the branches of trees, along railway lines and on the river banks; and are tragically exposed to rains and inclement weather.



Flooded Bustees

been sucked to feed them fat. Floods and famines repeatedly reduced the country to dilapidation and ruin from one end to the other. With the abnormal fall in the prices of their meagre production, their extreme indebtedness to the rapacious money-lenders, the cruel epidemics, the abnormal imposition of taxes and water-cess, the lack of real educating institutions and charitable dispensaries and the want of high and effective embankments for security from whimsical floods, the miserable toilers almost starving and nude have been dragging a grimly wretched



People clinging to a log

The spectacle of hungry babies in the arms, hungry mothers shivering and drenched in rains is most shocking. Thatched houses and carcasses are floating here and there. Hundreds of human beings are missing. The deaths of cattle and sheep are countless. All roads and means of communication are cut off. Even boats do not go to interior parts of the flooded area to render relief to sufferers. There are heart-rending cries of distress everywhere. It seems as though Orissa is rushing headlong into the vortex of destruction.



Cuttack water-logged



With the subsidence of the floods the miseries of the flood-stricken people will be multiplied hundredfold. The whole of the autumnal crops are ruined. There will inevitably be famine and epidemics. Cholera is reported to have already broken out at some places. All other horrors will be let loose on these wretched victims. It is this fear that keeps us in a bewildered state of consternation of not knowing how the sufferers will safely emerge from the wretched situation the floods have created. The spectre of epidemics and starvation looms larger and larger as the most certain consequence. The miseries are more to be imagined by the kind-hearted public than described here. Every moment's delay in relief work means greater misery to the sufferers, which is sure to end in the loss of thousands of lives. The Government which is responsible for the safety of its subjects should not apathetically

If the Government and the generous public show the wretched sufferers a little kindness, then and then alone the people can drag on their existence; otherwise they are doomed.



Cuttack water-logged

#### POSTSCRIPT

The Editor of *The Modern Review* has received copies of "A Brief Survey of Orissa Floods." The following extracts are made from it:—

"We have read the Commissioner of Orissa's contradiction of exaggerated accounts of floods in the *Statesman* on the 15th instant. We have read the Government *communique* dated the 16th on the



A village after the floods had subsided

view this dire situation. The relief operations at present are very meagre and so the extremely grave situation is not well coped with. To mitigate this suffering there should be long and continued relief operations. The distribution of rice, clothes, medicines and monetary grants for rebuilding huts is to be taken up. There should be complete remission of rents both direct and indirect, and water-cess. The people have to be provided with work and on that account initial expenses should be borne by the Government. The heavy indebtedness of the people, which is a terrible canker eating into their very vitals, has to be eradicated root and branch by Government undertaking to pay off the reasonable debts in the case of extremely suffering people and urging on the money-lenders to take them in kind from middle-class debtors. It is a peculiar system in Orissa to assess water-cess even for ten years. It is bitterly felt by the people. It has to be abandoned in favour of annual assessment. The Chowkidari tax must not be realized in the areas affected. It is no exaggeration to say here that the negligence to carry out the recommendations of the Flood Expert Committee on the part of the Government is responsible for the horrors of today. It is most imperative that the Government should take early action in his direction. It must be borne in mind that the overtly will sustain her reign so long as the indebtedness of the people, the exploitation of the money-lenders and absentee landlords prevail under the protection of law, and the embankments are not sufficiently raised for ensuring safety.



Houses and crops swept off

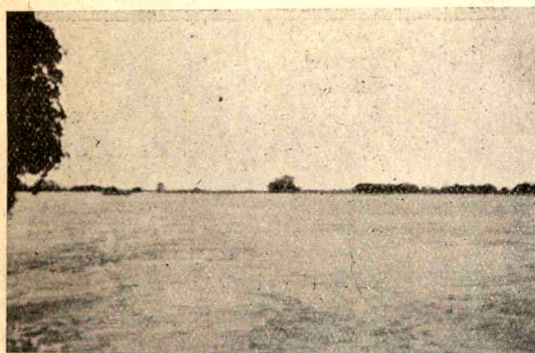
subject. Both the writings betray no anxiety to help the distressed. The attempt to minimize the situation though veiled is quite perceptible in the careful writings of Government and their representative. We are unfortunately accustomed to such incorrect statements of officials in the beginning of distress whenever it takes place. The last incident of Bhadrak flood is still fresh in our memory. The gentleman who was then the S. D. O. of Bhadrak is now S. D. O. of Cuttack Sadar Sub-division. If Government are not now financially well off and cannot afford to render adequate relief, they may say so frankly. But let them not stifle the charity of others in order to save their prestige and create wrong impressions in the mind of the public.



"We are sorry to note that instead of encouraging non-official relief the Government Officers at Cuttack have tried to put obstacles in the way. This will be evident from the Police Superintendent's refusal to issue a license for a procession for collecting subscriptions for relief on behalf of Orissa Flood Relief Committee. We hope the Commissioner and the Collector will do all in their power to help the distressed and also we hope the non-official agencies will work in co-operation with the official only for the sake of suffering humanity.

Dated Cuttack,  
the 21st August,  
1933.

H. Mahtab. (Ex-M. L. C., Zamindar)  
Priyanath Sarkar, M. A., B. L.  
Gunanidhi Mahant, (Formerly a  
Government servant in the P.W.D.)  
Karunakar Panigrahi,  
(Ex-editor of *Prajatantra* and  
Ex-secretary of Balasore D. C. C.)  
Rames Chandra Mahanty,  
(Ex-editor of *Prajatantra*)  
Cuttack (Orissa).



A view of the floods

#### STATEMENT SHOWING THE LOSS OF THE PEOPLE OF FLOOD-AFFECTED CUTTACK DISTRICT

	No. of villages.	Houses col- lapsed.	No. of rooms.	Houses wash- ed away.	Loss of cattle.	Loss of human life.
1st Statement	129	6277	15987	14	236	8
2nd Statement	29	1020	3477	...	...	1
Total	158	7297	19464	14	236	9

The area affected by floods and surveyed by us is approximately 100 square miles covering the above 158 villages.

According to our calculation the loss in the whole of the flood-affected area of the Cuttack district is as follows :

Area	about 600 square miles,
No. of houses collapsed	40,000
No. of rooms collapsed	120,000
Loss of Cattle	500
Land covered with sand,	
about 10 square miles i.e.	6400 acres.
Crops 600 sq. miles i.e.	384000 acres.
out of which have been damaged.	20,000 acres.

#### TOTAL LOSS IN MONEY VALUE

	Rs.
Crops on 2,00,000 acres	2,000,000
Houses collapsed	1,440,000
Loss of furniture, utensils, seeds, reserve food stock, etc.	400,000
Walls damaged of houses not collapsed	100,000
Sand-covered area at the rate of average Rs. 50 per acre	320,000

Total 4,260,000

(Excluding the loss of houses completely washed away and cattle destroyed.)

#### ESTIMATE OF RELIEF REQUIRED FOR THE FLOOD- AFFECTED AREA OF CUTTACK DISTRICT

	Rs.
Average help for building 40,000 houses or 120,000 rooms at Rs. 15 per house	600,000
Grain <i>golas</i> to be opened at 12 centres in each of which the loss to be incurred at the rate of Rs. 3000	36,000
Gratuitous relief to be given to 50,000 people for three months	150,000
Epidemic medicines including the pay, etc., of doctors	7,200
Seed and seedlings	25,000

Total 818,200

Say in round figure 8 lakhs.

Besides this, rent and taxes to be remitted for one year and the sand-covered land should as a matter of law be exempted from rent.

#### OTHER RELIEF MEASURES

1. Because of damages done to roads, communication has been very badly affected. It has to be resumed immediately.
2. Holders of paddy stock should be persuaded to release stock freely.
3. All rent-suits instituted by the landlords, in whatever stages they may be, should be stayed at least for one year. The same is applicable to certificates for realizing cesses.
4. For the above, suspension of revenue to be granted to the land-lords."

All contributions should be sent to the Secretary or the Treasurer, Orissa Flood Relief Committee, Nayasarak, P. O. Chandnichauk, Cuttack.





## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS ROMA BOSE, grand-daughter of the late A. M. Bose and daughter of Mr. S. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, has stood first in the first class in the M. A. examination in Philosophy of Calcutta University this year. She also stood second in

MISS CHAMELI DATTA, daughter of Mr. Haripada Datta, solicitor, has passed the M.Sc. examination in physics from Calcutta University standing first in the first class. She passed the Honours course in Physics in the B.Sc. examination and obtained the "Rai Bahadur Amrita Lal Mitra Prize."



Miss Roma Bose



Miss Chameli Datta

the I. A examination and first in the first class in the Honours course in Philosophy in the B. A. examination.

An account of the academic successes of MISS KARUNAKANA GUPTA and MISS ASOKA SEN-GUPTA was given in the previous issue.





Miss Asoka Sen-Gupfa



Miss Karunakana Gupta

## THE BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS' ACT (1933)

By BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEA, M. A.

**T**HE passing of the Bengal Money-lenders' Bill by the present session of the Bengal Legislative Council marks an important date in the history of rural welfare legislation in the province. An indication of the ramifications of the money-lenders in this province was given by the promoter of the bill, Khan Bahadur Azizul Hug, who stated in his introductory speech that there are no less than 50,000 money-lenders in Bengal, of whom 20,000 are to be found in the districts of Dacca, Faridpur, Barisal and Mymensingh, which are the most fertile in the province.

Attempts at legislation against the *mahajan* may be traced to the year 1881, when the Government of India consulted local Governments and other authorities on this point. In 1886, the Debtors' Bill provided that imprisonment for debt, where fraud had not been proved, should be abolished altogether. The Select Committee,

however, whittled down this provision to the extent that eventually imprisonment for debt was abolished only in the case of female debtors and other debtors who are genuinely unable to pay. The complexity of the issues involved in such legislations has been one of the potent causes of disagreement among economists and legislators. The objections to any sweeping legislation on the subject, at least before alternative sources of credit have been opened up through the instrumentality of the State and the co-operative movement, has been recognized by the Government. This might explain the rather formidable opposition offered to the Bill from non-official benches, but it also showed the great power wielded by the money-lending interests concerned.

The main provisions of the Act are the clauses making it illegal to charge more than 10 per



cent compound interest on loans, the clause which provides that courts shall not decree on account of arrears of interest a sum greater than the principal of the loan and the clause making it incumbent upon money-lenders to supply, on demand by the debtor, particular of loans incurred.

The objects of the Act are :

- (i) to make registration compulsory for all money-lenders who are not permanent residents nor have permanent domiciles ;
- (ii) to abolish compound interest ;
- (iii) to make a clear provision which the courts shall follow in determining excessive interest and harsh and unconscionable transactions in giving effect to the provisions of the Usurious Loans Act of 1918 and thereby supplement the provisions of this Act ;
- (iv) to make a debtor know all informations regarding his loans ;
- (v) to fix maximum rates of interest for secured and unsecured loans ;
- (vi) to make habitual usury a penal offence ; and
- (vii) to empower courts to take tender of money, for loans as interest or principal.

Provisions have been made by which Local Government is empowered to exclude municipalities from the operation of the Act with a view to leave industrial finance unaffected by the provisions of the Act, while all agricultural finance shall always come within the scope of the Act.

The Act is intended mainly to give relief to agriculturists and labourers and the city of Calcutta is excluded by the Act.

It has been rightly observed that the people, especially agriculturists, will not get adequate relief from this Act in the present economic condition. Almost all the agriculturists are not in a position to repay even the principal, if interest is remitted. What is needed in the present circumstances for their relief is either that the debts should be adjusted, or that the prices of agricultural products should be raised. The Act, it has been said, is intended for the future.

Moreover, the Act by excluding Calcutta has given a loophole to usurious money-lenders to evade the law by getting their loan transactions put through and the necessary documents registered in Calcutta. The Act further provides that no debtor may pay interest at rates exceeding  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in the case of secured and  $18\frac{3}{4}$  in the case of unsecured loans. But it is a matter of common knowledge that rural debtors in Bengal have to pay much higher rates of interest and the remedy, as the writer cannot over-emphasize, depends on co-operation and better methods of production and distribution than on mere legislation.

In spite of the above criticisms the need for such legislation will be realized if we consider the extent of agricultural indebtedness in the province and the usual rate of interest charged

by the money-lenders. On the latter point the following would be instructive :

*The list of Money-lenders' usual rates prevalent in the Districts given in the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee's Report, (Paragraph 413) is as follows :*

	Per cent per annum		Per cent per annum
Burdwan	24 to 175	Faridpur	15 to 150
Birbhum	15 to 37½	Chittagong	15 to 75
Bankura	15 to 25	Noakhali	24 to 75
Midnapore	12 to 75	Tippera	24 to 75
Hooghly	12 to 37½	Rajshahi	18½ to 75
Nadia	37½ to 75	Pabna	37½ to 300
Jessore	18½ to 75	Dinajpur	24 to 75
Khulna	25 to 37½	Rangpur	37½ to 66½
Murshidabad	18 to 120	Malda	10½ to 75
24-Parganas	15 to 150	Jalpaiguri	10 to 50
Dacca	12 to 192	Darjeeling	30 to 60
Mymensingh	24 to 225	Howrah	13 to 175
Bakarganj	24 to 100		

As regards the actual extent of agricultural indebtedness till lately no statistics were available for the entire province. Attempts have, however, been made to form an estimate of it in some of the districts during the survey and settlement operations. Thus, in the district of Faridpur, the total indebtedness was found to be about Rs. 230 lakhs of which more than two-thirds was the share of the agricultural classes. Of the cultivators 45 per cent were in debt, their average burden per family being Rs. 121.\* The incidence of debt per head of the entire population of the district on this calculation was Rs. 11, which represented roughly about one-fifth of the annual income. In Dacca, out of a total number of 391,894 families inhabiting homestead plots, 185,869 or more than 47 per cent were involved in debt. The total amount of debt in the district was Rs. 47,600,553, so that the average incidence of debt per family in debt was a little over Rs. 120.† According to the Settlement Report of Mymensingh, the average burden of debt per family is estimated to be less than Rs. 100.§ In Jessore, enquiries were made in 58 villages containing a population of ten thousand and the amount of debt per head of the total population was found to be Rs. 12-2-10.\*\* It will be observed this is slightly higher than the corresponding figure for the district of Faridpur.

In the economic survey of the Faridpur village made by Mr. Burrows the amount of indebtedness was found to be much greater than that estimated by the Settlement Officers. Out

\* Jack : *Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 98.

† *Survey and Settlement Report of Dacca*, p. 47.

§ It is not clearly stated whether this incidence of debt is calculated by taking all families or only those in debt. The author of the Report seems, however, to mean that it is the burden per family in debt.

\*\* *Survey and Settlement Report of Jessore*, p. 71.



of 170 families in the village, 107 were in debt to the total extent of Rs. 21,780. Of this, Rs. 8276 was borrowed from the co-operative bank in the village and the rest from money-lenders. The incidence of debt was Rs. 24 per head of the population, or Rs. 135 per family. Taking only the population that was involved in debt, the incidence was estimated to be Rs. 43 per head, or Rs. 214 per family. It will be seen that the average indebtedness in this village, as estimated above, is roughly double that of the figures of Jack.\*

The Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, reporting in 1929, have estimated the indebtedness of the average agriculturist family (of identical size) of Bengal at Rs. 160; the Committee do not, however, give us any idea of the number of peasants who are free from debt. From Rs. 55 to Rs. 160 is, however, very long jump. But this may be accepted as reliable, considering the situation revealed in the census Report for Bengal (1931).

From figures supplied by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to the Census Superintendent for Bengal, it has been found that in the course of a year since the figures on which the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee based their calculation, the average debt of members owing to Co-operative Society rose to Rs. 88 from Rs. 83. Assuming that the debt of members owing outside the society remained the same, the total average debt of co-operators, who are comparatively less indebted, rose from Rs. 144 in 1929 to Rs. 149 in 1930, an increase of 3.5 per cent. This increase may be taken as a minimum estimate of the enhancement of debt all round. Accepting the Banking Enquiry Committee's figure for average debt and enhancing it proportionately the average debt per head of the total population works out at Rs. 181 and of the agricultural population at Rs. 166

As the Introduction to the Bill states,

"The Royal Commission on Agriculture recorded that in every province an inquiry should be made

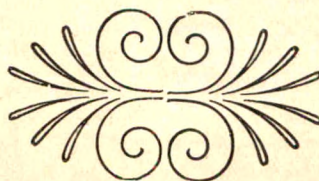
into the causes of the failure of the Usurious Loans Act. The Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee was requested by the Government of Bengal to make such an inquiry and startling facts came to the notice of the Committee as to the prevalence of usury in this presidency and the way in which civil courts have to be parties to high unconscionable rates. It also came to notice that shameless extortions are done in the name of money-lending by a class of money-lenders who are not natives of the soil and who generally believe in the law of the *lathi* and are now a growing menace to the people of this presidency."

The above is the *raison d'être* of the intervention of the State on behalf of the agriculturist, as provided for in the Act. The role assigned to the State is of course justified by the analogy of arrangements for rural credit made in other countries, *e.g.*, the Mortgagee's Rights Restriction Act\* of Western Australia (1931), the Farm Loan Act of 1916 and the recent very large extensions of the principle underlying it in U. S. A., and also on the analogy of the New Zealand and Canadian provisions.\*

The present writer would, however, urge that the best arrangement can be secured by the application of co-operative principles. This can be done by giving special facilities to members of co-operative societies, and taking up the debts of the comparatively solvent debtors through co-operative land mortgage banks. Sir Daniel Hamilton's action on similar lines at Gosaba in the Sunderbans may be emulated by the landlords and Government. That is the only system through which the human element could be improved, credit both of short as well as of long duration could be supplied through different institutions, the general prosperity could be secured, better marketing methods could be easily evolved to save the cultivator from further molestation by the *mahajan*. It is this freedom from the hands of the insidious clutches of the *mahajan* that is essential for the salvation of rural India. The role of the State in relation to agriculture must be great indeed, in a country like India, where the root of most of the evils of rural life have gone deep and nothing but a radical move can eradicate these pernicious elements from the body-politic of India.

\* See App. III to Mr. Burrows' evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture; Vol. IV, Bengal Presidency. The above figures have been taken from Dr. K. B. Saha's *Economics of Rural Bengal*.

\* *The Provision of Credit with Special Reference to Agriculture* by T. Belshaw (Cambridge, 1931).



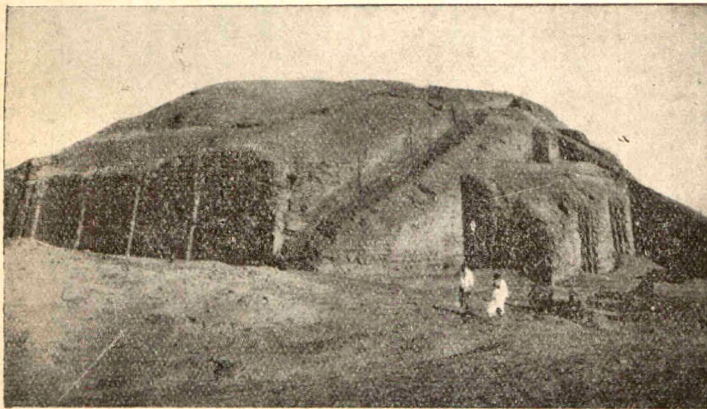


## ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

WE spent the night, after an *al-fresco* dinner, at Diwaniyeh quite comfortably, thanks to the hospitality of the station-master and the meteorologist—both compatriots. The night was quite chilly though the maximum temperature recorded that day was 129° Fah. in the shade, and we were glad of the blankets, which we had laughed at when going to bed. A car and an armed guard had been provided to accompany us on the cross-country ride to Ur, and, since there was no

The excavation work had stopped at the end of spring, armed guards being left in the field to guard the site and the few finds that were in the store. The field-season starts with



Ur. The Ziggurat of Ur-Nammu

road after about 45 miles, we made an early start at 3 A.M. leaving Diwaniyeh in the dark. The road part of journey we did in fair comfort and then began the rough-riding, mostly along the railway embankment.

Ur was reached about 8 A.M. and we immediately approached the station-master with a view to seeing as much as possible of the excavations. There is a rest house here, a relic of the war, and the arrangements are fairly good, though the charge is high, at which we could not grumble since we did not have to pay. After a bath and a substantial breakfast we started for the site which is situated about a mile and a half from the railway station.



Ur. The Queen's head-dress

autumn and lasts till about the end of March when the excavators leave for home.

We went straight to the Ziggurat and climbed to the top. In the distance we could see Al'ubaid in the distance and the palm fringes of some river side settlement. Of the Temple of the Moon-God, built by Ur-Nammu 4500 years ago hardly anything beyond the platform foundation can be seen,



but the Ziggurat is there for all to see. Nearby are the Royal grave pits and by their side the temple walls of Nebuchadnezzar. Beyond are the ancient palaces and the houses of the well-to-do of four and five milleniums ago, including the houses of the time of Abraham and his predecessors.

\* \* \*

through these notes of a chance visit. Together with the perhaps-still-greater discoveries in the Indus valley, these excavations carry back the history of the civilization of mankind another couple of milleniums. It is true that concrete evidence has not yet been found at Ur or in the Mesopotamian valley of a civilization as old



Ur. Statue of Enkidu

Ur of the Chaldees after being lost to the known world for over 2000 years is again within the field of man's vision. The discoveries have made such a stir throughout the civilized world that hardly anything may be added to the knowledge of the reader



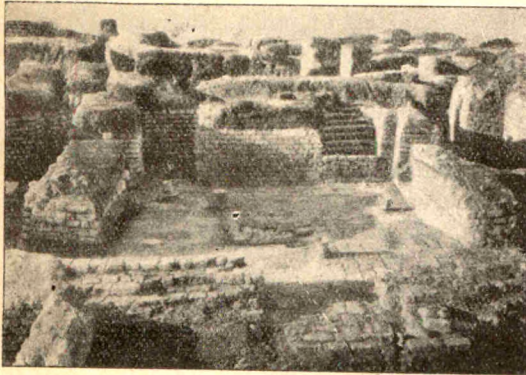
Ur. A stone statuette with small lapis lazuli eyes

as that of Mohen-jo-daro. But we must not forget that the men of Sumer, whose first records we find at Ur dating back to over five thousand years ago, were quite civilized when they established themselves at Ur, which points to their having been civilized—



or rather to their evolving a civilization—at a still earlier period, may be a thousand years before Ur.

The importance of Ur and of its neighbouring sites, lies in the fairly connected records they have yielded of various peoples who either settled at Ur or came as conquerors. Of the earliest people who settled at this site—The Akkadians—Ur itself has but minor records, Al'ubaid possessing a far more complete one. Of these primitive

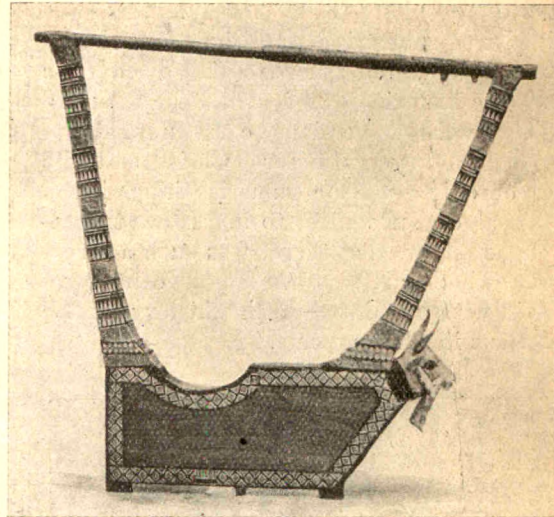


Ur. The ruins

people we know only that they knew the arts of fishing, cultivation, weaving, making and baking of hand-worked (the potter's wheel was unknown) pottery and the working of stone, shell, etc., into implements and weapons. That they had artistic tastes is evident from the fine painted pottery and the terra-cotta models of various objects. They built mud and wattle huts with reed-mat partitions on the newly-formed patches of hard soil near the estuary which in those days was not far from Ur.

Later came the Sumerians, the people who "journeyed from the East and came into the plain of Shinar" (Babylon). These people from Sumer were inheritors of a much older civilization and had, according to their own traditions, knowledge of agriculture, of writing and of working in metal. The Indus valley discoveries lend probability to the truth of these traditions although as yet it cannot be said with certainty as to who were the debtors in the matter of this earlier civilization, the Indus valley peoples or those of Sumer.

In any case these were the people who brought the knowledge of the arts to the Mesopotamian valley and Ur gives us a fair record of what that knowledge was like at



Ur. A harp from the royal graves

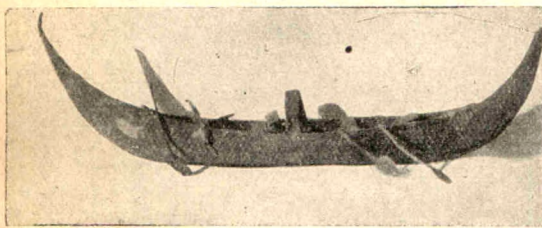


Ur. Copper door-hinges with Ur-Nimmu's name the time of their coming. The older inhabitants were absorbed, either as serfs or



as an inferior grade of co-citizens, and as such do we find the records of Sumer-Akkad, prior to the Flood.

The legend of the Flood with its story about Noah and his Ark is familiar to all the civilized peoples. That this legend was derived from Sumerian traditions was clearly seen long ago, but prior to the discoveries at Ur no historical basis could be found to it. The written versions carry us back to two thousand years before Christ and the sober chronicles of the Sumerian kings lent a great deal of substance to it. Now the excavations show that there was such a great Flood—whether it was *the* Flood cannot yet be said with certainty—in the history of the Sumerians in Mesopotamia.



Ur. Model of primitive fishing boat

In the spring of 1929, shafts were sunk below the level of the deepest graves, "in the hopes of getting some chronological evidence." Numerous clay tablets with archaic inscriptions were recovered, the character of the inscription giving the tablets an age of thirty-seven centuries before Christ. Below this level the shaft reached a stratum of perfectly uniform water-laid clay. The excavators were at first of the opinion that they had reached the level of the original alluvial mud-flats on which the earliest settlements were built. But the Director (C. Leonard Woolley) being of a different opinion, the shaft was sunk through it. After eight feet of clay had been cut through, the rubbish heaps of the settlement were again encountered, thus proving that this immense deposit was caused by one tremendous deluge. How terrible this cataclysm was can be judged by the extent of the solid clay (8 feet thick) deposit formed by the water-borne silt of the flood. The estimated area of the flood was

about forty-thousand square miles—enough in extent to wipe out all the Akkadian settlements in Mesopotamia.

After the Flood the progress of the Sumerians was resumed and to what extent it developed can be now gauged from the treasures and relics recovered from the Royal graves—some of which were found unripped—and from the buildings, temples, town walls, and the Ziggurat. From the inscriptions, clay tablets, etc., the written records of the Sumerians, the Babylonians, Kassites, Assyrians, and last of all the Persians who came in possession of the sacred city of Ur, can now be deciphered, giving a fairly connected chronicle extending for two and a half milleniums after the Flood which took place near about 3200 years before Christ.

It would be worse than useless to attempt a description of Ur here, or even to give an adequate narrative of what we actually saw at Ur and in the Iraq Museum at Baghdad. The buildings, built partly of plano-convex and partly of flat bricks, the mighty bases of the town walls, the vast yawning chasms of the Royal graves, the temple built by unknown kings and restored through the ages by successive kings from Ur-Nimmur the Sumerian to Nebuchadnezzar, the buildings of the time of Abraham, the great Ziggurat of Ur-Nimmu built to serve as the base of the temple of the Moon-God, all these and much more was there to see at Ur. In the Museum at Baghdad there were the relics collected from the Royal grave and the rubbish-pile, equally interesting from the point of view of the historian and the archæologist.

We were shown the various sites at which the more important finds were made. The clay stratum of the Flood, the tunnel through which the thieves of five-thousand years ago desecrated the Royal grave, the death-pit and all other such places we saw.

A glimpse at the dawn of history is imposing and at the same time awe-inspiring, and so the reader is referred to C. Leonard Woolley's excellent monograph for fuller details as the writer is too much aware of his limitations to attempt anything like a detailed account.

\* \* \*





Basra. The Canal

We left Ur at night by train and reached Basra the next morning. At Basra through the courtesy and hospitality of the son of the Sheikh of Zubair and the Rais-Baladiyeh, we saw Basra and its near and far environs including Zubair.

The same afternoon we embarked on board the ship that was to take us back to Karachi and thence home by train.

Thus the tour was finished on water after being started in the aerial path and encompassed on land.

*Concluded.*

## INDIAN INDUSTRIES AND JAPANESE DUMPING

By A. T. GANGULI, M. A.

**E**VEN when we think rather bitterly of the Japanese competition it is difficult to withhold our admiration from the Japanese ways of doing things. Tiny Japan, yet so mighty! What is the story of her industries? What are the secrets of her industrial success?

Before the Great War Japan was mainly an agricultural country. The war brought home to the Japanese Government the necessity of self-reliance in all essential articles. To meet this demand and to find a solution for the growing unemployment of a fast growing people the industrial revolution was ushered in. Practically all the bigger industries were run by the Government who ensured their speedy growth by imposing prohibitive duties on imports. It was only after the industries became stable that they were handed over to private enterprises. Even to this day the Japanese Government

bear a fair share of the loss suffered by any industry in a foreign market.

Sir Lalubhai Samaldas who recently visited Japan on a double mission testifies to the highly efficient and economic management of the Japanese mills. As to sweating of labour, we have it from the same authority that he was greatly impressed by the treatment given to the young workers, among whom girls preponderate over male workers. The workers are not only properly looked after but they are educated and equipped for higher vocations when they leave the mills.

Indian industries which are mostly undeveloped and unorganized cannot stand foreign competition unless carefully protected for a number of years. While economic and efficient management is essential the Government of the country must be actively sympathetic in the



matter of safe-guarding the interests of the indigenous industries.

At the present moment the greatest menace to Indian industries come from Japan. Depreciated sterling with the rupee unfavourably and permanently linked to it kept out Continental goods to a very great extent. Japan availed herself of this opportunity and concentrated all her resources to capture the Indian market in all departments. She did not hesitate for a moment to use the most potent weapon in aid of export trade, *viz.*, depreciated exchange. While imports from Japan thus increased from 13.3 crores in 1931-32 to 20.5 crores in 1932-33 in spite of depreciated value, exports to Japan decreased from 41 crores in 1926-27 to 23.7 crores in 1930-31 and 13.9 crores in 1931-32 and 1932-33. Clearly, therefore, the spirit of the Indo-Japanese trade convention of 1905 mutually guaranteeing "the most favoured nation treatment" to each other has been absent.

The competition from Japanese quarters became so acute that the Indo-Japanese Trade Convention was abrogated some time back without even consulting Japan and 75 per cent duty was imposed on Japanese cotton goods. Japan replied by declaring wholesale boycott of Indian raw cotton. The trade relation of the two countries has thus been very greatly strained.

Textile industry is the largest industry in the country and of the longest standing. Only this industry can claim a strong organization of its own. Naturally therefore it has precedence over other industries in getting relief from the Government. Even with 75 per cent *ad valorem* duty on Japanese cotton goods, the industry is reported to be in a bad shape. This must largely be due to the accumulation of Japanese goods before relief could be secured. Imports of cotton goods from Japan jumped from 6.8 crores in 1931-32 to 10 crores in 1932-33.

Among other industries that have been hard hit by Japanese competition may be mentioned glass, hosiery, soap, hardware including wire products and enamel ware and also cement. Indian manufacturers of chemicals, metal, earthenware and porcelain, paper and paste board have also been effected to a considerable extent.

In spite of depreciated value imports of glass-ware from Japan rose from 42 lakhs in 1931-32 to 65.5 lakhs in 1932-33. In piece-goods of cotton and artificial silk imports from Japan rose from 3 lakhs in 1926-27 to 252.4 lakhs in 1932-33. While seven years back Japan was unknown in this line, last year she supplied 80 per cent of India's total import in this line. In wire products though imports from Japan commenced only in 1931-32 and have not yet been alarmingly large, their low prices have compelled the only manufacturers in India, the Indian Steel and Wire Products of Tatanagar, to sell their products at prices far below their cost of production. Imports of Japanese hardware including enamel ware, however, rose

from 15.8 lakhs in 1931-32 to 30.3 lakhs in 1932-33.

In Japanese cement the rise in import since 1926-27 has been 400 per cent being 9300 tons in 1926-27 and 39,300 tons in 1932-33. Depreciation in value may be gathered from the fact that the quantity imported in 1931-32, *viz.*, 28,900 tons was valued at 9.5 lakhs whereas 39,300 tons imported in 1932-33 was valued at 8.1 lakhs. In other words, though the quantity imported last year showed an increase of 33 per cent over the preceding year, the total value declined by 16 per cent.

Soap is another item that deserves special mention because of the very large number of factories already established all over the country and the investment on the industry which exceeds two crores of rupees. In toilet soap imports from Japan rose from 94 cwts. valued at Rs. 5969 in 1930-31 to 878 cwts. valued at Rs. 46,193 in 1932-33. In household and laundry soap imports rose from 843 cwts. valued at Rs. 20,015 in 1931-32 to 2,511 cwts. valued at Rs. 41,426 in 1932-33. During the first three months of the current financial year imports in Japanese toilet soap have been 953 cwts. valued at Rs. 32,625 and in household and laundry soap 5,273 cwts. valued at Rs. 59,861. During this period of three months therefore Japan sent 50 per cent more soaps to this country than in the preceding twelve months. Japanese prices in each case have been clearly 25 per cent lower than the prime cost of Indian manufacture. Unless proper relief is granted forthwith, the industry stands in danger of being wiped out of existence.

It is now plain that if the Indian industries are to live they must be protected against the menace. More than one hundred representations from different industries are at this moment before the Commerce Member of the Government of India for protection under the Safe-guarding of Industries Act.

Japan has already raised a cry of "Live and let live." A Japanese Trade Delegation has come to India to negotiate terms of a fresh trade agreement with India. Japan has already started pleading for the interests of the Indian consumers. This is emphatically a matter within the competence of the Government and the people of this country alone.

Japan should not feel wronged by the imposition of heavy duties on her merchandise as India made it plain to the world that she would adopt *swadeshi* at any cost. If Japan went on extending her industries with reliance on the Indian market, she did so with full knowledge of the risks involved.

As Japan has depreciated her currency she would not object if India depreciated the rupee to the same extent as she depreciated the *yen*, in which case Japan would be worse off than now. As, however, we have no control over our



own currency Japan should not object to the alternative way of protecting our industries by a tariff wall.

At this stage it is important to consider what we stand to lose in case of Japanese boycott of Indian goods as a protest against the imposition of prohibitive duty on Japanese goods. As already pointed out exports of Indian merchandise to Japan declined from 41 crores in 1926-27 to 13.9 crores in 1932-33. Out of 13.9 crores in 1932-33, raw cotton alone was responsible for 11.1 crores. In 1930 Japan purchased 469 million pounds raw cotton from U. S. A. while in the same year she purchased from India 597 million pounds. In 1932 U. S. A. sold raw cotton to Japan to the extent of 1122 million pounds while India sold 342 million pounds only. In other words, India's supply to Japan in 1930 was 30 per cent more than that of U. S. A. In 1932 U. S. A.'s supply to Japan was 25 per cent more than that of India. Japan's threat of boycott of Indian raw cotton may not, after all, be a mere bluff as many would like us to believe. With U. S. A., Egypt, and Turkey supplying raw cotton at competitive prices total boycott of Indian cotton may be effective and real very soon.

The next item of importance is pig iron, of which 353.6 thousand tons were exported to Japan in 1928-29 but only 71.4 thousand tons in 1932-33. Japan has already imposed a high duty on Indian pig iron. Manchuria with her enormous reserves of iron ore having practically come under the control of Japan it is practically certain that she will be independent in respect of raw materials for steel in no time. It will

be wise to try new markets for Indian pig iron or utilize the pig iron for the purpose of making steel.

If we lose our business with Japan in raw cotton and pig iron we lose 85 per cent of the business and therefore can afford to be indifferent about the rest, *viz.*, hides and skins, oil seeds, jute and jute manufacture and shellac. This should be remembered at the time of the proposed negotiations with the Japanese Trade Delegation.

It will not do to forget that India's balance of trade is maintained by export mainly of raw materials. It should be our aim to discontinue this practice so far as possible and utilize the raw materials in the manufacture of finished products in our own country.

At the present moment we require protection for our existing industries. Such industries that satisfy the important conditions precedent to the grant of protection as fixed by the Fiscal Commission should be given sufficient protection either by bounty, which however is unlikely, or sufficient protective duty. So long as Japan relies on depreciated exchange higher duties on Japanese goods would point to the only solution of the question.

India's relation with Japan has, however, been very friendly for the last quarter of a century. It is only desirable that this relation should continue unstrained. For this however Japan must appreciate India's needs and difficulties and agree to adjust her industrial and commercial policies accordingly. The Japanese must supplement their present aggressive patriotism with something of international patriotism.

## INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

### Colonization Enquiry of South Africa

Messrs. A. I. Kajee and S. R. Naidoo, Joint. Hon. Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress, deserve our congratulations for sending to Indian papers full material regarding the Colonization Enquiry of South Africa. As is well-known to the readers of these notes, there is a strong difference of opinion on this question among our countrymen in the Union. An authoritative account of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Congress held out Durban on July 9th, 1933 is given below.

The Congress convened an Executive meeting at Durban on the 9th July 1933 at which all the Provinces were represented.

The question was very fully discussed, one school of thought holding that the present enquiry was a distinct departure from the agreement in that under the original enquiry the initiative was to be taken by India for finding outlets for her increasing population and that the South African Indian Congress was incidentally to join her in the enquiry. Moreover they hold that the terms of reference states that the enquiry is to ascertain how far the Indian community would participate in such an enquiry. The other school of thought which represented all those present at the Executive

meeting excepting the minority of two, feel that co-operation is highly desirable with the Committee on the following among other grounds:

(a) The Congress delegates gave an honourable undertaking at Capetown by virtue of the signed statement handed to the Government of India Delegation in January 1932 to co-operate with the enquiry and with this assurance before the two delegations, the conclusions of the Round Table Conference were arrived at by the two Governments. This being the case, it is not just nor it is right to recede from that undertaking at this stage.

(b) The enquiry is a preliminary one, and to refuse to appoint a nominee, and boycott the enquiry committee, will be tantamount to allowing the community's case to go by default.

(c) The enquiry is an opportunity to prove our right case and our just cause and that we are an asset in South Africa, and we are not undesirables, nor our numbers need reduction.

(d) Make it abundantly clear to the Committee of enquiry that, as far as the South African Indian is concerned, there exists no country that can offer an improvement on or even equal the conditions that exist in South Africa climatically and economically.

(e) Impress upon the Enquiry Committee the necessity of removing the provincial barriers that debar the Indian from movement and from allowing him to spread himself in the Union of South Africa, and substantiate the fact that South Africa has millions of acres of undeveloped land which could be conveniently opened up for the Indian. In this connection we may point out that once the congestion in Natal, where 160,000 Indians reside, is eased the question would solve itself.

(f) The question of allowing the Indian to enter and reside in the same manner as Europeans are allowed in the Native Territories adjoining the Union, could be put forward before the Committee.

We have already expressed our opinion in favour of co-operation at this stage and we are glad to note that Mr. A. H. West is of the same opinion. Mr. West, it may be noted, was connected with Mahatma Gandhi in his work in South Africa and was solely in charge of and edited the *Indian Opinion* from 1915 to 1918. Here is an extract from the article of Mr. West:

Having considered the views expressed by both parties in the dispute, I feel that, whilst taking the strongest objection to what is clearly the object of the Government, namely, the reduction of the Indian population, it would be a mistake to refuse the offer of a seat on the Committee. The presence of an Indian member does not bind the community in any way what-

soever. To accede to the Government's request that the Congress should appoint its representative is but a matter of common courtesy. To refuse would be foolish and would give an entirely wrong impression. It would indicate that Indians were afraid of an enquiry.

Let it be clearly understood that this Committee is appointed by the Government and will investigate and report the result of its labours whether there is an Indian member or not. The question of principle does not arise. The Government must be well aware that Mr. S. R. Naidoo, who has been appointed, is not in favour of colonization. Probably, most of the members of the Committee have no definite views one way or the other. It is not possible for any of them to have fixed opinions on a matter which has not yet been investigated. Even the most rabid anti-Asiatic, if there is one such on the Committee, could not say that there is a country ready to welcome Indians as free citizens if in fact it is proved there is no such country. Should the Committee, however, report that an ideal place has been found for colonization, it will still remain for Indians individually to accept or reject it, irrespective of whether the Government of India approves or not, or whether, for that matter the South African Indian Congress gives or withholds its blessing.

One of the points the Committee will have to report on is "the extent to which Indians in the Union would participate" in any scheme of colonization. This will provide an opportunity for demonstrating the feeling which appears to be so keen against any scheme. Under this head it will be within the terms of reference to show why Indians prefer to remain here; and what, in their opinion, could be done to make it quite unnecessary for a single Indian to leave the Union. One good reason why most Indians would fight shy of emigration would be the unfortunate state of many of the 13,000 who participated in the assisted emigration scheme and who find themselves stranded in India, suffering untold hardship. There are those on the side of the co-operators who would consider it a matter of principle not to let slip such a fine opportunity of calling attention to what they believe to be nothing short of a scandal. They rightly consider that it would be cowardice on their part to stand aloof and let such a matter go by default.

There are those who would go a step further and ask why these thousands of poor people, who found India so disappointing, should not be assisted to re-emigrate elsewhere. This alone is a big question and should be a matter for deep concern by every South African Indian. A colonization scheme in which these emigrants from the Union would find a means of livelihood could hardly be described as an evil by a non-co-operator who claims to stand for principle.



Mr. West ends his article with these words :

Taking into consideration these various ideas, it is not possible for me to support a policy of non-co-operation. Such an enquiry as contemplated can do no possible harm to anyone. It can do an immense amount of good if only Indians will unite in making the best use of the opportunity to state their case before this Committee.

Finally I would appeal to both parties to the dispute in the Congress to put aside their personal feelings and forget about wrong methods of procedure. Stop holding public meetings of protest and get down to business. Otherwise it may indeed be a matter of "fiddling whilst Rome is burning."

We entirely agree with these sentiments of Mr. West and join in his appeal to our people in South Africa.

## THE MOSLEMS' EDUCATIONAL 'DISABILITIES' AND THE RESUMPTION PROCEEDINGS OF 1828

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L.

**I**N Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose's illuminating article on the "Moslem's Educational Disabilities and the Resumption Proceedings of 1828" one or two omissions and errors have crept in, which lessen the force of his argument. Instead, however, of pedantically pointing them out it would be useful to state what I have to say as a supplement to his argument.

On the 12th August, 1765, Shah Alam, the titular Emperor of Delhi made a perpetual grant to the East India Company of the *Diwani* of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The British Government, therefore, accepted the position that all *lakshiraj* grants, made prior to that date either by the authority of the *Badshah* or of the subordinate governments, or in excess and violation of that authority by the zamindars, temporary superintendents of revenue, etc. were valid [cf. sec 2 Reg. XIX, of 1793; sec 2. Reg. XXXVII of 1793]. But all grants made subsequent to that date were generally declared invalid, with this exception, however, that the grants made by chiefs of provincial councils before 1178 B. S. (=1772) remained in force. After 1790, no revenue free grants could be made.

So the Resumption Proceedings could affect only the *lakshiraj* grants made after 1772, and the increase of revenue "from £800,000 to £3,000,000"—according to Mr. Ghuznavi,—come from revenue-free grants made after 1772. On the grants made prior to 1772 by the Muhammadans, the British Government did not claim any right. Such grants must therefore remain even now. But how many of the existing revenue-free estates are held by the Muhammadans? And of those held by the Muhammadans, the income of how many are devoted to Moslem educational purposes? Will

Mr. Ghuznavi kindly answer? Will he interpellate the Government on this point?

Mr. Ghuznavi complains that a large number of rent-free estates, chiefly held by Moslems who were unable to prove their centuries old title, were 'resumed' or confiscated by Government. In reply one may ask why were the Muhammadans unable to prove their titles? The holders of *lakshiraj* grants were required to register them within one year of 1793 [sec 24, Reg. XIX, and sec. 19, Reg. XXXVII of 1793]. As many of them did not register, an attempt was made in 1800 to introduce compulsory registration, and the period for registration was extended [cf. Reg. VIII of 1800]. Why again did the Muhammadans not register? It may be urged that the documents evidencing the grants were lost even in 1800. But the British Government did not always try to take advantage of the absence of proper titled deeds. It was declared that *lakshiraj* tenures, of which uninterrupted possession, exempt from assessment has been held shall be considered valid without evidence of any formal grant or confirmation of the same, and shall be continued to heirs in cases in which it could be shown from the nature and denomination of the tenure that it was hereditary [cf. sec. and Reg. XIV of 1825].

Then again 'resumption' is not the same thing as confiscation. When grants were resumed the consequence was that the lands were made assessable for land-revenue. If the invalid grant was made prior to 1772, the revenue to be paid to the Government was to be equal to one-half of the annual produce of the land. If it was made afterwards, the revenue or *jama* to be paid was to be assessed agreeably to the rules prescribed in the Decennial Settlement Regulation [sec. 8. Reg. XIX, sec. 6 Reg. XXXVII of 1793].

Those who registered within the prescribed time were protected. The number of such revenue-free estates within the present boundaries of Bengal is 30,689. The amount of cesses paid in respect of them amounted to Rs. 284,938 in 1929-30, which means a gross rental of some Rs. 46 lakhs.

Those who did not register or did not dare register on account of defect, in titles and the heirs of life-grantees were made to feel the effects of the Resumption Proceedings later. Reg. II of 1819, enacted to secure the just rights of Government, provided assessment on the principles of general Regulations, and gave the parties right to contest the Government's decision in civil courts. By Reg. XIII of 1825, it was decided to continue the persons who have heretofore occupied lands free of assessment or their representatives in the possession of the same. The assessment on such resumed lands was to be "a moderate assessment, not exceeding a moiety of the annual rent produce." [Sec. 4]

Finally, in 1828, Reg. III was passed for more effectually securing the realization of the public dues. The Resumption Proceedings continued in full vigour from 1828 to 1850. Advantage was taken of it to resume lands in the Sunderbans. There were large "areas that had been brought under cultivation before the Permanent Settlement ordinarily by the neighbouring zamindars without the authority of Government. As a matter of fact, large areas of forest subsequently cleared were frequently included in these estates. Government did not avail itself of the right of dispossession, but exercised the right of resumption. \* \* \* These resumptions were practically completed by Messrs. Dampier and Grant by 1836." (Ascoli's *Revenue History of the Sunderbans*.) The Bakarganj Sunderbans "were definitely resumed by comprehensive proceedings in 1831-33, which were undertaken in accordance with Reg. III of 1828. The total area then resumed were 610 sq. miles. \* \* \* In addition to the Sunderbans and alluvium [510 sq. miles] there have also been petty resumption of invalid *lakhtaraj* including the Nowara *jagirs*, which altogether amounted to 4½ sq. miles." (*Bakarganj District Gazetteer*.)

It is not very clear whether Hunter included the results of Resumption Proceedings in the Sunderbans in his figures. He says that, as a result, "at an outlay of £800,000 upon resumption proceedings, an additional revenue of £ 300,000, (not £3,000,000 which seems to be a misprint, though repeated several times) a year was permanently gained by the State representing a capital at 5 per cent of 6 million pounds." (p. 185 of Hunter's *The Indian Musalman*.)

Mr. Ghuznavi says that "the revenue was thereby enriched from £800,000 to £3,000,000" or Rs. 30,000,000 at the then rate of exchange. Even now the total land-revenue of Bengal is

Rs. 278 lakhs [see Bengal Governments' Memorandum before the Simon Commission]. As for the land-revenue of Bengal at the time of the Permanent Settlement in 1793 being £800,000 or Rs. 8,000,000, it is of course absurd. At that time the Zamindari of Burdwan alone paid some 42 lakhs, and that of Natore some 50 lakhs, while even in 1882, when Todar Mall made his famous settlement, the *Asal Tumar Jama* or the original standard assessment for Bengal was fixed at 1,06,93,152 rupees!\*

Whatever may be the amount of increase in the land-revenue, an equal amount must have been left to the owners of the resumed lands. We do not understand why the Muhammadan endowments, based on such resumed lands, could not exist? It may be that their resources were crippled, but why could they not exist? Why had the resumed lands to be sold at revenue sales? Our explanation, which is nothing but a guess, is that the grantees used the entire profits for their own private purposes; so, when they had to pay land-revenue, they could not retrench their expenses, and the lands were sold.

It is also a matter of notoriety with those who have to deal with the old records of resumption cases, that the usual plea among the Brahmans was that it was *Brahmottar*, among the non-Brahmans that it was *Devottar*; and among the Muhammadans that it was *wakf* for mosques or *maktabs* or madrassas. Mosques can be seen; but *maktabs* or madrassas are almost intangible. Hence, an impression is produced on the minds of the resumption officers that so many endowments had been created for Moslem educational institutions.

If the Muhammadans were in the habit of creating endowments for educational institutions; they must have created them largely before 1765 when the political power was with them. After 1765, the number and value of such endowments are expected to be less. After 1790, they would continue to create such endowments by endowing lands in the ordinary way. But what do we actually find? The number of valid educational endowments by the Muhammadans before 1765 is very small, the number created since 1790 is smaller still. Only between 1772, or say, 1765 and 1790, they created a large number of endowments—if Mr. Ghuznavi's contentions be correct. We are afraid such is not the case. He must seek for the real cause's of Moslem's educational backwardness elsewhere.

P. S. After the above article was written, my attention has been drawn to the Report of the Muhammadan Educational Endowments Committee, 1888.

The Committee under the presidency of Mr. G. C. Paul, Advocate-General of Bengal with

\* The total assessment of Bengal in 1763, i.e., two years before the English obtained the *Duani*, was Rs. 2,56,24,223.

several leading Muhammadan gentlemen, including the late Nawab Abdul Luteef and the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali, as members, surveyed the educational endowments in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Report of this Committee says :

"although far from complete it may, it is hoped, be sufficient for the purpose immediately proposed, as giving some approximation to the truth as to the *number* (Italics ours) of educational endowments known to exist, and sufficiently illustrating their working." [para 4]

In para. 7, and statement A. a list of endowments exclusively educational is given. The total is some 30, all created after 1853, and are mostly for annual prizes and to the students of the Calcutta Madrasa.

In para. 8, a list of mixed endowments created since 1647 in the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is given. They number 51, and their gross total income is some Rs. 350,000 (including the Mohsin fund and the Sasseram endowment). Of this sum only a very small fraction was available for educational purposes. In para. 11 and statement C the character of these endowments as shown by their deeds of foundation in 45 cases out of 51 is discussed. The Report further says :

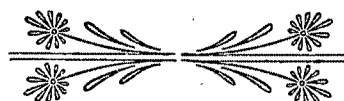
It is a matter of regret that although the foundation deeds in statement C have been selected \* \* \* as having an educational character, but little prominence is given in them to education, as compared with the other objects of the founders. In 19 instances education is not specified by the deed in any way, and it would appear that such instruction as may be given in the endowments to which they relate is maintained at the discretion of the manager \* \* \* In many other instances education, though specified, is mentioned rather as an auxiliary good work than as the primary object of the endowment, and the founder as far as can be gathered from the expressions used, did not contemplate the expenditure on it of any large proportion of the income" [para 15].

Now a word as to the nature of education provided for in these endowments. In the words of the Committee : "In 4 case it is expressly stated in the deed that the education to be given in the endowment shall be of a religious

character, and in several instances instruction in Persian and Arabic is specifically mentioned. It is, moreover, occasionally manifest from the general tenor of the deed that religious education was contemplated [para 16]."

We have made somewhat long quotations from the Report. Hunter states that the revenue increased to £ 300,000 or Rs. 3,000,000 at the then rate of exchange as a result of Resumption Proceedings. Of these 30 lacs, a portion must have been contributed by the Hindus. The Muhammadans were in a numerical minority up to 1881 in Bengal. About 1790, since when no revenue-free grants can be made, the proportion of Muhammadans was but some 30 per cent. In the district of Bakarganj, the Muhammadans are now over 71 per cent; but "there were as many Hindus as Muhammadans in the district in 1800." (*Bakarganj District Gazetteer*.) Let us assume that half the sum came from the Muhammadans—an assumption in favour of the Muhammadans. Of the 15 lacs, a half is endowed for purely non-educational purposes, and only a fraction of the other half, estimated at one-eighth or to one-tenth from the examples given in the Committee's Report, is available for educational purposes. This makes the amount available for educational purposes to be some Rs. 1 lac. It is immaterial for our argument, whether the sum available is rupees one lac or rupees two lacs. It is clear that the educational backwardness of the Muhammadans has got nothing to do with the Resumption Proceedings. When Hunter said that the Muhammadan educational endowments suffered most, he meant that of the scanty sum available, say rupees three lacs, about rupees two lacs is lost on resumption.

Mr. Ghuznavi must seek for the cause of the educational backwardness of his co-religionists elsewhere. Will he propose a 20 per cent surcharge on the Income Tax paid by the Muhammadans as an educational *zakat* for the exclusive benefit of his community? We Hindus do not and will not claim any share on such surcharge? Will he do it, instead of trying to get the benefit at the cost of the Hindus?







## INDIAN PERIODICALS



### Organization of Charities

Mr. Faredun Dadachanji offers some valuable comments on the organization of charities in India in the course of a paper in *The Social Service Quarterly*. He writes :

The question of organization of charities is of supreme importance to every nation and it is second to none, in its far-reaching effect in public life. The politics of a nation largely turn on its economics and the vast amount that is devoted to charity particularly in India if conserved and devoted to proper objects would help in the advancement of India more than Government itself with all its resources which fall into insignificance when compared with the untold wealth that is locked up in charities. Political power even if it gives to the nation no *swaraj* will not have any driving power, unless the nation's vast resources are conserved and duly utilized. There is no doubt whatsoever that the income of charity is misapplied, whether in the Hindu or the Mussalman, Parsee or the Jain community. It would be odious to name the defaulting trustees and to create an atmosphere of opposition by exposing them. If a structure has to be raised it should be laid on foundations of entire goodwill and sympathy with all persons who are prepared to co-operate in the due administration of charity. When in 1911 the Bill for registration of charities was introduced by Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtulla he had numerous figures showing the misappropriations of charitable moneys. The magnitude of the amounts set apart for charity would appear from the mere fact that in a small town like Rander near Surat, no less than 40 lacs of rupees were at that time found to have been devoted to charitable purposes. If you go round the presidencies of India and the other provinces, billions and untold trillions of moneys would be found devoted to charity and meant for the uplift of Indians in the direction of spirituality, education, sanitation, relief of the poor, wells, rest-houses, sanatoria, resting places, libraries and so on. The five great enemies of every nation are poverty, unemployment, disease, ignorance and death. These can be combated not only by Governments but by the benefactors of a nation who choose to do philanthropic work for the uplift of the nationals. To show the importance of organization I would refer in passing to the most important charity organizations of Europe and America which number by the hundred in each of the countries. There is a vast literature on this subject which requires close and scientific study, before you can understand the meaning of charity and the method of its administration. Charity is a double edged weapon which should not be placed in the hands of untrained persons who mostly occupy the chairs of trustees in this vast land. Charity tends to pauperize and degenerate a nation unless it is directed by the most intelligent and business-like people in a nation who are acquainted with the various calamitous

consequences of misapplied and unorganized charity. The one great curse of a nation is unorganized charity and India is suffering most from large ill-organized and ill-directed charities.

### The Censorship of Cinema Films

Cinema films have come to stay. Their influence on the public mind and morals is great. The Government of India appointed a Committee to elect the Indian Cinematograph Committee in 1927. Mr. P. O. Philip discusses the recommendations of the Committee in *The National Christian Council Review* and says :

(a) The recommendations of the Rangachariar Committee about reorganizing the machinery for censorship, though not far-reaching, deserve to be given effect to without further delay as a first step in bringing about the needed reforms. A Central Board of Censors with a majority of Indian non-officials and a capable secretary can be effectively in touch with the best Indian opinion. We particularly welcome the recommendation which provides that the representatives of the public, social service organizations and the trade can appear before the board and influence it in its decisions. This will open the way for bodies like the National Christian Council to make representations to the board on specific films or on larger questions of policy. No doubt bodies representing Hindus and Muslims will also take advantage of this arrangement and the board will thus be helped to build up canons and traditions of censorship which will be in accordance with the best and highest ideals of modern India. The Provincial Christian Councils and the National Christian Council should urge Government to take steps to give effect without any further delay to these recommendations of the committee.

(b) The conclusion of the Indian Cinematograph Committee on the influence of the cinema being essentially at variance with the generally observed facts coming within our experience, those who have opportunities for investigation should take advantage of them and place the results before the public. This will serve as an effective method of educating public opinion in favour of demanding higher standards both in the production of films and in their exhibition.

(c) Some Christian colleges through their departments of psychology and in co-operation with social service groups may be able to conduct scientific research about the influence of the cinema on different classes of people in India—young people, students, the literate middle class, and the illiterate. The results of such study will be very valuable to the public as they will indicate the evils to be eliminated or minimized. They will also help Government to determine the right lines along which legislation has to be introduced to regulate the cinema industry and cinema exhibitions in this country.

### Communism from Jaina Standpoint

Mr. S. Appandi writes on the above subject in *The Jaina Gazette* :

In modern days no thoughts are taken of the world to come. Yet there is no religion which does not emphasize the future life and the necessary preparation for it. And to a Jain the period of one life is but an insignificant part when compared with eternity. While not neglecting his immediate welfare and happiness, he does not wholly set his mind on the present. He always looks ahead and prepares himself for it. The fears of the future help him in regulating his conduct. The Jain's thoughts are not tied to the time and the place in which he lives. The *puranas* take him to many worlds and to millions of years in the past and in the future.

Nor is the Jain led to be negligent in his conduct because he has the vast future before him. He is constantly reminded how from times immemorial he has been suffering misery for the most part. Nor does present happiness exhilarate him, for he is reminded of the transitoriness of worldly happiness. He is provided with the armour of endurance against misery; he thinks that it is the natural fruit of his own actions and endures it quietly without a pang. He has a firm grasp of the nature of this world and is not carried away by the glamour of moon-shine theories and extravagant hopes. His aspirations may appear extravagant to some, but he is sure of realizing his ideal sooner or later and is not cowed down by the difficulties in his path.

So it is perfectly right for the Jain to pursue a path which may lead him to his goal even many generations hence. He discards the impossible and impracticable schemes, and is definite as to his purpose. His sacred works give him a clue to every problem that puzzles him. Many a time he may fail to act up to his resolutions, but he deeply repents for every mistake and tries to follow his ideal again with tenfold vigour and vigilance. 'Jainism has a rich and interesting literature,' and extensive study of it will, I believe, prevent humanity from falling into serious errors.

We are living in a trying period in the history of the World: and the Jains too are not free from certain peculiar notions of the modern World. It is necessary to raise a warning voice on many points. Profound knowledge of Jain literature alone can counteract some of the evil influences of modern times. Materialism is advancing at a tremendous pace. Only a few hundred years back there had been innumerable devout persons in the West as well as in the East. Devout persons are not wanting in our own time. But such implicit faith which was in vogue only a few centuries back, is rarely to be met with in the present age. There is always some reservation in the belief of the scriptures.

India's own change is evident. The quick pace with which the world has changed is mainly due to the scientific and industrial development. The scientific discoveries have been responsible in undermining the authority of the scriptures of many a religious system. But it is not to be forgotten that the truths expounded in the sacred works of the Jains have not been affected in the least by the scientific discoveries. Absolute truth is the test to be applied to religious systems which claim revelation; and Jainism satisfies this test.

### Libraries in America

The All-India Library Conference held its session in Calcutta in September last. Those interested in the library movement will benefit from the perusal of a paper in *India and the World* on the libraries of United States and Canada :

The number of libraries in continental United States possessing collections of 3,000 or more volumes is 6,429; the total number of books they own is approximately 162,000,000—an increase of 33,000,000 between 1923 and 1929—according to figures published in 1931 by the United States Office of Education.

In 1931 eight countries established country-wide library service. A regional library experiment was developed in parts of three adjoining counties in Vermont, under the auspices of the Vermont Commission on Country Life. The several demonstration county libraries in the Southern States, financed in part by the Julius Rosenwald Fund, are now in their third year. They show astonishing results in use by people who had not previously enjoyed public library privileges. Valiant efforts to maintain these libraries in spite of the depression are being made by the citizens, but in some cases at least temporary suspension of activities is necessary. The American Library Association's field agent in the Southern States has assisted in a study of economic and social needs of the Southern Appalachian highlands, an under-privileged area where adequate library service is for the most part unknown. In March, 1932, the third of a series of annual conferences on library conditions in the Southern States was held in the offices of the Carnegie Corporation. It was attended by representatives of the Corporation, the General Education Board, the Rosenwald Fund, and the A. L. A. The three foundations named have made notable contributions during recent years to the development of university, college, school and public libraries, and to library schools, in this region.

The Fraser Valley rural library demonstration in British Columbia, Canada, financed by the Carnegie Corporation, has completed two successful years. The British Columbia Library Commission has opened a branch at Prince George to serve with travelling libraries the great sparsely settled North Central District. A Commission of Canadian libraries, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation through the A. L. A., has recently presented a valuable report on library conditions and needs throughout the Dominion.

### COLLEGE LIBRARIES

Grants totalling \$961,000 have been made by the Carnegie Corporation since December, 1928, for the purchase of books in eighty-one liberal arts colleges in the United States. In addition the Corporation has appropriated \$806,500 for the endowment of librarianship at four selected colleges and for specific library purposes in other institutions. The funds were appropriated to individual colleges on the recommendation of an Advisory Group consisting of college administrators and librarians, headed by Dr. W. W. Bishop. The careful investigations made of many colleges by the Group in advance of its recommendations, the grants themselves, and the influx of new books, have greatly stimulated college library activity. A similar plan for aiding Canadian colleges is now in operation. The following publications are by-products of these activities: *List of*

*Books for College Libraries*, approximately 14,000 titles selected on the recommendation of two hundred college teachers, librarians and other advisers, edited by Charles B. Shaw (A. L. A.); *The College Library Building, its Planning and Equipment*, by James Thayer Gerould (Scribner's); *The College Library*, a descriptive study of the libraries in four-year liberal arts colleges in the United States, by William M. Randall (A. L. A. and University of Chicago Press.)

#### LIBRARIES AND ADULT EDUCATION.

Adult education services in public libraries, and particularly the so-called readers' advisory service, are increasing in extent and importance due to the enforced leisure, the desire of many men and women to improve their opportunities for employment, and the more serious attitude toward the problems of life engendered by economic unrest. During the winter of 1931-32 libraries have co-operated actively in encouraging reading in connection with educational broadcasts sponsored by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. Each programme was broadcast over one of the two great national networks of stations and was thus available to the whole country. Lists of readings, prepared by the A. L. A. and the Council, were widely distributed through libraries. A pamphlet, *University Extension and the Library*, a survey of the needs of university extension students for better book service and the means of supplying such service, was published jointly by the National University Association and the A. L. A.

#### The Japanese Menace

Mr. G. V. Rajaratnam writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

The Japanese menace to Indian industries is getting more and more painfully real. The major industries have already been hard hit, thanks to the vacillating policy of the Central Indian Government who are still dallying with the problem! So far the textile trade alone has been afforded the shelter behind raised tariff walls. Now the turn has come to the comparatively smaller industries which were so far immune to the attack of Japanese manufacturers. Japan is now despatching to this country soaps, powders and other toilet requisites besides china ware, rubber goods, shoes, confectionery, drugs, chemicals and other articles of daily necessity to the humble Indian householder. These above enumerated goods are now being sold throughout the cities, towns and even village hamlets to the great detriment of local trades which were thriving for the last few years on account of the spurt given by a strong sentiment of patriotic buying. Private enterprise, taking full advantage of the "Buy Indian" campaign, established factories in various parts of the country to cater to an enlarging demand. Capital was sunk to develop further the already flourishing business in drugs and chemicals with signal success, giving profitable employment to thousands of needy Indians. At present Japan is weaning away purchasers by a systematic process of price cutting and under-selling. There is unfortunately no statistical evidence of the extent of the damage inflicted by the Land of the Rising Sun.

The poor and hard-pressed Indian has a strong temptation to go in for cheaper articles coming from

Japan. Japanese soap is 40 per cent lower than Indian soap. In the case of toilet powder it is 60 per cent, while confectionery, drugs and chemicals are retailed at rates which are cheaper by about 40 per cent. Another new phenomenon is the dumping of toys that are actually ruining hereditary craftsmen in many towns and villages. It is expected that the Japanese will extend their ruinous activities to other unaffected branches of Indian cottage industries.

The Japanese are no doubt powerfully aided by debased currency. Longer hours of work and the unrivalled skill of the workers in Japan are the other important factors. Whatever that be, it is eminently desirable that local industries should not be allowed to go to the wall because the Japanese are cleverer than Indians. The pace of unemployment will accelerate if Japan is allowed in her merry game of decimating the livelihood of numerous Indians. The duty of the Government is plain. Either by tariffs or negotiations, the Japanese incursion must be stopped before irreparable harm is done. Action against them is being taken in every country of the world for the preservation of local trade and commerce.

#### Is Gandhi Losing Ground?

Mr. Frank C. Bancroft discusses in *India* whether Mahatma Gandhi, by his recent actions, is losing ground. He says:

As to the closing of Sabarmati Ashram, it can probably be set down on the side of ground gained rather than lost. Localized institutions often become actual obstacles in the path of the realization of those ideals, for the promulgation of which they were founded. They tend to attract the ablest and most devoted workers to the bosom of their limited fellowship and thus to remove them from wider influence. They tend to spiritual and moral inbreeding and to more discussion than action. Gandhi wanted to show that he is not placing his hopes in Sabarmati Ashram as such but in the ideals behind it. Scrapping it would seem to be a great gain in his own devotion to his ideals and techniques. Unfortunately, most Indians do not see it that way. No people would. We cling to symbols and, indeed, to anything which is visible and tangible. Gandhi's belief in ideals and ideas as such is so simple as to be completely above the average man, Indian or otherwise. In this sense he has, for the time being, lost ground; but one of the most interesting aspects of the chart of his national influence is that the Indian people in time usually succeeded in catching up to him, and the day may come when public and patriotic Indian opinion as a whole will realize the true significance of this courageous act. Thus, for the time being Gandhi's throttling of his most beloved brain-child and heart-child may be set down in the books as: "temporary loss; potential gain."

And now he is back in jail, which runs like the base chord through the improvisation of his life. When the Magistrate, who convicted him asked his home residence, the Mahatma replied "Yeravda Jail now." The answer was not facetious. Having some years ago given up ordinary domestic living in order to give himself fully to the life of his Ashram, and now having sacrificed the Ashram upon the larger altar of his ideals, he is rendered literally homeless, except for the rambling gaunt edifice to which he



has returned after three months' vacation. By occupation, he said, he is "a spinner, a weaver, and a farmer." It is difficult to think of him having much success in the last pursuit in the Yeravda home, but at least he can carry on in some fashion or other the former ones.

Did he lose ground or gain it by going back to jail? The question might be considered beside the point, if one were to forget that his return was voluntary. He was given the option of remaining within Poona Municipality, a (somewhat) free man. The Mahatma is old now. His physical resources are reduced by constant responsibility and long years of incarceration. Whatever some may have to say against him, he has laboured long and hard against terrific odds and in fullest devotion to his cause. There are lovely green trees in Poona, and a quiet sort of life. Who would be hasty to censure him if he had decided to call a halt to his activities and settle down for a decade of rumination over the vagaries of his eventful life? Many persons, after a career of moderate effort, retire at fifty. Gandhi at sixty-six seems more interested in the innings to come than in those already registered in the score-sheet, and returns to the business of what he considers to be ground-gaining.

Our considerations are being written and published in Bengal, and in no province could our major question be more appropriately raised. It is seriously to be doubted whether Bengal as a province unitedly believes in Gandhi's ideals, his techniques, or his success. The Poona Pact, which drove another quiver into the already lacerated breast of the Bengal Caste Hindu community, is of his making. There is a considerable sub-current of actual and open hate for the Government which does not easily accommodate itself to "Love and Truth." And there is a desperation which calls for more immediate and more drastic measures than he seems able to produce. At the presents moment no impartial person could deny that Gandhi has lost ground, and lost it seriously, in Bengal.

### Are All Religions Good?

*The Light of the East* writes editorially:

To say that one religion is as good as another, or equivalently that all religions are means equally efficacious to lead men to their ultimate end, is to assert what one cannot prove and what no one in fact has ever seriously attempted to prove. It is also very plainly to confess one's dissatisfaction with one's own religion, to proclaim that it is neither the unique nor even the better way to God that it pretends to be, but only one way neither better nor worse than any other.

We might end the matter there if we were to suppose that those who say that one religion is as good as another mean exactly what they say. But the fact is that they probably don't. They surely cannot mean that the human sacrifices which formed part of some primitive religions were means as efficacious to harmonize man with himself, with Nature and with God as, e.g., the universal charity preached by Christ or the *maïtri* doctrine preached by the Buddha. No man in his senses can possibly mean that. What they mean, as we sincerely believe, is either that all religions lead us at least a little way towards God and are thus to a certain extent good; or that, even if some do by themselves lead us astray,

God taking into consideration our good intentions rather than our clumsy efforts, draws us towards Himself on account of our wish to reach Him and in spite of the wrong steps that we unwittingly take away from Him. For in those two views there is some sense and and man is not naturally nonsensical.

### Planned Economy for India

Dr. J. P. Thomas in a thoughtful paper in *The Indian Review* says:

It may be that in certain respects India is more fitted for economic self-sufficiency than even the United States, but the present circumstances we have to proceed cautiously. Indeed we export little of some of our most important staples. Half the world's rice is in India, but we export very little of it; about 20 per cent of the world's cane sugar is raised in India, but we export no part of it. But we depend on outside markets for large proportions of our jute, cotton, tea, oil-seeds, and hides and skins, and as the world dependence on India for these commodities is rather on the decline, due to various causes, and as it is not likely that this will be consumed up by our industries in the near future, it is of vital importance that we should by agreement secure for us reliable markets outside for these important staples of our domestic production. We have already entered into agreement with Great Britain, the largest of our customers, and shall have to enter into similar agreements with our other principal customers. Those who oppose such agreements on the ground that they divert our natural currents of trade into artificial channels do not realize the trend of world demand for raw materials and food-stuffs; and they forget that *laissez faire* has failed not only in industrial relations, but in trade relations as well. International trade of the old type has broken down and in future the exchange of goods between nations will have to be as much subject to conscious planning as the internal economy of nations. In the absence of a world agreement, all we can expect to have are agreements between groups of nations tied together politically (e.g. the British Commonwealth) or by contiguity (e.g. countries in Western Europe, India and Ceylon), or by common interest in an important industry (e.g. Britain, India and Japan in regard to cotton). Such agreements may eventually lead to some kind of world planning, however imperfect it may be.

Our immediate objective must be to raise the purchasing power of the masses, so that the internal demand for consumable goods may be stimulated. This cannot be achieved by a mere reflation of the currency; a reflation of the economic system is the essential thing. A carefully adjusted scheme of productive public works, judiciously carried out all over the country, will go a great way increasing consumer's demand and this will give a flip to industry and to agriculture. At that stage, a scheme of agricultural and industrial improvement must be put into operation with a view to bring into being a balanced economic system in the country. This would be a difficult task indeed, but with proper organization it cannot be an impossible task. An essential preliminary to all this is a statistical survey of production and trade, without which no useful plan can be made. Such, in brief, is the immediate task before us.

### The Bhils of West Khandesh

Mr. Sigurd Ohlsson gives the following interesting account of the Bhils of West Khandesh in *The C. S. S. Review* :

From time immemorial the Bhil has inherited an almost unlimited sense of freedom, which did not forsake him, as reflected in the saying quoted above, even at the time when he was confined as "the King of the jungle." Without taking this fact into serious consideration all attempts at acquiring an intimate knowledge of his inner feelings and outlook on life will almost entirely fail. The degraded state into which he has been forced for centuries by unfavourable circumstances has not failed to provide him with an attitude of suspicion towards the outsider. When this has been overcome, however, he reveals himself as a most interesting and attractive fellow-man. The Bhil is ordinarily a harmless being, but if cruelly or unjustly treated, he may not hesitate to use any means in taking revenge of himself. He has a highly developed sense of humour and is generally very optimistic, "taking no care for the morrow."

The people dress very scantily, especially in Akrani, the jungle country on the Satpura mountains between the big rivers of Tapti and Nerbudda, where the whole dress consists of the traditional langoti, which here is almost universally adopted by the men. This piece of cloth, however, is rather artistically woven with stripes in many colours, not unlike a small apron. The women folk dress more copiously and adorn themselves with bulky rings of brassplate, half a dozen on each leg, their walk being pitifully hampered by this practice. On the plains the women wear necklaces made up of small limestones. These necklaces are wound a couple of dozen times around the neck, and amounting to a considerable weight they put their bearer in a most uncomfortable position.

In the plains the people live in compact villages, while the hill-people like to have their straw-or bamboo-hut in their respective fields. Cultivation is their main occupation, some of them being rather well-to-do while others are extremely poor.

While dealing with the Bhils in this district their habit of excessive use of liquor cannot be overlooked. During the hot weather they are very busy picking the flowers of the Mohwa-tree for the distilleries, among whose most faithful and reliable customers they are to be numbered. Their drinking habit has sadly degraded their character. We do not hesitate in saying that the frequent murder cases in Akrani are almost entirely the outcome of drink. The use of liquor has so become their second nature as to constitute an important part even of their worship and religious ceremonies. It is no exaggeration to say that their excessive use of liquor is the greatest hindrance to their progress.

Under such circumstances it is to be seriously lamented that Government have found it advisable to open several new liquor shops lately in the district. This policy will considerably hinder the attempts that are being made for the uplift of the people.

Up to the time of the beginning of the mission work at Khandesh no literature existed in Bhili. Now there are some hymn-books and reading books

as well as other small books published in different dialects. In the beginning the Roman characters were used, while now the *devanagari* alphabet is employed. The most important literary achievement, however, is undoubtedly the translation of the New Testament into two Bhili dialects *Dhivali* spoken in some parts of Nandurbar and Taloda Talukas, and *Valvi*, spoken by the hill tribes in Akrani. These translations were accomplished a few years ago, and the translation of the Old Testament is at present in preparation. These translations have been performed by Dr. Enok Hedberg, who some years back worked out a comprehensive Survey of the Bhili dialects of the district at the request of Government. Not less than 15 different dialects were discovered, at this time.

### Play in the School

Dr. J. M. Kumarappa writes in *The Field Madras*.

Psychologically speaking the time to train along any line is surely the time of greatest interest in that activity. It is during early childhood that the child has a natural incentive to effort in acquiring skill in physical activities. In fact, early childhood is the physical period of life, and therefore at least half of its time must really be devoted to physical activities. Since the first interests of the child during this period are physical, should not his first education also be physical? In view of these considerations, would it not be justifiable to take an hour off from the school day for play, at least for the younger pupils? There are two methods open to us in order to furnish all the school children with an opportunity to play at a reasonable expense. We may either take an hour from our present school day and devote this hour to play or we may add an hour or more to our school day and devote these hours to play. I doubt if any other satisfactory solution could be found.

I can see no serious objection to taking the time needed out of the school day for the younger children at least. We undoubtedly keep these poor children at school work for a much longer period than is really good for them. We are, in fact, making them stupid by compelling them to study lessons in which they are not interested and which have little or no relationship to their everyday experiences. Our present method of forcing on them knowledge and compelling them to perform tasks for which they have no use, is accomplishing very little in stimulating their mental life; on the other hand, it contributes much to stultify their minds and make them dislike books. If more play is provided in the school, it would remove much of the strain of the school day for both the pupil and the teacher. In fact, a longer day that makes room for play would, I believe, be wholly advantageous. It would save children from undue street temptations and bad influences; it would improve the health of the pupils and minimize absences on account of sickness. And what is more, it would tend to make the school life more enjoyable and to keep the children at school.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### The Rulers of Present-day China

William Martin, the distinguished journalist and former editor of the *Journal de Geneve*, writes in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* about the real rulers of present-day China:

Fourteen years of close association with the activities of the League of Nations have given me the opportunity of meeting and becoming intimately acquainted with a large number of the statesmen of all countries, and of forming an estimate of their capacity. Thus I am not speaking without knowledge when I say that the men at present ruling China are in no whit inferior in capacity to their Western colleagues. They are certainly overwhelmed by their problems, but no more so than the European statesmen. If they are having little success it is from no deficiency in capacity.

In theory, China is governed under a complicated system; in place of the normal three powers of the European State she has five, and on these is superposed a party regime similar to that of Russia, which originally inspired it. But the very complication of this system prevents it from really functioning, at all events in important matters; and it is no exaggeration to say that the real power is in the hands of three men, one representing the military element in the Government, the second exercising the political authority, and the third holding in his hands the whole economic life of the nation. It will be agreed that it is a happy arrangement.

The military leader is General Chiang Kai-shek, who bears the modest title of President of the Committee for Military Affairs; the political leader is Mr. Wang Ching-wei, Prime Minister. Together these two men embody so much of the supreme authority as is still in the hands of the Kuomintang party; for the remaining member of the permanent delegation of its central executive committee lives in Hong-Kong, in voluntary retirement, and from there sends out the most furious attacks on his party colleagues.

The third member of what may without exaggeration be called a triumvirate, Mr. T. V. Soong, has no important function in the party; but in the Government he is Minister of Finance and Vice-Premier, and, what is more, he is brother-in-law of General Chiang Kai-shek.

### The European Situation

The *Christian Register* has the following editorial on the explosive European situation of today, which is rendered more explosive still by the extravagant racial and nationalistic theories:

"Visitors returning from Europe this summer are almost unanimous in expression of grave concern as to the 'European situation.' It seems to be assumed that nationalism is running mad, that armament is excessive, and that an explosion may occur at almost any time. One might almost say that this situation is rather typical. The various European rivalries are

taken as a matter of course and it is said that their foundation is upon the fundamentals of human nature itself. Inquiry as to the origin of nationalism does not give as definite an explanation as one might suppose. Admittedly, racial prejudice has a strong biological background. Closely related fish do not interbreed. Birds with very little to distinguish them maintain the purity of their varieties. Shrubs and grasses which are quite similar do not mix. Of course, there are notable exceptions to this rule.

So it is natural that human beings of a single race should have more or less homogeneous group feeling. And yet America may be considered as a great laboratory, one of whose experiments has demonstrated the vulnerability of racial integrity. Among early colonists were French, Irish, Scotch, Jews, and many others. Their descendants have now disappeared as racial groups and are literally native stock. Many are surprised when they hear that some of Boston's old families are of Huguenot descent. The surnames of many of the early Irish settlers are now used as given names as evidence of distinction. Real racial purity is probably pretty rare in Europe. Even the Jewish contingent shows evidence of a mixture. If one consults the anthropologist, certain of these individuals have decided Negroid features; others appear to be Slavs, and the English Jew cannot be distinguished oftentimes from his fellow countryman. So race does not explain all Europe.

Religion has often bound persons together with a peculiar tie and led to a fanatical allegiance of people to each other, and group to group. Obviously, religious grouping in Europe eliminates this as a potent agent in the present dilemma.

Nationalism itself does not bear too close a scrutiny. One has but to read European history to find a most bitter strife between French, German or Dutch parties. But one hypothesis is left; which is, that the violent feelings now being engendered are but social artifacts, stimulated and kept potent by a leadership, though locally considered patriotic, still quite obviously selfish. If we study the habits of gregarious animals we find repeated evidence of the contagiousness of emotional expression. A note of fright sends the whole flock of crows into the air, while an air of calm keeps them eating in the field.

Much has been written lately on the gregariousness of man, but the contagiousness of emotional expression has not been given much place. So the situation in Europe is perhaps due, more than anything else, to expressions of fear, anger and hatred on the part of persons having dominant positions in the various countries. It is probable that the average citizen in every country wishes quiet and peace, to be left alone, but his emotional life is constantly kept in a state of instability by expressions of violent feeling on the part of leaders. Emotions which are continuously aroused, whether individually or as a group, are but the proverbial barrel of powder needing but a match to cause the explosion.

Let us hope that there are men whose influence will finally succeed in calming the turmoil so that



this generation may be spared the spectacle of another outbreak.

### World Citizenship.

Carl A. Ross discusses in *World Unity* the arguments for and against world citizenship :

It must be admitted, however, that this history does not fully answer the race objection to world organization and when it is disclosed that World Citizenship contemplates cooperation between the races, the white race, the yellow race and the brown and the black, the reaction is that is it a utopian dream, that the mere statement is enough to condemn it. The charge is made in the West that World Citizenship would be trying to force the dominant white race to rub noses with inferior races, the yellow, the brown and the black, yes with the igorrote too, while the East has a similar superiority complex.

If the premises of our opponents are sound this might prove an unanswerable objection to World Citizenship, but who is the one who would do away with all the basic civilizations of the earth, who is the one who would wipe out the culture of many older races in the process of reform, who is the one now trying to make all races rub noses? What peace principles would work the discard of the languages, art and literatures of the world? If you are not sure, read the quotations from Bryce again. We would not hold a brief for World Citizenship if we believed it meant the extinction of races, languages, local customs and civilizations now the pride of vast aggregations of peoples, either the white race or the yellow race whichever should fail to survive the long heralded conflict. We believe World Citizenship can retain its vital essence while harmonizing and reconciling races. We believe the organization of the World Empire should, in direct contrast to the organization of the American Empire, include diverse races, diverse forms of republican government, diverse religions and, as regards local self-government, diverse systems of law. We believe this can be accomplished without any rubbing of noses offensive to all races alike. We also believe the participation of Asian races in World Empire affairs, that is in affairs now extraterritorial, would "save the face" of Asia and by the same token "save the face" of the West. The constitution for the World Empire can and should permit and provide for a wide diversity in the domestic or local affairs of all nation members. In fact it is the only form of world organization where such diversity is at all possible. Who are those who would have us rub noses with other races and peoples? Clearly those advocating a single citizenship, an undivided allegiance, those who would give the Central Parliament of the World Empire jurisdiction over the local affairs of all nations alike, those who would by a single allegiance to the Empire require it to absorb all participating nations and make all people conform to the same set of local laws. We do not charge that present day peace advocates oppose any races openly, rather they cheerfully consort with all races, but in all their dealings with other races the white man now controlling the League group of peace organizations silently assumes that when any conflict arises the dominant, capitalistic, white man's system is superior and must survive imperialistically. It is true that as to languages, if the white man is French, he would insist that the French language survive, so the

English, so the others, but is this an illustration that points to unity except through French imperialism, English imperialism or other national imperialism? As with language, so with finance, so with law, so with education, the speaker assumes that the custom or practice of his own nation must survive and control. Has the League any antidote for this nationalistic poison, this imperialism? The literature of the League points out only one means by which they so much as claim they may be able to control these imperialistic ambitions of races, namely, public opinion. These people fail to recognize that there are as many kinds of public opinion as there are races or nations. Between heathen public opinion and educated public opinion there will always be a clash. If you say that educated public opinion should survive and dominate, perhaps you are right, but this does not avoid the clash and the fateful thing is that under the League's system only one allegiance and citizenship can survive that day when one public opinion, the world public opinion, supports the League so that it becomes a power competent to maintain world peace. In that day there can be no effective American public opinion, no effective Japanese or Chinese public opinion and it is easy to see that if by a miracle an effective world public opinion should come within the few years requisite to rescue the world from its present ills and threatened world wars, it could only be an esperanto public opinion.

### Usurious Debts.

*The Month* states the Catholic position about usurious debts in the following words :

It is to be hoped that the incubus of debts, whether national or international, which is largely the result of having a varying standard of value, and is at the bottom of much of the world's financial distress, may induce economic experts to recognize the difference between loans for reproductive enterprises, for which continued interest may rightly be required, and loans which are wholly consumed in meeting some immediate need, interest on which, prolonged after the amount has been returned, would seem to be of the nature of usury. Professor Keynes, by whose theories President Roosevelt is said to be much influenced, has not hesitated to say :

The medieval Church was wise to make a fundamental distinction between usury and a share in emergent profits. The war-debts are a case of pure usury. (*Daily Mail*, December 12, 1932.)

In practice, those who finance industry, take the risks of industry : unproductive ventures, generally pay no dividends ; but those who finance the State are guaranteed their interest however their money is used. Now, the Pope, in commanding the investing of superfluous income ("Quadragesimo Anno," p. 24), confines his approval to investments which secure "favourable opportunities for employment, provided the labour employed produces results which are really useful." It is to be hoped that, in helping the evolution of a "new order in industry" which may emerge from the present chaos, the theologians of the Church will define in greater detail what practices are really usurious and, therefore, unjust.

### Trade Rivalry Between Great Britain and Japan

*The Living Age* has the following note on the trade rivalry between Japan and Great Britain :

Trade Rivalry between Great Britain and Japan continues to increase, and now the same London journals that were oozing admiration for Japan's strong policy in Manchuria less than two years ago are demanding more embargoes on Japanese goods. The Federation of British Industries has submitted to the Board of Trade a 'Report on Japanese Competition' which points out among other things that in 1928 Great Britain exported seven or eight times as much artificial silk as Japan and that in 1932 Japan exported more than three times as much as England. Apparently not content with the abrogation of the Japanese-Indian trade agreement, which has already created great hostility to England in Japan, the *Saturday Review* remarks:—

The struggle of the British manufacturer is hopeless, unless the whole Empire pulls together and protects adequately Imperial trade. In the cotton trade, the Japanese operatives work at one-third of British wages if they are male and one-fourth if they are female. Moreover, they have a working week of sixty hour as against forty-eight in this county. The case is the same with wool textiles. The discrepancy in the artificial-silk industry is even greater. For example, in Japan a spinner of rayon yarn earns 14s. 7d. for a six-and-a-half-day week, while in England 7s. 6d. is paid for forty-eight hours. Electric lamps are produced as 'a cottage industry' for export, and wages range from 2½d. to 3d. a day for children to 7d. for women and 1s. for men. In Great Britain a days wage in this trade considerably exceeds the earnings of a Japanese during a whole week.

But the Yokohama correspondent of the *Morning Post* has a solution for the trouble. In a dispatch entitled, 'The West's Only Chance: Simpler Scale of Living,' this commentator points out:—

The West has failed to learn from Japan how to avoid extravagance and luxury . . . Capital and labor must be content with profits and wages low enough to compete with all comers . . . When the Lancashire capitalist has to pay wages five times higher than the wages paid for the same work in Japan, how can successful competition be possible?

He then goes on to say that England must compete against 'labor that is content with life's simplicities and considers any wage better than none and adds that 'it is this simplicity of life that the West must learn.' In reply the irreverent 'Yaffle', weekly columnist for the Independent Labor Party's *New Leader*, says:—

So we must brace ourselves to the struggle to reduce life to the lowest possible level. The fight will be hard. When two determined, patriotic nations fight with religious fervor to reach the lowest scale of living, by the time the fight is over there will be no scale and very little living. But that is our aim: it is to prove that the only way to get full advantage of an industrial system that can produce everything is to do without everything. The crusade is on. Let us prove that a Christian can be an even bigger fool than a Shintoist.

### Hitler's Berlin

Clifford Sharp writes in the *New Statesman* about Hitler and the happenings in Germany, stating the following as facts:

(1) That Hitler's conquest of the minds and hearts of all classes of Germans, largely since he came into power, is now so complete that even if all his Brown Shirts and Steel Helmets and the rest of his uniformed followers were to be disbanded to-morrow he would still be easily the strongest man in Germany, and on

any appeal to the electorate would be confirmed in power by a quite overwhelming majority of votes. His natural opponent, the trade unions and the Social Democrats, are too divided among themselves, too tired of their old leaders, and altogether too half-hearted to offer any serious resistance at all.

(2) That this is a real revolution, a very great event in the history of Europe, having enormous popular forces behind and beneath it as a foundation—as contrasted with the *pis aller* German revolution of 1918, which had no foundation at all, when in truth a president had to be created merely because an emperor had died.

(3) That this revolution is in its essence simply the delayed reaction of a great nation against the injustices and stupidities of the Treaty of Versailles and the indefensible subsequent invasion of the Ruhr, and that the strength and depth of this reaction are proportionate both to its long delay and to the enormity of the blunders of the Allies in general and of the French in particular.

(4) That Hitler is recognized by the whole of the political and official intelligentsia as an exceedingly able man—easily the ablest leader and spokesman that Germany has found at least since the death of Dr. Stresemann—if not since very much longer than that.

(5) That Hitler's final step into power has produced a psychological effect on the minds of the German nation as a whole so rapid and so great that it must be seen to be believed.

### Lenin as Revolutionary Leader

The Publication of the second instalment of Lenin's works gives an opportunity to a reviewer of *The New Republic* to attempt an estimate of his achievements and greatness:

The Tenth anniversary of Lenin's death will be observed next January. His great co-worker, Trotsky, standing before Lenin's tomb on the eve of his own exile, is reported to have said, "He is alive, although dead, and I am dead, although alive." Here was, in fact, a life which has already become almost a mythical symbol, pointing into the far future like the shadow of some towering prophet. Obscure political refugee, leader of exiles, organizer of revolt, directing intelligence of a world-shaking social upheaval, token of hope to millions of disinherited, figure of doom to thousands of wealthy and well born, triumphant builder of new road to life: such was the incredible career of Vladimir Ilyich, modest, shabby, thoughtful little man, wholly incapable of theatricality and, in his own eyes, never more than a stubborn champion of Marxism and an humble servant of the workers of Russia and of the world.

As judged by its fruits, Lenin's revolutionary strategy and tactics must obviously be pronounced a work of genius. They rest upon an application of Marxian dialectics to class politics in Russia. To outsiders it might appear that Lenin made Marxism "true" (for Russia) by his intense faith and able leadership. But for Lenin himself Marxism was never a faith, but a tool for the scientific analysis of social and political processes. If at times the application of the tool led to false results, the fault was not in the instrument but in the user. Usually, however, this analytical technique enabled Lenin to see reality with crystal-clear sharpness and to weigh to a nicety the shifting imponderables of world society. To describe

the strategy itself in summary review is impossible, for strategy has significance only in relation to topography, leadership, material, morale—in short, to the whole theatre of battle and to the total set-up behind the scenes. One must read his own words for a sense of this background and for an adequate conception of Lenin's astute plans of campaign. Only a few of the present-day implications of his strategy can be touched on here.

The condition of Social-Democracy in 1933 is eloquent testimony to Lenin's acuteness in perceiving, thirty years ago, that parliamentary, reformist Socialism is not merely forever incapable of achieving its goal, but betrays the very cause which it intends to serve. The German Social-Democratic Party—always the most impressive section of the Second International—was most bitterly denounced by Lenin for its support of the War in 1914. Now, after twenty years of frustration, it has ceased to exist. Its Italian counterpart is likewise dead beyond hope of resurrection. In France, England and America, Socialist parties continue to drag out their existence without much faith in the future. The futility of opportunist, revisionist Socialism has become even more apparent in the Western democracies than it was in Tsarist Russia. All of this Lenin clearly anticipated and predicted.

#### Air Transport and Spread of Diseases

Julian Huxley writes in *The Modern Thinker* :

The applications of science need not always benefit us. Sometimes the changes they bring about may lead to serious harm. Too often, the harm is not recognized until after the event, but sometimes it can be foreseen, and then it may be possible to guard against it. The only trouble is that the people who foresee the harm are generally not the people whose business it is to guard against it.

The spread of yellow fever is a case in point, where we can see possible harm ahead. Pure medical science, just over thirty years ago, showed that yellow fever is transmitted by a particular brand of mosquito. Applied medical science, aided largely by Rockefeller funds, proceeded to take advantage of this knowledge and clean up a number of the world's yellow fever centres, banishing the disease outright from some, and reducing it in others. Now comes another branch of applied science, in the form of improved transport facilities in general and airplanes in particular, and threatens to spread the disease to regions which it has never yet reached, but where all the conditions are set for its blazing through crowded populations like a flame through dry stubble. But meanwhile the knowledge supplied by medical science has made it possible for us to foresee the danger and, if we choose, to prevent it.

He then goes on to give an account of the spread of Yellow fever from the west coast of Africa to South America through slave ships. "This is one of the most terrible of diseases, and, Mr. Huxley fears that it may spread to Asia through air transport. As he goes on to say :

So far, it has not managed to gain a foothold in the great continent of Asia. But that it might manage to do so is the danger now threatened by improved methods of transport. All that is needed is the introduction of a few human beings carrying the parasites in their blood. The other link in the chain of the disease is already there; the yellow fever mosquito abounds through the warmer parts of the

Asiatic continent. If the parasite once gained a footing, conditions are appallingly favorable for its rapid spread. For one thing, it has now been discovered that other creatures beside man, notably many kinds of monkeys, can take the disease. Then the human population in many parts, such as India and China, is much denser than in the original home of the disease; most of the people are illiterate, live unhygienic lives, and are full of superstitions and prejudices which would make quarantine or any proper measures of mosquito-control extremely difficult. Asia, in fact, is rather like a powder-magazine waiting for a spark. If the disease did arrive, and began to spread, it is hard to see what would prevent its causing one of the most devastating epidemics in human history, before which the Black Death and the Spanish influenza might well come to look insignificant. Luckily, the sea voyage from any infected area is too long for patients to remain infective to mosquitoes, and on modern ships water is no longer carried in open butts where mosquitoes can breed. The chief danger seems to lie in the possible spread of the disease across the African continent from west to east, and thence by easy stages in native vessels along the coast to India.

The greater degree of human movement due to easier transport, to the stopping of tribal war, and to the encouragement of trade, is already having its effects. In the years since the War, yellow fever has already spread about eight hundred miles further inland from the west coast. There still remains a huge tract of jungle for it to pass before it reaches the more populous open country of East Africa, but motor roads and air-lines are coming into use everywhere, and these are a real danger. Not only do they make it much more likely for human yellow fever carriers to get across, but they give new opportunities to the mosquitoes. Mosquitoes like shady places, and the interior of a closed car or an airplane offers an attractive refuge.

It is worth trying to imagine what might happen if yellow fever really got a hold in India or China. The disease seems to be at its most virulent when it attacks a population which has not previously been exposed to it. It is not uncommon for four out of every five patients to die, and in Rio de Janeiro in 1898, out of every twenty who took the disease, only one escaped. Proper treatment can reduce the danger, but proper treatment is not likely to be available in remote Asiatic villages. Strict quarantine can prevent it from spreading, but in many parts of Asia it is not likely that rigid quarantine would be either enforced or obeyed. It has been suggested by some authorities that the tropical fever called dengue, which is rather like a mild yellow fever, in some way protects against infection with yellow fever, but recent research gives no support to this idea. This disease would in all probability spread over tropical and sub-tropical Asia, especially round the coasts and up the rivers, flaring up into violent epidemics in favorable years, smouldering dangerously at other times. Millions of people would die, until, after some centuries, selection would have left a race of survivors somewhat more resistant to the parasite. Meanwhile trade would be disorganized, and white men would venture there at their peril as they did to Sierra Leone and other parts of the west coast of Africa in the bad old days when this was called the White Man's Grave, before science and sanitation had got to work. It would be a disaster of the first magnitude, and would divide the world into two sectors—a plague-stricken East and a West striving to protect itself by isolation and quarantine.



# NOTES

## *World Peace and Traffic in Arms and Ammunition*

Ever since the establishment of the British Empire in India, Britain has managed to throw part of her military burden on the shoulders of this country, which she continues to bear. This burden will not decrease until there is disarmament or reduction of armaments and lasting world peace and until India has complete political autonomy. For these reasons, in addition to our pacifist temperament, we are vitally interested in the disarmament talks in Europe and America. The other day Baron von Neurath, the German Foreign Minister, told some foreign journalists :

"Fully armed nations who were less disposed than ever to disarm had no right to talk to Germany like a school-master. Germany would not listen, she would not submit to the continuance of the Versailles spirit and would not accept the idea of preliminary control of herself before control was internationally applied."

And today (Sept. 19, 1933) we read the following message from Paris :

Paris, Sept. 18.

Wide divergences over the powers of the proposed permanent commission for control of armaments were revealed at this morning's meeting of British and French statesmen, although M. Paul Boncour declared that there had been some rapprochement of views.

It is feared that no definite advance is likely before Captain Eden departs for Rome to-morrow for similar conversations.

Although the talks are regarded as vital because Geneva, next month, must see either to success of the disarmament conference or a resumed race for armaments, it is undeniable that French opinion has hardened, especially following Baron von Neurath's promise that the sole alternative to the collapse of disarmament is equality of armament. The fundamentals of the French doctrine are, firstly, no rearmament of Germany, secondly, no

disarmament of France for five years in order to make sure that Germany is keeping faith and thirdly, universal international control of armaments.

The only point on which France is likely to yield is Germany's probationary period. It is understood that Britain is contriving that France shall promise to disarm to Germany's level at the end of the period.—*Reuter*.

But, though, partly according to the source of these foreign telegrams, sometimes one, sometimes another of the big Powers may be blamed for the continuance of the war spirit, it is the biggest arms and ammunition manufacturing and exporting countries, which are under the thumb of their capitalists, that must be reckoned with. The reasons are not far to seek.

Occidental capitalists, particularly those who are engaged in the manufacture of and the international traffic in arms and ammunition are greatly interested in the perpetuation of war. Among the forces which go against the establishment of lasting peace must be reckoned the influence and efforts of these men.

We read in the latest issue (August 16, 1933) of the American *Foreign Policy Reports* :

In at least two, and possibly three, international conflicts during the past year the efforts of peace agencies have been hampered by the activities of armament manufacturers. For example, while the League of Nations and a Committee of Neutrals in Washington were striving to terminate the conflict between Bolivia and Paraguay, European and American armament firms were furnishing virtually all the war materials used by both belligerents in the Chaco hostilities. In the Leticia dispute between Colombia and Peru, the efforts of the League were also obstructed by shipments of war materials from four or five of the large arms-producing countries.

The enormous volume of this traffic will appear from the following table compiled

from the League of Nations statistical year-book covering the trade of 59 countries and 49 colonies.

League figures show the total value of exports from all countries to have been as follows :

1921	\$42,811,275
1922	42,452,413
1923	39,419,100
1924	45,702,200
1925	48,102,200
1926	51,105,400
1927	48,060,400
1928	59,239,000
1929	64,091,000
1930	55,201,500

These figures do not include military aircraft or war vessels and other naval armaments, nor do they give any indication of the total production of war materials or the total output of the privately controlled arms industry—which is many times the amount of arms exports.

Some ten industrial countries manufacture war materials on a large scale. These supplied 93.2 per cent of the total exports of arms and ammunition recorded in 1930.

The distribution of world trade in arms among these countries is shown in the following table :

	Per cent of total exports in 1930
Great Britain	30.8
France	12.9
United States	11.7
Czechoslovakia	9.6
Sweden	7.8
Italy	6.8
The Netherlands	5.4
Belgium	4.4
Denmark	1.9
Japan	1.9

It will be noted that 55 per cent of the total world exports in 1930 came from three countries—Great Britain, France and the United States. The private arms industries of these three countries, moreover, have been the source of approximately 75 per cent—more than \$459,000,000—of all the war materials exported since 1920.

It has to be borne in mind further that

Official figures give only a fragmentary picture of the British arms shipments to the Far East and South America. Statements made in the House of Commons, however, reveal that during 1932 British firms sold 7,735,000 rounds of small arms ammunition to China and 5,000,000 rounds to Japan, as compared with a total of 3,718,000 rounds for all foreign countries in 1930. Since 1926 Japan has been one of Great Britain's largest purchasers of automatic machine guns, buying 1,220 guns from British firms during these four years. In 1932, however, British factories exported 740 machine guns to Japan—almost double the number exported in the previous year. In March 1933 Great Britain exported 300 additional machine guns to Japan. Shipments were at the same time being made to China, British firms exporting 61 machine guns to that country in 1932. Commenting on this fact in the House of Lords, Lord

Marley declared that British armament firms had shown "complete impartiality" during the year in supplying arms to both Japan and China.

Complete impartiality indeed! This impartiality means that, while theoretically Britain's membership of the League of Nations pledges her to promote and maintain peace all over the world, she has *in fact* helped both Japan and China to fight. And another great Member-State of the League, France, also took similar, though considerably less part in war :

The French trade in arms, while considerably less than the British, aggregated \$124,658,900 in the decade between 1920 and 1930.

### *The Viceroy's Responsibility for Non-conclusion of Peace*

*Unity* of Chicago writes :

The refusal of the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, to meet Gandhi involves no defeat or humiliation for India. In accordance with the invariable custom of his life, the Mahatma was leaving no stone unturned to bring reconciliation and peace to the Empire. If the agonizing struggle is to continue, it must be Britain that decrees it; and Gandhi's manoeuvre has thus placed responsibility precisely where it belongs—at the Viceroy's threshold. What is constantly ignored in our western judgments upon the Indian situation is, first, the hold which Gandhi has upon his people—a hold fundamentally spiritual and not political in character; and, secondly, the principles upon the basis of which the Indians are conducting their campaign. These principles have nothing of physical power and might in them, and thus know nothing of victory and defeat as we understand these terms. Out of the very defeat of Gandhi, as we look at it, may come victory, as out of the cross of Jesus came triumph. What we know is that India has decided to *go on*, under the leadership of a man of consummate statesmanship and heroic spiritual passion. That this decision is satisfactory to all but British imperialists is or should be manifest.

### *Mr. C. F. Andrews on the White Paper*

In our last issue, page 360, we wrote :

"Mr. Andrews appears to be under the impression that it would be a calamity if the White Paper proposals were not embodied substantially in the Constitution Act. That is not the prevailing Indian opinion."

These and similar observations in our Note in the last issue, entitled "Mr. C. F. Andrews on the Heart of England," were based on the interview which he gave to the *Associated Press* on landing in Bombay. On reading our



RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

After the painting by Briggs

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



Note he sent us the following telegram from Poona :

"My interview on landing gave unfortunately wrong impression regarding my opinion [of] White Paper. I unhesitatingly condemn it as overweighted with safe-guards and allowing no tangible financial control. [There are] other vital objections also."

### *Mr. B. C. Chatterjee's Services in England to Bengal Hindus*

The last number of our *Review*, p. 368, contained an editorial note on Mr. B. C. Chatterjee's work in England. The very prominent Indian from whose letter extracts were made in that note has written to us on the subject again. Says he :

"I must bear my testimony to the most skilful yet bold and most patriotic manner in which he discharged his duties here as a member of the Mahasabha Deputation. If portions from their evidences are quoted and published in the papers, all misrepresentation will vanish in the air. I have no hesitation to say that Bengal cannot be too grateful to him for the work he did here. But unfortunately the work the Mahasabha deputation have begun here is not yet finished." After mentioning details, the writer proceeds : "For this purpose the presence of Mr. B. C. Chatterjee in London in the month of October is very urgently needed."

In our opinion Mr. B. C. Chatterjee should be pressed by Bengal Hindus to proceed to England as early as practicable and he should comply with their request.

### *Rammohun Roy Centenary*

As one belonging to the Brahmo Samaj the editor of this journal naturally reveres Rammohun Roy, the founder of that religious denomination. As a Bengali he honours Rammohun Roy, the distinguished Bengali. As an Indian he holds in high regard that great modern Indian.

The homage paid to Rammohun Roy by non-Brahmos, non-Bengalis and non-Indians cannot but gladden his heart.

The centenary of the death of Rammohun Roy at Bristol on the 27th September, 1833

is going to be celebrated this year in different provinces, towns and villages in India, and in England and America. This is a proof that the great reformer is claimed by Indians as an Indian, and outside India by some non-Indians at any rate as belonging to all mankind—a proof of Sir B. N. Seal's pronouncement that he was a "universal man."

Articles on Rammohun Roy, written by non-Bengalis, have been appearing in several newspapers outside Bengal, and preparations are being made for celebrating the centenary. It is being recognized that it is, as the non-Bengali and non-Brahmo editor of *The Leader* calls it in the following editorial article,

#### "A GREAT OCCASION"

"For many long years Indians, as a grateful people, have been celebrating with due ceremony the death anniversary of Raja Rammohun Roy who cast off his mortal coil at Bristol on Sept. 27, 1833. The celebration of the day this year, which is shortly coming, will assume special significance as it happens to be the centenary of his death. Rammohun Roy was something more than a great Indian: he was the first great man of modern India. Almost in every sphere, in education, journalism, literature, politics, social reform and religion, he was an outstanding figure with the supreme distinction that he broke the ground where others did not trace a furrow. In the choice language of Dr. Tagore, 'he is the great path-maker of this century who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step, and initiated us into the present Era of world-wide co-operation of humanity.' To celebrate the centenary of the death of so great a man is not only a privilege but also a duty, and it is but right that adequate arrangements should be made to observe the day on a bigger scale than usual as befitting the occasion and in a manner worthy of the man and of the country. Already in Calcutta a comprehensive scheme has been developed by representative public men under the distinguished leadership of the Poet and an appeal made by him, Mr. J. N. Basu, secretary of the Rammohun Roy centenary committee and Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta, treasurer, to all Indians, irrespective of caste and creed, to enlist themselves as members of the committee and also contribute to its funds, so that the scheme of celebration which includes ceremonial functions as well as permanent memorials to the Raja's memory, may be effectively carried out. It was but in the nature of things that these centenary celebrations should find (as they are likely to do) more eloquent and wide-spread manifestations in Bengal than in other provinces. It should however be borne in mind that if Rammohun Roy belonged to Bengal more, he did not belong to the rest of India less. In fact he belonged to humanity. Who can ignore the force of Jeremy Bentham's tribute, to him as 'an intensely admired and beloved collaborator in the service of humanity'? May it be hoped that the U. P. will enthusiastically join its voice to the national

chorus in singing the glory of Rammohun, whose name is always an inspiration to every good cause and noble effort? It is a great occasion which no province or community in India should miss, for much of the progress the country has made during the last hundred years can be traced to the lofty-minded and high-souled endeavours of Rammohun Roy."

### *Foreign Appreciations of Rammohun Roy*

Owing to politico-economic causes Englishmen in general are not at present in the mood to recognize India's greatness in any direction and Indian's distinction in the person of any of their fellow-countrymen. But among the British men and women who were Rammohun Roy's contemporaries—even among those who were sojourners in India—there were many who appreciated his achievement and respected and loved him. It is not our intention, and it would not be possible even if we wanted, to reproduce their eulogies here. But an extract may be made here from the letter of an English sojourner in India who knew Rammohun Roy, Mr. J. S. Buckingham, editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, who came out to this country in 1818 and had ample opportunities to come into close contact with the Raja. Wrote he in 1823 :

"Rammohun Roy might have had abundant opportunities of receiving rewards from the Indian Government, in the shape of offices and appointments, for his mere neutrality; but being as remarkable for his integrity as he is for his attainments, he has pursued his arduous task of endeavouring to improve his countrymen, to beat down superstition, and to hasten as much as possible those reforms in the religion and government of his native land of which both stand in equal need. He has done all this, to the great detriment of his private interests, being rewarded by the coldness and jealousy of all the great functionaries of Church and State in India, and supporting the Unitarian chapel—the Unitarian Press—and the expense of his own publications, besides other charitable acts, out of a private fortune, of which he devotes more than one-third to acts of the purest philanthropy and benevolence."

From the opinion of a contemporary English journalist in India let us pass on to what a contemporary French naturalist and traveller, Victor Jacquemont, who knew Rammohun Roy personally and has left a graphic description of the Raja's features and appearance.

The French scientist wrote in his *Voyage*

*dans l'Inde*, Tome I (Paris, 1841), pp. 183-188 :

"Before coming out to India I knew that he was an able orientalist, a subtle logician and an irresistible dialectician; but I had no idea that he was the best of men .....

"Rammohun Roy is a man of about fifty years of age, tall, stout rather than fat, and of a middle complexion among the Bengalis. The portrait in profile which they have made here, is a close likeness, but the front view is not so good; his eyes are too small for his large face, and his nose inclines to the right side. He has a very slight moustache; his hair, rather long behind, is thick and curly. There is vigour in his physiognomy, and calmness, dignity and goodness. His dress is of the simplest, differing from that of well-to-do Indians only in the socks and shoes of European pattern which he used instead of wearing slippers on bare feet. He wore no trinkets, not even the sacred thread, unless he had it under his dress.....

"...He never expresses an opinion without taking precautions on all sides,...

"...He has grown in a region of ideas and feelings which is higher than the world in which his countrymen live; he lives alone; and though, perhaps, the consciousness of the good he is accomplishing affords him a perpetual source of satisfaction, sadness and melancholy mark his grave countenance." (*Translated from the French.*)

In her appreciation of Rammohun Roy Madame H. P. Blavatsky speaks of him as "one of the purest, most philanthropic and enlightened men India ever produced." In her opinion,

His intellectual power was confessedly very great, while his manners were most refined and charming and his moral character without a stain. Add to this a dauntless moral courage, perfect modesty, warm humanitarian bias, patriotism, and a fervid religious feeling, and we have before us the picture of a man of the noblest type. Such a person was the ideal of a religious reformer. Had his constitution been more rugged and his sensitiveness less acute, he might have lived to see far greater fruits of his self-sacrificing labours than he did. One searches the record of his life and work in vain for any evidence of personal conceit, or a disposition to make himself figure as a heaven-sent messenger.

Madame Blavatsky writes further :—

It is said by Miss Martineau that his death was hastened by the anguish he felt to see the awful living lie that practical Christianity was in its stronghold. Miss Mary Carpenter does not touch upon this point in her *Memoir of his Last Days* in England, but she prints among other sermons that were preached after his decease one by the Rev. J. Scott Porter, a Presbyterian clergyman of Belfast, Ireland, in which he says that "Offences against the laws of morality, which are too often passed over as trivial transgressions in European society, excited the deepest horror in him." And this is quite enough to give the colour of truth to Miss Martineau's assertion.

In the course of his address on Rammohun Roy Professor MaxMuller said :

"The German name for prince is 'furst,' in English first,' he who is always to the fore, he who courts the place of danger, the first place in fight and the last in flight. Such a 'Furst' was Rammohun Roy, a true prince, a real Raja, if Raja also, like Rex, meant originally the steersman, the man at the helm."

Professor Sylvain Levi, the French orientalist, has said in the course of an address on Rammohun Roy :

"Raja Rammohun Roy, Father of modern India, was one of the most remarkable personalities of his age. While representing all that was best in the Indian tradition, he showed his special genius in a line where the Indians of today are the weakest—in translating into practice by the force of will the dictates of idealism.... He fought with phenomenal heroism, against desperate odds, to realize his ideal. If India today wanted any model to shape her present destiny and future history, Rammohun should be the model. He was really the first to bring modern India abreast of universal history. A profound scholar in Sanskrit and Brahminical lore, the Raja's unbounded intellectual curiosity and insatiable thirst for discovery of the fundamental unity of the human mind, drove him to study the ancient Hebrew, Arabic and Persian literatures.... His philosophical acumen, the rare universality of his outlook and the courtesy he showed towards his Indian as well as European contemporaries opposed to his views, go to make him a great man in the real sense of the term."

It is unnecessary to discuss here the advantages and disadvantages of the education through the medium of English and according to some Western system which Indians have been receiving for generations. This education has promoted our intellectual, moral, social and political progress, enabled us to share in international culture and progress and has, in any case, enabled many to earn their living. Much of the credit for the introduction of this system of education belongs to Rammohun. In the Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, page 110, we are told that "it is important to notice that the strongest influence in bringing this 'English Party' [which advocated English education in India] into existence were the petition of Rammohun Roy [to Lord Amherst] and the practical experience of the Committee." There are distinct echoes of Rammohun's letter to Lord Amherst in Macaulay's Minute advocating English education.

### *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the Problem of India*

In the course of the interview which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave to *The Pioneer* after his release from jail, he said that the problem of India was more economic than political. His view, which was well known before this interview, is that society based on capitalism and the existence of privileged classes has become effete and harmful and that it required to be reconstructed. He does not want the reconstruction to be exactly on the Russian model, but somewhat on Russian lines. In his view Swaraj was wanted for reducing the cost of the administration and lightening the burden on the peasantry. But, according to Sir Malcolm Hailey, provincial autonomy will increase the cost by crores of rupees. The material condition of the masses cannot be improved without interfering with vested interests.

All efforts for securing to the producers of wealth their just dues and rights deserve support and we have, therefore, every sympathy with Pandit Jawaharlal's object.

Whether it is said that the problem of India is more economic than political or that it is more political than economic, the problem is undoubtedly both political and economic. And it is social, too. India's economic problem is due to a great extent to her political condition. If society has to be reconstructed on an equitable economic foundation, the rebuilders of society on such a basis must have irresistible political power. Not to speak of such thoroughly radical reconstruction as has been accomplished in Russia, even a less thoroughgoing reconstruction would require the possession of supreme political power. This means that power must pass from British into Indian hands. The question is whether this transfer of power can be achieved more easily and speedily by Congress leaders engaging in a fight with British imperialists and capitalists, Indian princes, and Indian capitalists and landlords simultaneously, or by all classes of Indians in British India engaging in a joint struggle for wresting power from British imperialists and capitalists. We are not among those who think that Congress has achieved nothing and that the Non-co-operation movement has



been an utter failure. We are fully aware of its great subjective achievements. But so far as the objective aspect is concerned, the British Government has proved the stronger of the two antagonists. It is true that neither the landlords nor the industrial and mercantile magnates have sided with the Congress in a body or in considerable numbers. But it is well known that many of the latter—particularly on the Bombay side—have contributed to Congress finance. So it cannot be said that they have been as inimical to the Congress movement as British imperialists. The question, therefore, arises whether—to put it on no higher ground—it would be wise strategy to antagonize influential classes of Indians, who are not all hostile to the masses nor quite insignificant in numbers.

The Russian solution of the economic, political and social problem has not been accepted as final;—it has yet to stand the test of time. In Italy and Germany and to a less pronounced extent, in some other countries, a different solution is being attempted. Perhaps, neither of the two kinds of solutions is right.

In the European countries under reference, the struggle has been between parties who are natives of the soil. If in India there be a struggle of the kind implied in the programme adumbrated by Mr. Nehru, there will be more parties than two, one additional party consisting of British foreigners. Would Congress, which has not been a match for only one party, be more than a match for more parties than one combined?

We know we shall be accused of being timid and faint hearted and worldly-wise and prudent. We never have been nor claimed to be heroic. What appears to us to be true is that sometimes wisdom is miscalled worldly prudence. We have never been enamoured of class struggles. Countrywide class struggles should not be considered inevitable. If the League of Nations and pacifists think that disputes between nations can be settled by arbitration, as they have been in some minor cases at least, there is no reason why disagreements between classes, forming part of the same nation, should be considered unamenable to the same treatment.

There are in India communal, linguistic, provincial and caste dissensions. Some persons appear to think that if class struggles were introduced, all the other dissensions would disappear. We do not think that would be the case. The recent starting of trade unions, chambers of commerce, literary societies, etc., on communal lines does not appear to show that class struggles would swallow up all other struggles. On the contrary, they would introduce an additional disruptive force.

### *Mr. Nehru Will Not Leave India.*

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told *The Pioneer* interviewer that he had no idea of leaving India to go abroad. Perhaps the fact that two of our leading political workers have been abroad for some time suggested the idea that Mr. Nehru also might or would follow suit. But Mr. Vithalbhai Patel and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose have gone abroad for medical treatment. May Pandit Jawaharlal never stand in need of going abroad in search of health,—not at least in similar circumstances.

There is an appalling amount of ignorance regarding India in foreign countries. Both Mr. Patel and Mr. Bose have done their bit for removing this ignorance. More work in that direction requires to be done continually, in order that India's cause may have the moral support of those foreigners who are humanitarians and lovers of freedom.

Indians living outside India cannot lead any political party in India. They cannot keep themselves in close touch with the members of the party and abreast of events. The distance is great and the means of communication are entirely under the control of non-Indians. Even non-revolutionary and non-seditious pronouncements, like some of those of Messrs. Patel and Bose, are prevented from being reproduced and circulated.

The cases of Irish, Hungarian and Italian patriots working outside their native lands cannot be treated as precedents or parallels. An Asiatic and non-Christian country cannot expect to rouse the same sympathy in Western Christendom as European and Christian countries.

There is another important difference. Neither Italy, nor Hungary, nor Ireland provided industrial countries with such a big market for manufactured goods as industrially backward India does. India can advance industrially to an appreciable extent if she becomes politically autonomous. But if she became industrially advanced she would cease to be such a big market as she is now for the classes of foreign manufactured goods exported to this country. Why then should industrial nations help her to be politically autonomous, which would be synonymous with comparative economic independence?

Self-exile of political leaders is not to be preferred. Their work lies primarily in India. But, of course, if any politically-minded Indian is or feels obliged to leave India for any reason, he will naturally serve the Motherland from abroad in all the ways he can.

### *Pandit Jawaharlal on the White Paper*

Pandit Jawaharlal has expressed the opinion that the White Paper is utterly worthless. He is glad that it is so; as, if it had been partly good and partly bad, it would have been more difficult to reject it. He is right.

### *Press Statement Relating to Cellular Jail Prisoners in the Andamans*

The following Press statement was issued early in September over the signatures of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir P. C. Ray and others:

"The recent deaths of three of the hunger-strikers in the Andamans Cellular Jail—Messrs. Mahabir Singh, Mankrishna Namadas, and Mohit Maitra—have roused grave fears and misgivings in the minds of the public. The Government may have their own explanations for these deaths, but the fears and anxieties of the public cannot be allayed unless a searching enquiry into the circumstances leading to these deaths is instituted by the Government. Moreover, from the Government *communiqué* and newspaper reports, it appears that the grievances which led the prisoners to resort to hunger-strike in May last were quite legitimate. They only asked for such reasonable amenities as the supply of light at night in the cells, supply of suitable diet, supply of weekly newspapers and permission to have usual interviews and to receive money (to be kept in the Jailor's custody) for personal expenditure. The public has an impression that the hunger-strike was given

up after 45 days on an assurance given to the prisoners that all their grievances would be looked into. It is reported in the newspapers that the Home Member has stated in the Legislative Assembly that some of the grievances of these prisoners have been recently removed. But what is wanted is that all the grievances should be removed.

"The public is also alarmed at the report that prisoners in the various provincial Jails were selected for transfer to the Andamans irrespective of their conduct in those Jails, and that the majority of the prisoners so transferred had not been sentenced to transportation but to various terms of imprisonment, being as low as 4 years in some cases. It is further difficult to understand why prisoners who had already served out a considerable portion of their terms of imprisonment in Indian Jails, should now be required to complete the rest of their terms—in many cases, perhaps, only three or four years—in the Andamans.

"We wish to lay emphasis on the fact that the present action of the Government of India have gone against their definite decision in 1926, after the publication of the report of the Indian Jails Committee in 1919, to send to the Andamans only those prisoners who express a willingness to go.

"Finally we urge that the Government owe it to themselves, as much as to the public, to repatriate to India, without further delay, the hundred and odd political prisoners who have been sent to these unhealthy islands in the teeth of popular protest; and we earnestly request the Government henceforward to stop altogether the transfer of compulsory transportation of any class of convicts to the Andamans."

The signatories to the statement included

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Acharya P. C. Roy, Sm. Basanti Debi, Sm. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Nellie Sen-Gupta, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Rev. C. F. Andrews, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. B. G. Horniman, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, Mr. Satyamurti, Dr. Mohammad Alam, Mr. P. R. Das (Patna), Mr. Asaf Ali (Delhi), Mr. M. C. Chagla (Bombay), Mr. Jannadas Mehta, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu (Mayor of Calcutta), Mr. Hirendra Nath Dutt, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Kumar Shibshekhareswar Roy, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Messrs. Anritlal Ojha, Messrs. Mujibar Rahaman, D. P. Khaitan, Narendra Kumar Basu, A. K. Fazlul Haque, Abdul Karim, Devendra Lal Khan (Narajole), Shantishekhareswar Roy, P. C. Roy, Satyananda Bose, B. C. Chatterjee, Kiron Shankar Roy, Rama Prosad Mukherjee, Baroda Prosanna Pain, B. N. Sasmal, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, N. C. Chunder, J. C. Gupta, Kishori Mohan Chowdhury, Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerjee and Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta.

The editor of this *Review* was among the signatories to this statement. When signing it, he did not have any expectation or hope that our prestige-ridden and strong Government would be influenced by it. So it has not surprised us in the least to learn that

Sir Harry Haig has said in the Council of State :

"I should like to make it plain that Government have no intention of being deflected from their policy in regard to this terrorist menace either by hunger-strikes of prisoners or by resolutions and manifestoes based on misunderstandings and misrepresentations."

The statement which we signed was not based on any misunderstanding or misrepresentation. The only sentence in it which Sir Harry Haig has corrected is where it was written that the hunger-strikers broke their fast on an assurance being given that their grievances would be looked into. He has said there was no such assurance given.

We signed the statement and agreed to its publication as a matter of public duty. For long years past efforts have been made in England and other countries to reform and effect improvements in prison administration and prison reform. The reformers have not had any sympathy with crime, but they have certainly had sympathy with the prisoners as human beings. They have believed that punishment ought to be reformative, not vindictive. It is in the spirit and on the principles of prison reformers of all countries that, we believe, the signatories signed the document. If we may make a profane application of a sacred text, we may say that we acted according to the Gita text :

"Karmanyevâdhikâraste mâ phaleshu kadâchana,"

"Your right is to do the work, not to the fruit thereof."

### *"Miscellaneous Signatures"*

Nemesis overtakes the far-famed as well as the obscure, and sometimes by way of unintended humour but intentional innuendo and sarcasm.

In our last January number, page 2, Rabindranath Tagore referred to the sense of superiority of Englishmen in India in the following words :

"Every individual Englishman in India, be he a planter, station master, shop assistant, dentist or hotel keeper, head clerk of a merchant office, whatever may be his character, culture and capacity, cannot help being strongly obsessed by a sense of almost personal ownership with regard to India. As an Englishman he meets everywhere in this country with special concession and

consideration to which he is not accustomed among his own people and which he can never naturally claim for any uncommon gift of his own. Everything in India every moment encourages in him a dangerously exaggerated consciousness of superiority and of political overlordship merely owing to the accident of his birth. No wonder that it completely damages the mind and character of the average man who belongs to the vast majority of the mediocre."

In the speech which Sir Harry Haig delivered in the Council of State in relation to the Andamans as a penal settlement, he referred to the signatures to the statement printed in the previous note as "miscellaneous signatures." This attempt at sarcasm, which hits but does not wound Rabiindranath Tagore and the other signatories, ought to have come from some one belonging to some of the classes of Englishmen named by the poet, to none of which Sir Harry belongs. And he is certainly not a mediocre. But it has come from him. Therein lies the humour of the situation.

To be thrown into the category of the "miscellaneous," to be included among the crowd, is rather a compliment in these democratic days, we should presume.

Perhaps when Sir Harry Haig wanted to be vivacious, he did not suspect that by calling the signatures "miscellaneous" he was stressing the importance of the document. The signatories to it, women and men of distinction in their several walks of life, belong to different races, religious communities, political sections, professions and occupations. It is such a document which Sir Harry Haig has brushed aside and yet at the same time professed to be desirous of "building up a continuous and active public opinion." Is there, can there be a public opinion in India which is not the opinion of the classes, sections, religious communities, professions and occupations represented by the signatories ?

### *Sir Harry Haig Hits Mahatma Gandhi*

Sir Harry's speech contains the following passage :

Mr. Gandhi alone, as far as I have observed, among Indian public men, thought fit, while deploring the murder of Mr. Burge, to explain that what he called the wrongs committed by Government led to the commission of these crimes, and it is a short step, as bitter experience has



shown us in the past, from such explanations of the causes of murder to sympathy with the murderers. The other fact is that one of the first public acts of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru after his recent release from prison was to include his name among a list of miscellaneous signatures to a manifesto which, whatever may have been its primary object, must have the effect of keeping alive a feeling of sympathy for the terrorist prisoners in the Andamans.

So, "explanations of the causes of murder" lie very close to "sympathy with the murderers."

Two days after the murder of Mr. Burge, the late magistrate of Midnapur, *The Statesman* wrote as follows editorially :

"The Royalist executive, as soon as it began to devote itself to the question, soon discovered that there must be very deep reasons, indeed, which led every Viceroy to advocate reform and to realize that Indians have now a tremendous permanent grievance in the attempt to govern India from White-hall. Moreover, despite the nitwits of the Daily Mail, it just cannot be done, and so long as the attempt is persisted in, so long as some Salisbury sitting at home can publicly thrust in an oar to make the task of the King's representative more difficult, so long as India's economic problems are viewed in the last resort, not from the angle of India's economic interests, but according to the views of Mr. Montagu Norman or some City banker, so long as the belief exists that avenues of employment and careers are denied to Indians and that the bridge between the governing and the governed is only a draw-bridge that can be swung up from the moat at will, leaving authority inaccessible in a fortress, instead of being the organ of the public, just so long will you have underground revolution, and just so long will you have assassinations, the number of which only the permanent application of the sternest methods can possibly keep in check. We have to cohes between transfer of responsibility from Westminster to Indian soil or the permanent application of something approaching martial law.

Another Anglo-Indian paper, *The Times of India* of Bombay, wrote in its issue of the 11th September,

But side by side with the sternest repression of political crime steps must be taken to cure the disease from which Bengal is suffering. Terrorism has its roots in political and economic discontent and no repressive measures, however severe, can protect all Government officers all the time from the assassin's bullet.

We have never heard it advocated that withholding a cure is the best way to treat a disease. So with Bengal.....We can only hope that with the advent of provincial autonomy and a large measure of responsibility at the centre the mainsprings of terrorism will disappear. And in their disappearance public opinion must play a large part.

Does Sir Harry Haig think that from these "explanations of the causes of murder,"

"it is a short step to sympathy with the murderers?" We do not think that Mahatma Gandhi was guilty of sympathy with crime, any more than these Anglo-Indian papers.

In his letters to Viceroy Lord Minto Lord Morley as Secretary of State for India wrote :

"It is not you nor I who are responsible for 'unrest,' but the over-confident and over-worked Technoviks who have had India in their hands for fifty years past."

Again :

"We must keep order, but excess of severity is not the path to order. On the contrary, it is the path to the bomb."

We do not think Lord Morley can be logically held guilty of sympathizing with 'unrest' and bomb-throwing on the ground of his having written these sentences.

### "Political Prisoners" and "Terrorists"

Sir Harry Haig waxed indignant in his speech over the fact that the inmates of the Andamans Cellular Jail had been referred to, not as "terrorists," but as "political prisoners." We are not sure whether they were all really guilty of terrorism. But let us assume they were. Webster defines "terrorism" as "a mode of governing, or of opposing government, by intimidation." We presume this "mode of opposing government by intimidation" is a political mode, and hence those who are guilty of it *are* political criminals, becoming political prisoners when in jail. The signatories to the manifesto did not want to minimize the guilt of these men by describing them as political prisoners. They know that their acts are of a different character from the technical offences of civil disobedience prisoners. It is the Government, of which Sir Harry Haig is a spokesman, which in practice does not make any distinction in the treatment of civil disobedience prisoners and other prisoners undergoing rigorous imprisonment in jails in India.

### Morally Injurious Cinema Films

In cinema houses those foreign films which have a sex appeal or crime appeal are among the pictures that draw the most crowded houses. They are the most harmful to the morals of the people, particularly of young folk.

Soviet Russia possesses the largest number of cinema houses of all countries in the world. But the films mostly exhibited there are educational and connected with political propaganda. In India it is very rarely that educational films are exhibited. As for political propaganda, the people do not or perhaps cannot have recourse to cinema houses for that purpose, and the Government have not used this method to any appreciable extent.

As regards the harm done to children by certain classes of films, the following extract from *The Guardian* of Madras will be found informing and instructive:

About four years ago, at the instance of the Motion Picture Research Council, the Payne Fund (New York) undertook to organize a thorough study of the effects of the cinema on children. The results of the inquiry conducted by scientists have been summarized in a volume published by the Macmillan Company, New York.

A conservative estimate of 77,000,000 has been made as the number of weekly admissions to cinema in the United States. Of these, 28,000,000 are minors, 11,000,000 of them being thirteen years of age and younger. While certain very excellent pictures are shown from time to time, an examination of 1,500 feature pictures showed that the average is "heavily weighted with sex and crime pictures." The youngest children carry away "at least 52 per cent of what their parents would carry away from any given picture." From the second grade to the second year of high school the children tested seemed to retain best such subjects as sports, crime, acts of violence, and titles. By means of a hypnograph the restlessness of children in the cinema was tested, the motion pictures were tested, the experiment covering 6,650 "child nights of sleep." On an average the boys after "seeing a movie showed an increase of about 26 per cent in their mobility over the amount peculiar to them in normal sleep, and girls about 14 per cent."

It was found that children's attitudes can be effectually changed by viewing pictures. "A pro-Chinese picture makes the children more pro-Chinese, an anti-negro picture makes them anti-negro." These effects are long continued. Children who attended movies frequently "averaged lower in deportment records, and, in school work, are rated lower by their teachers, are less co-operative, less self-controlled, more deceptive, and less emotionally stable." Testimony was accumulated showing that many young criminals attribute their adoption of a criminal manner of life to the influence of the movies. This was considered to be especially true in "high rate delinquency environments."

Dr Charters writes in the introduction that the cinema "is powerful to an unexpected degree in affecting the information, attitudes, emotional experiences and conduct patterns of children; that the content of current commercial motion pictures constitutes a valid basis for apprehension about

their influence upon children; and that the commercial movies present a critical and complicated situation in which the whole-hearted and sincere co-operation of the producers with parents and public is essential to discover how to use motion pictures to the best advantage of children."

This is so far as children's morals are concerned. Some cinema houses may affect their health, too, because of the vitiated and stuffy atmosphere, and injure their eye-sight, unless special precautions are taken.

### *Eastern Civilization Dominated by, and Different from, Western Civilization*

Mr. H. G. Wells writes in his book, "*What Are We To Do With Our Lives?*" about

...the complex, progressive, highly industrialized communities...of the Atlantic type. These communities have developed farthest in the direction of mechanicalization, and they are so much more efficient and powerful that they now dominate the rest of the world. India, China, Russia, Africa, present *melanges* of social systems, thrown together, outpaced, overstrained, shattered, invaded, exploited and more or less subjugated by the finance, machinery, and political aggressions of the Atlantic, Baltic, and Mediterranean civilizations. In many ways they have an air of assimilating themselves to that civilization, evolving modern types and classes and abandoning much of their distinctive traditions. But what they take from the West is mainly the new developments, the material achievements, rather than the social and political achievements, that, empowered by modern inventions, have won their way to world predominance. They may imitate European nationalism to a certain extent, for them it becomes a convenient form of self-assertion, against the pressure of a realized practical social and political inferiority: but the degree to which they will and can take over the social assumptions and habits of the long established European-American hierarchy is probably very restricted. Their nationalism will remain largely indigenous; the social traditions to which they will try to make the new material forces subservient will be traditions to which they will try to make the new material forces subservient, will be traditions of an Orient life widely different from the original life of Europe."—*What Are We To Do With Our Lives?* by H. G. Wells, Heinemann, 1931. Ch. XII, pp. 86-87.

### *German and Indian Civil Servants*

It was proposed, and perhaps the proposal has been by now carried out, that German Civil Servants should be prohibited from spending their holidays outside Germany, on the ground that, as their salaries

are paid from Germany's revenues, they should spend their income at home. If such a rule were made in India, the Indian Civil Service men, most of whom are Britishers, would say that their "home" being Britain, it was only right that they should spend their money there, and that Indian revenues were part of Empire funds !

### *Rice-eaters Need Not Despair !*

Mr. Jotaro Yamamoto, a former president of the South Manchurian Railway, spoke thus on a recent occasion :

If Japan were a nation which ate a lot of meat and wheat, which wore wollen clothing and were dependent upon a great many international commodities, we should be on the verge of a revolution. But fortunately—or unfortunately—our people eat rice and fish, wear cheap clothing, and are almost entirely divorced from the international markets in the essentials of living.

While the fact that a rice-eating people can be progressive, intelligent, brave and efficient in peace and war should serve to inspire the rice-eaters of India, they should remember that they have not got a national government, nor the universal education prevalent in Japan, nor the burning patriotism of the Japanese, nor their health and efficiency.

Those Indians who have become most accustomed to the use of unessential foreign articles perhaps feel the unemployment problem most acutely. The simple indigenous style of living partially blunts the edge of that problem.

### *Pacifism in American Colleges*

*The World Tomorrow* writes :

In the war poll sponsored by the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council, the National Student Federation and the *Brown Daily Herald*, 22,612 ballots were cast by students at 65 colleges in 27 states of the Union. Three alternatives were presented: first, the uncompromising pacifist position of refusing to fight in or support any war whatsoever; second, willingness to fight only in case of actual invasion of American soil; and third, willingness to participate in war when called on to do so by the government. Of the total number, 39 per cent voted as uncompromising pacifists, 33 per cent as being willing to participate only in case of invasion, and 28 per cent as being ready to support any war declared by their government, the respective number of votes being 8,415, 7,221 and 6,089.

The institutions with the highest number of complete pacifists were University of Cincinnati, 1,742; Tulane, 552; University of Chicago, 548; Wellesley, 405; Ohio State University, 308;

Vassar, 301; Columbia, 203; Amherst, 264; Dana, 254; Smith, 250; Colgate, 236; Harvard, 221; Yale, 213. The largest number of votes for the second position of refusing to fight except in case of invasion were Chicago, 746; Columbia, 522; Miami, 514; Ohio Wesleyan, 474; Yale, 459; Harvard, 411; Brown, 410; Boston, 375; Amherst, 333.

These statistics have rightly led the American journal to observe :

This vote undoubtedly reveals a rising tide of pacifism in American colleges, as is also the case at Oxford and other British universities. It will be noted that 72 per cent of the persons voting indicated a refusal to fight or a willingness only in case of actual invasion, while only 28 per cent took the position which is normally regarded as the "patriotic" one.

Coming at a time when the international clouds are ominously black, this substantial growth in war resistance on the American campus is heartily to be acclaimed. Now is the time for students to stand up and be counted among those rational patriots who refuse to offer themselves as cannon fodder, but who choose to serve in ways that are genuinely patriotic.

### *Sir Harry's Reasons for "Breach of Promise" relating to the Andamans*

Sir Harry Haig has admitted that in 1921 Government announced their decision to abandon the Andamans as a penal settlement, but has said that it was found in 1922 that "it was necessary to re-open the transportation of new prisoners." He has also said that "the penal settlement was never closed and the cellular jail had never been closed." This non-closing was a minor breach of promise, which cannot excuse the re-opening of transportation of new prisoners, which is a major breach of a solemn assurance.

Let us briefly examine Sir Harry's reasons for this re-opening.

(1) Danger of prisoners communicating with fellow-conspirators outside, and such actual communication.

For this the jail administration and the jail officers were to blame. The administration ought to have been improved, and incompetent jail officers replaced by competent ones.

(2) Danger of escape of these prisoners and deplorable effect on discipline.

But prisoners of other kinds also sometimes escape. All prisoners of those other kinds also ought, therefore, to be sent to the Andamans. Are they ?



The remedy lies in better jail administration and more competent officers.

(1) and (2). What do the Governments of those civilized countries do which have no islands to be used as penal settlements? But perhaps those countries have no terrorism as explained by Webster.

(3) Serious overcrowding in jails.

Government can spend and have spent or res of rupees on their pet projects, they have spent lakhs on building special jails for civil disobedience prisoners. It was not in the least impossible for them to build new jails for terrorists.

What is done in those civilized countries which have no Andamans?

Sir Harry Haig said in his speech that "transportation was placed on a voluntary basis." But the "terrorist" prisoners are transported, we believe, without their consent.

We have read the full text of Sir Harry Haig's speech in explanation and defence of Government's policy relating to the use of the Andamans as a penal settlement. We are not convinced by it. The reasons which led Government to decide to close the Andamans as a penal settlement—at least the more important of the reasons—still exist.

### *Reasons Why Government Decided To Close the Andamans.*

On the 11th of March, 1921, Sir William Vincent said in the Legislative Assembly :

"We have now after consultation with the Secretary of State decided, subject of course to any advice from this Assembly, because this is a matter on which the influence of the legislature may very properly be exercised, to abandon the penal settlement altogether."

He also asked :

"May I ask one question? I am very anxious to know in connection with this question of the Andaman settlement whether the action proposed by the Government has the approval of the Assembly." The M. L. A.s replied : "Yes, sir."

This anxiety to ascertain the opinion of the representatives of the public is absent to-day. The reasons given by Sir William Vincent for Government's decision were as follows :

"For some years we have had misgivings about this Settlement...It is at a great distance from the headquarters of Government, and it is impossible for us to control or supervise work

effectively, and the Settlement is also unamenable to outside influences."

None of these conditions have changed.

### *Mr. Nehru's Reply to Sir Harry Haig*

Sir Harry Haig's reference in his speech to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has elicited the following reply from the latter :

Sir Harry Haig has done me the honour of referring to me in that august and ponderous Assembly and the Council of State. He has mentioned the fact that one of my first public acts after my release from prison was to add my name to the manifesto about the condition of prisoners in the Andaman Islands.

Evidently, he expected that long stay in British prisons in India must have dulled my feelings of humanity and my sensibility to human suffering. I am glad to assure him that I have managed to retain these feelings and sentiments in spite of the course of treatment that the British Government in India had prescribed for me from time to time.

Indeed, the manifesto expressed very feebly what I felt in the matter. Personally, I was not very desirous of making any demands on the Government, however obvious and humanitarian they might be, through this manifesto : for long experience has taught me that humanity or reason have little place in the mental equipment of some high officials of the Government. Indeed, I had pointed this out in my letter, which apparently was not published, by the organisers of the manifesto. Apart from other considerations, I am perfectly happy to have my name included in a "list of miscellaneous signatures" which contains the honoured names of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and Acharya P. C. Ray.

I am an admirer of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, but I have not taken my ideas of crime and punishment from them. Sir Harry Haig no doubt has taken the Mikado, that Monarch whose "object sublime" was to "make the punishment fit the crime" and is practising these Gilbertian theories on unhappy prisoners in Indian prisons and especially in prisons in the Andamans. He will excuse us, I trust, if we are unable to appreciate this royal example and still cling to humanitarian notions and to the belief that all human beings should be treated as human beings and that all imprisonment should be reformatory, not punitive, vindictive and barbarous.

### *Terrorism in Midnapur*

It is greatly to be deplored that terrorism has not disappeared from Midnapur.

The people of India in general, for it exists outside Bengal, and of Bengal in particular, are as much interested in its complete eradication as the Government, if not more. Not merely now, but at all times whenever it has manifested itself, calm reflection and

the dispassionate application of the lessons of history have been necessary for achieving that object. Repression is certainly necessary and repressive measures have been and will be adopted. It has only to be seen that the steps taken do not go beyond the limits expressly laid down by the law and the executive orders, however drastic they may be. When anything is left to the discretion of those who have to carry out orders in times of excitement like these, those limits may be exceeded, with the consequence of rousing feelings of revenge. Already there have been allegations of assaults on individuals and destruction of property in the course of the house-searches subsequent to the murder of Mr. Burge. Their truth or otherwise should be inquired into and the proper legal steps taken. It has been argued that, even if these assaults and damage were true, they are insignificant in comparison with the heinousness of murder. That is true. But the comparison itself is illogical and unjust. Because there has been a murder, it would not be right to punish people indiscriminately. Even if the actual abettors of the murder were known and arrested, the wisest and the only just and lawful course would be to punish them after their guilt had been established after fair trial; for even the appearance of any thing like reprisal serves to keep up the terroristic mentality.

Many of those who have been arrested in connection with the assassination have complained before the trying magistrate of having been assaulted by the police. Such complaints should be judicially enquired into.

Though Englishmen residing in this country are not at present in a mood to listen to any other counsel than that of the application of force and still more force, we venture to remind them that "force is no remedy," though it undoubtedly has its uses. We will also take the liberty to quote from Morley's *Recollections*, vol. ii, p. 153; the words in which he refers to the resemblance between himself and the Viceroy Lord Minto:

"We were most happily alike, if I may use again some old words of my own, in aversion to all quackery and cant, whether it be the quackery of hurried violence dissembling as love of order, or the cant of unsound and misapplied sentiment divorced from knowledge and untouched by cool comprehension of realities." [Italics ours. Ed., *MLR*.]

### "Was it Coercive?"

In our last issue, in the editorial note entitled "Mahatma Gandhi Unconditionally Released," there were some paragraphs in which we pointed out that Mahatmaji's fast "put pressure on Indians," etc. These have led Mahatmaji to write a long article in *Harijan* under the heading, "Was It Coercive?" We have read his article with the respectful attention which all his writings deserve. It appears to us that in our notes we did not make it quite clear that what we meant was that Mahatmaji's fast under discussion put pressure, not on all Indians, but on many. Perhaps also some misunderstanding has arisen owing to our use of the words "coercion" and "coercive." When we wrote our notes, perhaps we wanted to use a noun denoting the act of putting pressure and an adjective having the meaning "relating to putting pressure." Perusal of Gandhiji's article led us to doubt whether our choice of the words was right, for generally coercion is associated with the use or application of external or physical force. We find, however, in Webster's dictionary that coercion means "the application to another of such force, either physical or moral, as to induce or constrain him to do against his will something he would not otherwise have done." So moral force may also be associated with coercion. But, though we are aware of some having been hurried by his fast into acceptance of the Yeravada Pact which would not have been accepted if there were time for examination of facts and for deliberation, we are not quite sure if there was any person who was constrained by Gandhiji's fast to do anything "against his will" which "he would not otherwise have done." So, on lexicographical grounds, we doubt the propriety of the use of the words coercion and coercive, though we maintain that Gandhiji's fasts do put pressure on some people. We have nothing to say against the general principles laid down in his article. When we have more leisure than we can command just now, we shall perhaps have something to say on fasting unto death or the resolve to fast unto death.

It would have been helpful if some other persons than Mahatmaji and ourselves had dispassionately discussed the points raised

in our note and Mahatmaji's article. Such a discussion, though necessarily brief, has caught our eyes in the editorial columns of *The Tribune* of Lahore. It is reproduced below, without any comment of ours.

There is much in the Mahatma's defence of fasting in his article on the subject in the latest issue of *Harijan*, with which we are in substantial agreement. It is quite true, as he says, that morality is essentially a matter of one's intention, rather than of the consequences of one's action, and that as the Mahatma's intention in undertaking the two big fasts was pure, the morality of his action was beyond question. No one will indeed, question the absolute correctness of the Mahatma's statement that nothing was farther from his wish in either case than to coerce any one. But where the Mahatma says that "the vast majority concerned with the Yeravada Pact did not sacrifice their principle for saving his life," he makes a statement which it is impossible to accept as wholly correct. The vast majority concerned with the Pact were Hindus not belonging to the depressed classes, and it is the literal truth to say that this majority were far too deeply anxious to save his life to be able to give that attention to the question of principle which it undoubtedly deserved. If even an intellectual giant like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has had to confess that he was unable to do so, surely the position of humbler men can easily be imagined. At the same time there is one statement in the Mahatma's article which shows that those who have been complaining bitterly of the Yeravada Pact have still something to hope for. "If injustice can be proved to the satisfaction of the parties concerned," he says, "it is not too late to redress it. And I need hardly give an assurance that I should regard it my sacred duty to exert myself to the best of my ability to help in securing the redress of any real grievances." We need scarcely say that our hope is not in the first part of the statement but in the second. As regards the first, the position is just the same as in the case of the Communal Award itself. To inspire people with extravagant hopes and then to expect them voluntarily to forgo the realisation of those hopes is as futile an operation in the one case as in the other. But the Mahatma's personal assurance counts and must count with everybody. So both the Bengal Hindus and the Hindus of the Punjab can take heart. Let them now proceed to make good their claim.

#### *Amount of Time and Attention Given by Gandhiji to "Harijan" Work When at liberty*

Government said in the course of their justification of not giving Gandhiji as much facility for "Harijan" work the last time he was in jail as was given to him on the previous occasion, that "it was noticeable that when Mr. Gandhi was at liberty he did not appear to devote the major part of his time or attention to this movement." In criticizing

this statement, we wrote in our last issue, in part, that "the obvious reason why he did not and could not devote much time and attention to Harijan work was that he was busy winding up his political activities and the Sabarmati Ashram, which was work which could not be put off, as subsequent events have shown." Our last issue had to be published earlier than usual. We found after its publication from a statement made by Mahatmaji that "when he was at liberty" he did in fact devote the major part of his time and attention to the "Harijan" movement.

#### *"Harijan" Day*

The 24th of September has been declared the "Harijan" Day. This should be a day for individual and group self-examination. We have to examine ourselves to find out whether there has been any change in our inner attitude, any change of heart, in relation to the depressed classes, and whether we have done anything which proves such changed attitude. Age-long wrongs have to be righted. Those who are known as the higher castes or upper classes cannot do too much for expiating the injustice done to the "untouchables" and other depressed class people, though, of course, in the long run, the latter must rise by their own efforts. Comprehensive education of the right sort and economic advancement are among the principal means to be adopted for their uplift.

#### *Lancashire's and Japanese Delegations*

Lancashire has sent its delegation to address honeyed words to Indians in order to be allowed to exploit India as much as possible. A delegation from Japan has also come for the same purpose. The bait which both the delegations may use is that, if they were allowed certain advantages, they would buy more Indian raw cotton. And the threat which both may use is that, if they are not given sufficient facilities for selling their textiles in India, they would not buy Indian cotton. The obvious reply is for our mill-owners and producers of Khadi to say that they would themselves use up all the cotton grown in



India and to do what they say. The people of India must also buy only yarn and cloth made in India. But it would take time for the mill-owners and the Khadi-producers to equip themselves for such a gigantic task and the vast population of India have also to be roused to a sense of duty to themselves and their nation. That, too, would take time. But whatever the results of the present pourparlers between the Japanese, the Lancashire and the Indian cotton men may be, the only satisfactory solution—whenever it may come—would be for Indians to put an end to the unnatural situation of growing sufficient cotton and yet depending even partly on foreigners to manufacture cloth for us out of it. One condition precedent to such a solution must never be lost sight of, namely, that our machinery must be always kept up-to-date and our workmen and working-women as healthy and trained to be as efficient as those of any other industrial country.

There may be a danger ahead. The Japanese and the Lancashire delegations may arrive at some settlement advantageous to themselves but not to India and may be able to *persuade* the Government of India to accept that settlement.

### *Prospects of World Peace*

We have had something to say in a previous note on the prospects of world peace. The following two *Reuter's* telegrams do not appear to brighten them :

London, Sept. 18.

General Sir George Barrow, five lieutenant generals, including Sir George MacMunn, and two major-generals, all ex-Indian army officers, have issued a statement to the Press under the auspices of the India Defence League, declaring that we can hold India against external and internal dangers, provided we retain the command of the land and sea and the control of police. The statement issued is of opinion that some people, while not in favour of the White Paper, do not actively oppose it, because they fear that we have insufficient military power to hold India.—*Reuter*

"The remarkable statement of the eight generals disposes of Mr. Baldwin's argument that we shall be unable to hold India unless the White Paper reforms are forwarded," declared Sir Henry Page-croft in course of a speech at Bournemouth. No section of the British opinion was prepared to go forward; their objection was to the proposals of the Government outlined in the White Paper. Sir Henry Page-croft characterised as immoral the endeavour to cajole the Princes into entering the

Federal system under which they would eventually be completely outvoted and overwhelmed by the vast population of India—(*Reuter*).

Both these telegrams indicate that, whatever the fate of the White Paper, British imperialists would insist on non-reduction of the army and the navy, on the ground that such reduction would imperil Britain's "command of the land and sea." And if Britain does not agree to any appreciable reduction of armaments, the other powers will not.

So far as India is concerned, these telegrams are interesting because of their reference to Mr. Baldwin's argument in support of the White Paper and the eight generals' counter-argument. "We shall be unable to hold India unless the White Paper reforms are forwarded," says Mr. Baldwin. But the eight generals declare : "We *can* hold India against external and internal dangers provided we retain the command of the land and the sea and the control of the police." So, whatever reforms there may or may not be, Defence and Law-and-Order are not to be transferred subjects !

### *India and British Party Warfare*

We have always thought and said that, so far as Indian affairs are concerned, British political parties or sections of the same party are like actors on the stage. Two actors are really friends, but on the stage they may play the part of mutual enemies. So British parties or sub-parties may be apparently fighting about India, but they are really friends who want only to promote the interests of their own country, and their fights, *e.g.*, those between the Baldwin and the Churchill groups, may be intended to make us believe that Britishers propose to give us something of inestimable value.

That our guess may not be quite unfounded will appear from what Morley says in his *Recollections*, vol. i, page 192 :

"Much of parliamentary debate is dispute between men who in truth and at bottom agree, but invent arguments to disguise agreement and contrive a difference. It is artificial, but serves a purpose in justifying two lobbies and a party division."

### *Is Prosperity Returning ?*

A British official wireless message runs as follows :

Rugby, Sept. 18.

The latest League of Nations' Review on the "World Production and Prices" states there are encouraging signs that the low point of the world economic depression was passed about the middle of 1932, and that, in spite of the partial set-back in some countries in the first quarter of 1933, industrial production in general is showing an upward tendency.

The review, which carefully analyses features of the industrial depression since 1929, says that the volume of world trade as a whole fell between that year and 1933 by about 27 per cent.

Referring to individual industries, the review states that the decline in the automobile industry was more severe in North America than in Europe, which increased its share in world production from 11 p. c. in 1929 to 27 p. c. in 1932.

It adds that Britain has replaced France as the leading European producer and in 1932 attained a record output.

But what of India? That "industrial production in general is showing an upward tendency" may be good for nations which are mainly industrial, but will it be good for India, which is at present mainly an agricultural country?

### *Women's Part in Fighting Social Impurity*

The *Guardian* of Madras has published a summary of Mr. Herbert Anderson's paper on "Changes in the outlook on prostitution in India." Mr. Anderson begins by saying:

Certain basic principles are at work in India's outlook on prostitution: that any sympathetic observer can see at work also throughout the world, influencing its moral progress. Among these we note a new reverence for human personality, an equal moral standard for men and women, justice for children among all races, under all conditions, in all social circumstances, the determination to secure, however hard the struggle, a new social liberty, a new standard of values that shall give womanhood equal rights with men in education, property, and citizenship, even the right of personal choice of a life partner in marriage, and an equal right to a worthy share in shaping the destiny of the motherland.

Another change in India's outlook on prostitution, noted by Mr. Anderson, is the attention given to the subject by the Women's Movements in India.

He concludes by stating:

Some recent writers in defence of male immorality have pointed out that in the customs affecting Indian women generally down the centuries that saw their freedom taken from them, education, dancing, singing, and the playing of musical instruments drifted out of the Indian home and became the monopoly of the brothels. Men, bored stiff by the dull chatter and the pretty pre-occupations of the

purdah zenana, sought the bright company of dancing girls. They were the courtesans of the realm, able and willing to give male society the social amenities apart from immorality, as well as with it, which their own home life lacked. Whether this be true or no—it is a clear concomitant of the passing age that Indian home life is winning back, through education and the rapidly changing customs affecting purdah, and early marriage, the good customs of 2,000 years ago, when social intercourse between the sexes was as common as it is in Western lands today. It is clear to those who have been permitted an entry into the private circles of Indian home life, that the beauty and fascination of social freedom between both sexes is being rapidly re-won, and to that extent the sadder side of social inequalities cannot but be affected considerably.

### *Gandhiji's Programme for One Year*

After hard thinking and praying Mr. Gandhi has arrived at the decision that, until the 4th of August next year, he will confine himself to "Harijan" service. The reasons for this decision are in effect that he was sentenced to imprisonment till the 3rd August next, that he fasted in jail because he was not given sufficient facilities for "Harijan" service, that Government released him when he entered the "danger zone," and that having now obtained liberty owing practically to his devotion to "Harijan" service, he felt in honour bound to devote himself entirely to it. He will not during this period engage in aggressive civil disobedience or court imprisonment in any other way. He may, of course, engage in any constructive work in addition to serving the depressed classes, if his health permits. This decision completely befits Mahatmaji—the soul of honour that he is. Of course, circumstances beyond his control may arise which may make it necessary for him to disobey some executive order or some law, in the non-violent way. This cannot be foreseen.

This is his own individual programme. Other congressmen are left free to act according to their own judgments.

He adds:

I must state the limitation of my self-restraint in clear terms. Whilst I can refrain from aggressive civil resistance, I cannot, so long as I am free, help guiding those who will seek my advice and preventing the national movement from running into wrong channels. It is an evergrowing belief with me that truth cannot be found by violent means. I

would be guilty of disloyalty to my creed if I attempt to put greater restraint on myself than I have adumbrated in this statement. If then the Government leave me free, I propose to devote this period to "Harijan" service and, if possible, also to such constructive activities as my health may permit.

It is needless to repeat here that peace is as much a part of my being as civil resistance. Indeed, a civil resister offers resistance only when peace becomes impossible. Therefore, so far as I am concerned and so long as I am free, I shall make all endeavour in my power to explore every possible avenue of honourable peace.

Mahatmaji will, of course, prevent the national movement from running into channels of violence. But supposing some revolutionary seeks his advice and asks him whether he should offer civil resistance, will Mahatmaji tell him merely to desist from violence? Or will he support his resolve to offer civil resistance and guide him as to the best way to do it? If he does the latter, will it be in strict consonance with his decision? Suppose, again, some civil resister asks his advice as to the best method of offering civil resistance, will he make suggestions or give positive directions along lines of civil disobedience, or tell him only to engage in some constructive activity?

### A Disturbing Announcement

Mahatmaji has announced in his statement that if Government send him to jail again and do not give him full facilities for "Harijan" service from there, then in that case, if he feels the inner urge, he will not hesitate to fast again, and, if fearing that he might die, Government released him, he would not break his fast but continue it till death.

This is a very painful and disturbing possibility. We must respectfully say that our moral and religious principles and what little faith in God we have do not allow us to support such a resolve to fast unto death.

### Some Results of the Communal Award in Bengal

From the latest Report on the working of the District and Local Boards in Bengal, it appears that out of a population of 35 millions in the Union Board areas some 5.4 millions are rate-payers. According to the White Paper proposals, the future electors are going to have the same qualifications as the present-day Union Board rate-payers. So out of a population of 50 millions, the number of male voters is going to be something like 7.8 millions; and the wives of all such electors are going to have votes. The total electorate is going to be some 15.6 million strong, of whom 86 lakhs are Muslims and 70 lakhs Hindus.

Assume that the voting strength of the Hindus and the Muhammadans is proportional to their population strength, an assumption largely in favour of the Muhammadans (see *The Modern Review* for March 1932). Assume further that the proportion of those who are literates and those who are literates in English among the voters is the same as that among the general population; or assume that all those who are either literates or literates in English are voters.

	MUSLIM		HINDU	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Ages 17-23	224,856	41,881	454,498	89,327
24 and over	886,907	72,507	1,609,052	213,174
Taking half of 17-23 to be over 21, the	999,335	93,447	1,836,301	257,787
number of those who are over 21	1,092,782		20,94,088	
Literates in English				
	MUSLIM		HINDU	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Ages 17-23	57,542	4,716	144,472	12,507
24 and over	140,125	6,621	390,993	24,186
Taking $\frac{1}{2}$ of 17-23 to be over 21, those	165,896	8,279	463,229	30,439
who are over 21	174,875		493,668	

Or in other words, the proportion of literates among the Muhammadan and the Hindu electors is 12.8 per cent and 30.0 per cent respectively.

In this connection the following table quoted from p. 15 of the Report on the General Election of 1926 in Bengal regarding illiteracy amongst rural voters in Muham-



madan and non-Muhammadan constituencies is interesting.

	Bengal Legislative Council.		Legislative Assembly.	
	Non-Muham- madan.	Muham- madan.	Non-Muham- madan.	Muham- madan.
1st enquiry	41	55	...	...
2nd "	41.2	61.7	...	...
3rd "	33.4	52.7	8.5	25.5
Average	38.5	56.5	8.5	25.5

Under the Communal Award, the Muhammadans in Bengal are to elect 119 members, and the Hindus 80; which means that a Muslim M. L. C. and a Hindu M. L. C. will represent:

72,000 electors; 87,000 electors  
9,182 literates; 26,176 literates  
1,469 l. in English; 6,171 l. in English

The more ignorant section of the community is not only going to elect a larger number of representatives; but the influence of the educated section is reduced first by separate electorates, secondly, by giving them a lesser number of representatives. There may be a motive behind the British Government in enforcing the Award, but why are our Muhammadan public men or would be M. L. C.'s wildly dancing in joy? Is it because they shall have to approach a lesser number of voters; and satisfy a lesser number of possible hecklers?

J. M. D.

### *Is the Census of 1931 accurate?*

In 1921, the number of literate Muhammadan females of all ages was 53,379 and that of those over 20 was 28,671. The corresponding figures for 1931 are 189,479 and 95,682. What is the cause of this phenomenal increase in the number of "adult" female literates among the Muhammadans? The number of adult female literates in 1921 was 28,671, hence number of minor female literates was 53,379—28,671=24,708. Let us further assume that all such minors were between 10 and 21; and that none of them has died. Then in 1931 all of these 24,708 'minors' would be adults. Even then the number of adult female literates cannot exceed 53,379. In reality, it would be much less. But in 1931, the figure for adult female literates is

95,682. Two causes may be ascribed for this increase: (i) that the adult Muhammadan females, who were illiterate 10 years before, have become literates by their own efforts; or (ii) that the Census figures are inaccurate.

There is *purdah* among the married Muhammadan females; then "after marriage girls no longer take advantage of the opportunities of education" (*Bengal Census Report, 1931*); and the number of Muhammadan females who have at least reached the primary standard or its equivalent of ages 17 and over is 38,549 and of these who are over ages 24 and over is 23,255. So the first cause does not seem to be probable. And we are forced to the conclusion that the Census figures are incorrect.

### *The R. T. C's and Selection of Delegates*

In the July issue we said how the delegates representing the Native States were selected by the Government of India. The following extract from the Gwalior Administration Report 1930-31 would go to support what we then stated:

"Having been nominated by His Majesty's Government as the Darbar's delegate Sahibzada Sir Sultan Ahmad Khan Sahib attended the First Session of the Indian Round Table Conference held in London during the year under report."

And Gwalior is the only Native State permitted to keep a park of artillery.

### *Hindu and Muhammadan Philanthropy*

Several prizes and scholarships are attached to the Calcutta Madrassah, which are gifts from private citizens. The value of those created by the Muhammadans is Rs. 154 per annum; those gifted by the Hindus is Rs. 254, and of those created by all classes including Europeans Rs. 97. But none of the 25 prizes, medals, and stipends available at the Sanskrit College has been founded by any Muhammadan.

The Hooghly College was opened on the 1st of August 1836, and within three days counted 1,200 pupils in the English, and 300 in the Oriental Department, the proportion of Muhammadans to Hindus being 31 to

948 in the former and 138 to 81 in the latter.

The Mohsin fund was at first applied to the support of the Hooghly College. To this arrangement the objection was raised that an institution almost exclusively frequented by Hindus was not the most suitable recipient of the income of a distinctively Muhammadan endowment, and chiefly on the representation of Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif, C. I. E., the Mohsin fund has since 1873 been used exclusively for the promotion of education among Muhammadans.

J. M. D.

### *Gandhi-Nehru Correspondence*

The letters—one each—exchanged between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, do not, strictly speaking, add anything entirely new to our knowledge of their views, nor tell the public definitely what exactly Congress will do in the weeks or months immediately ahead of us. But they are nevertheless important. Pandit Jawaharlal says that complete independence still remains the political objective of Congress, and Mahatmajji agrees. The economic views of the Pandit are well known. He dwells on them at some length, in part thus:—

The biggest vested interest in India is that of the British Government, next come the Indian Princes, and others follow. We do not wish to injure any class or group and the de-vesting should be done as gently as possible and with every effort to avoid injury. But it is obvious that the de-vesting is bound to cause loss to the classes or groups which enjoy special privileges at the expense of the masses. It is also obvious that the process of de-vesting must be as speedy as possible to bring relief to the masses whose condition, as you know, is as bad as it can well be.

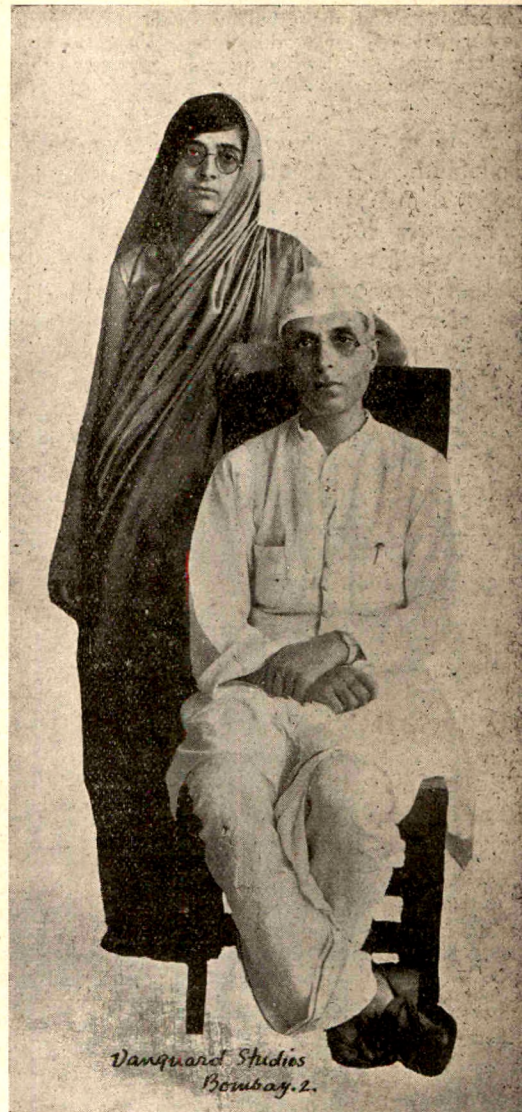
Indeed economic forces themselves are acting with amazing rapidity to-day and breaking up the old order. The big-Zamindari and taluqdari system in the United Provinces has largely collapsed, though it may be kept up for some time longer by outside agencies. Even the condition of the Zamindars is very bad and the peasantry of course are in a far worse position.

Gandiji says in reply:—

I am also in whole-hearted agreement with you when you say that without a material revision of vested interests the condition of the masses can never be improved. I believe too, though I may not go as far as you do, that before India can become one homogeneous entity, the princes will have to part with much of their power and become

popular representatives of the people over whom they are ruling to-day.

Mr. Nehru writes that "the problem of Indian freedom cannot be separated from the vital international problems of the world,"



Jawaharlal Nehru

and hence, "both on the narrower ground of our own interests and the wider ground of international welfare and human progress, we must, I feel, range ourselves with the progressive forces of the world. This ranging



ourselves at present can, of course, be ideological only." Gandhiji observes in reply :

"Nor have I the slightest difficulty in agreeing with you that in these days of rapid intercommunication and a growing consciousness of the oneness of all mankind, we must recognise that our nationalism must not be inconsistent with progressive internationalism. India cannot stand in isolation and unaffected by what is going on in other parts of the world. I can, therefore, go the whole length with you and say that 'we should range ourselves with the progressive forces of the world.'"

Standing, as we do, on the eve of the Rammohun Roy Centenary, one may be permitted to observe that intellectually and ideologically Rammohun Roy was the first modern Indian to break through India's isolation and range himself with the progressive forces of the world and march with the times.

Mahatmaji is careful to add :

"I know that though there is such an agreement between you and me in the enunciation of ideals, there are temperamental differences between us."

Both are agreed that Congress has not been dissolved and could not be dissolved. Regarding individual and mass civil disobedience Mahatmaji says :—

I would like to warn you against thinking that there is no fundamental difference between individual and mass civil resistance. I think that the fundamental difference is implied in your own admission that "it is essentially an individual affair." The chief distinction between mass civil resistance and individual civil resistance is that in the latter everyone is a complete independent unit and his fall does not affect the others, in mass civil resistance the fall of one generally adversely affects the rest. Again, in mass civil resistance leadership is essential, in individual civil resistance every resister is his own leader. Then again in mass civil resistance there is a possibility of failure, in individual civil resistance failure is an impossibility. Finally, a State may cope with mass civil resistance, no State has yet been found able to cope with individual civil resistance.

The Pandit draws a distinction between secrecy and privacy and pleads in effect for some exceptions being made as regards the nonobservance of secrecy by Congressmen. Gandhiji replies, in part thus :—

Now about secret methods. I am as firm as ever that they must be tabooed. I am myself unable to make any exceptions. Secrecy has caused much mischief and if it is not put down with a firm hand, it may ruin the movement. There may be exceptional circumstances that may warrant secret methods. I would forego that advantage for the sake of the masses, whom we want to educate in fearlessness.

Pandit Jawaharlal had said nothing in his letter on constructive activities. Mahatmaji supplies the gap.

I notice one gap in your letter. You make no mention of the various constructive activities of the Congress. They became an integral part of the Congress programme that was framed after mature deliberations in 1920. With civil resistance as the background we cannot possibly do without the constructive activities such as communal unity, removal of untouchability and universalisation of the spinning wheel and khaddar. I am as strong as ever about these. We must recognise that whilst Congressmen can be counted by hundreds of thousands, civil resisters imprisoned have never amounted to more than one lakh at the outside. I feel that there is something radically wrong if paralysis has overtaken the remaining lakhs. There is nothing to be ashamed of in an open confession by those who for any reason whatsoever are unable to join the civil resisters' ranks. They are also serving the cause of the country and bringing it nearer to the goal who are engaged in any of the constructive activities I have named and several other kindred activities I can add to the list.

He concludes his letter with a strong note of courage and hope.

Ordinance or no Ordinance, if individual Congressmen and Congresswomen will learn the art of contributing their share to the work of building up the house of independence and realise their own importance, dark as the horizon seems to us, there is absolutely no cause for despair or disappointment.

Finally, if I can say so without incurring the risk of your accusing me of egotism, I would like to say that I have no sense of defeat in me and the hope in me that this country of ours is fast marching towards its goal is burning as bright as it did in 1920; for I have an undying faith in the efficacy of civil resistance.

### *The Passing of Dr. Annie Besant*

In the death of Dr. Annie Besant India and the world have lost a great friend, and a great and powerful champion of peace and freedom. As she dies at the age of 86 and as she herself said repeatedly when her last serious illness began that her work was finished, there is nothing to be sorry for so far as she was concerned. But long life in the case of a great personality like herself means strong and close ties of affection with many a colleague, disciple and follower. These cannot but feel sorrowstricken.

She had been a fighter even before coming out to India. After coming to India and making it the land of her adoption, she devoted her great energies and her great intellectual powers to the political emancipation of India and to the welfare of this





Dr. Annie Besant

country in all other directions—particularly in that of education. The Home Rule League which she started and guided so long as it existed, brought her into disfavour with the Government. Her movements were restricted and she was interned. She made large sacrifices for her political and other work. She was, among her contemporaries, perhaps the most distinguished woman living. That she said she would be reborn in a brown skin shows her love of India.

### *No All-Parties Politics ?*

There were some news in the papers that Mahatmaji had seen or was about to see

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and other Liberal leaders. That might have led some persons to imagine that perhaps the outcome would be the chalking out of some political programme according to which men and women of various shades of political opinion might work together. It was not impossible. For, except the communalist Muslim politicians and some depressed class leaders, politically-minded Indians of all other political groups, belonging to various religious communities have been disillusioned and have become dissatisfied with the White Paper proposals, and a common dissatisfaction often leads to united action.

But it is clear now that Congress has no



other political strategy, no other political method except civil disobedience and civil resistance. As Mahatmaji has repeatedly made known his keen desire for peace on honorable terms and as he has not been able to extort peace by civil disobedience, perhaps the Liberal leaders and others were expected to suggest some other methods of securing honorable peace. Never having been active politicians ourselves, we are not in a position to suggest any such methods. We can only say that, if, of two parties, one alone expresses great desire for peace, it cannot expect favourable terms.

*Those Who object to be Classed as "Harijan" in Bengal*

In reply to a question in the Bengal Legislative Council, according to the *Sanjibani*, the answer has been given on behalf of the Government that objections have been received from the following castes to being included in the list of scheduled or politically and socially backward classes :—

Castes.	Population.
Bagdi	987570
Bhuimali	72804
Dhoba	229672
Hari	132401
Jalik Kaibarta	352072
Jhalo Malo	198099
Kalowar	13540
Kapali	165589
Khandait	35080
Konwar	133
Lodha	11001
Lohar	50182
Malla	111422
Muchi	414221
Nagar	16164
Namasudra	2094957
Nath	384634
Nunia	28100
Oraon	228161
Pod	667731
Pundari	31255
Rajbansi	1806390
Raju	56778
Shagirdpesha	333
Sukli	3860
Sunri	76920
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8169069</b>

We have supplied the population figures from the Bengal Census Report for 1931.

The total numerical strength of the castes in the provincial official list of the depressed classes is 9336624. Government excluded from this list the Telis, Kalus, etc., because they objected to be included in it. As similar objections have been received from the castes in the foregoing table, they also ought to be excluded from the Government's Scheduled Castes list.

Now, deducting 8169069, the numerical strength of the objectors, from 9336624, we get 1167555 as the total strength of the depressed classes in Bengal. According to the "Communal Award," in Bengal 22212069 Hindus, 529419 Aborigines, 330563 Buddhists and 22120 others or a total of 23094171 persons, have been given 80 "General" seats. That means, one seat has been assigned to every aggregate of 288677 persons. So, if each group of 288677 persons gets one seat, the 1167555 depressed persons would be entitled to 4.04 or, say 5 seats—not the 30 seats assigned to them according to the Poona Pact and confirmed by the British Government.

*World Fellowship of Faiths in Chicago*

It is a pleasure to learn that at the opening meeting of the World Fellowship of Faiths in Chicago Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta recited Vedic prayers, of which the English renderings are :—

May he who is One without a second, who is beyond all distinction of color, caste and creed, who, knowing all our needs, meets them with His manifold powers; may He who is in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, may He unite us in fellowship and understanding.

(Sanskrit : *Sam gacchadhivam sam vadadhvam sam vo manamsi janatam.*) "Together walk ye, together speak ye, together know ye your minds." Rig Veda.

*Bhai Parmananda Chosen President Elect of Hindu Mahasabha Session*

We are glad to learn that, according to the nomination of the majority of the provincial Hindu Sabha, Bhai Parmananda of the Panjab has been chosen president of the



coming session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha in Ajmer.

### *Mr. K. P. Jayaswal Chosen President Elect of the Oriental Conference*

Another fitting choice is that of Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal of Patna to preside over the forthcoming session of the Oriental Conference at Baroda.

### *Mr. K. Natarajan's Work in America*

Mr. K. Natarajan, accompanied by his daughter, recently visited America on the invitation of the University of Chicago to deliver the Haskell lectures there on "The Social Movement in Modern India." He was also a delegate to the World Fellowship of Faiths in Chicago, at which he spoke on "The World Implications of Mahatma Gandhi's Movement". He paid a visit to the Rev. J. T. Sunderland at Poughkeepsie. From a copy of *Poughkeepsie Evening Star And Enterprise*, sent to us, we learn that he spoke there briefly of India and of Mahatma Gandhi.

"The two things which impressed us," said Dr. Natarajan "during our present brief tour in America were the natural way in which the equality of men and women is operating in the life of America with almost total absence of self-consciousness, and the great example Americans are showing the world in regard to their convictions of the dignity of labor."

Although extremely interested in the status of men and women, Dr. Natarajan said he was more interested in the attitude of Americans toward work.

"I have found," he said, "that Americans do not consider it dignified to remain idle. Every man seems to have the self-respect to do some sort of work. And I find Americans consider that no work is too low or too high. This is a lesson that I will carry to my own country."

Speaking briefly of the United States, Dr. Natarajan said he was confident that this country, by its own efforts would get over any difficulties which may now confront it.

"And conquering its difficulties, America will set an example of modern leadership to the whole world. I hope for a good deal to the world from this country," said Dr. Natarajan.

Mr. Natarajan spoke next about matters Indian.

Dr. Natarajan took a few minutes to discuss its interest and aim, disarmament, and Gandhi. Pointing out that Gandhi and his principles are misunderstood, Dr. Natarajan said that India's great interest

today is for world peace. Gandhi, he says, is "chiefly a religious, social and humanitarian reformer." His fasts are not only for freedom of his country, but also for sins of his people.

"India's chief interest and aim is for world peace," said Dr. Natarajan. "And the principle of Gandhi's movement is non-violence. This, however, is not quite understood." He continued with the explanation that Gandhi and his followers are desirous of having all disputes, whether they be intra-country, intra-community, or between nations, settled by friendly negotiations, strictly without violence.

"This principle was not discovered by Mahatma Gandhi," added the Indian editor, "but has been implicated in the whole religious and culture structure of India since ancient times."

Dr. Natarajan said he believed that the movement of Gandhi in India is of world importance and is of far greater interest to the world than the civil obedience movement in India.

Dr. Natarajan is of the definite belief that disarmament could not and will not end war. "Disarmament by itself could not put an end to war among nations, because even if we scrap all arms, men, if they have the will to fight, are going to fight with their fists, teeth, or anything they can lay their hands on."

He added: "If the principle of non-violence is accepted by all nations of the world, even if arms exist, they will then have a place only in museums."

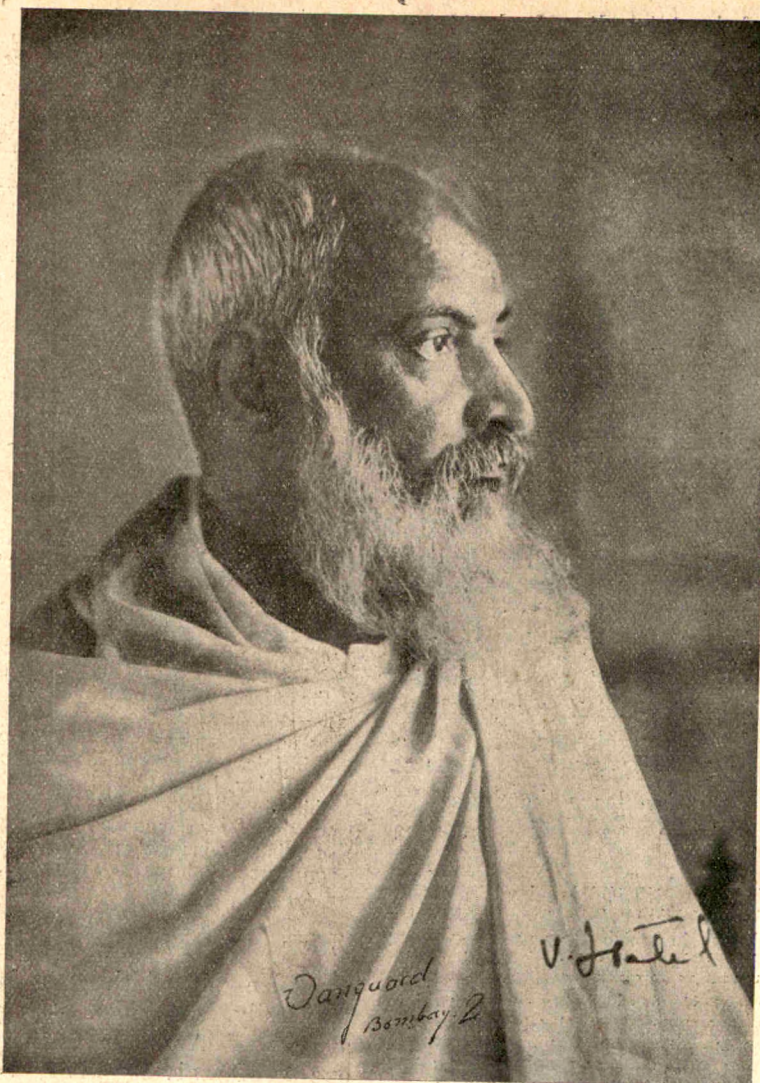
Dr. Natarajan said he is often asked if he believes the principle of nonviolence is practical. He said he is assured of the fact and has no doubt but that as nations come to know each other better, amicable principles will extend internationally.

"Today I find that the number of people who think internationally, that is outside of the bounds of their own country, is larger than ever and is continually increasing. And in this fact lies the best and greatest hope of the world."

### *Aden*

Aden has hitherto formed a part, politically, of India. Geographically it is a part of Arabia. If the question were one of giving it to the nearest Arab population and ruler, it would be a different matter. But the question is whether it should remain under the Government of India or be placed under the British Colonial Office. Now, Aden is nearer to India than to Britain, and it has been developed with Indian money and mainly by the enterprise of Indians. Hence, it is only right that its connection with India should continue. But as Britain possesses the big stick, the claims of justice may be overridden. In that case, all the money spent on Aden for years from the Indian public treasury should be returned to India. That is bare justice. But here again the big stick may intervene to deprive India of her just dues.





Mr. V. J. Patel

### *Census of India, 1931*

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the two bulky, scholarly and interesting volumes of Dr. Hutton's Report on the Census of India, 1931. We shall have occasion by and by to delve into them for figures and facts, and may comment on them also. To-day we only note with regret that literacy has risen in India during ten years only by 1 (one) per cent; and the "expectation of life" in this country when a child is born is only 26.91 years on an average. In other civilized countries it is double this figure.

### *Reserve Bank and Political Influence*

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas asked Sir Samuel Hoare whether the Reserve Bank of India would be kept free from political influence. On receiving a reply in the affirmative, Sir P. Thakurdas asked again, whether it would be under neither British nor Indian political influence. "Under neither," replied Sir Samuel. To make assurance doubly sure, Sir P. Thakurdas wanted to know positively whether British political influence would be



entirely eliminated. Sir Samuel said, "So far as we can," or words to that effect. Everyone knows what that means!

### *Muslim Alarm at Rumour of Revision of Communal Award*

Maulvi Syed Zamiruddin Ahmed, Secretary, All-India Muslim Conference to be held at Bankipur on September 30 and October 1 next, has issued an appeal which states *inter alia* :

"A situation has been created by the Hindu Mahasabha and other Hindu leaders, particularly, the members of the Central Legislature, making desperate endeavour to get the communal decision revised in their favour, and so far they had been successful in getting it reopened at the J. P. C. This now demands the sole attention of the Mussalmans of India once more to a series of political and communal problems that now face them before the J. P. C. sitting in London.

"We have at this stage to demonstrate our great anxiety to retain what we have so far secured and to endeavour to secure what we have not yet been able to achieve. Our differences at this critical juncture would mean our political death, the extermination of our political and social existence as a distinct community.

"I would, therefore, very earnestly appeal to leaders of all shades of Muslim opinion, particularly those who had formulated the famous 14 points on the 1st January, 1929, to join hands with one another and muster strong at the coming annual session of the A. I. M. C. at Patna."—*United Press*.

### *Zemindar-Britisher Alliance*

The following message foreshadows the kind of Zemindar-Britisher alliance to which we have referred in a previous note :

Allahabad, Sept. 20.

The economic programme of Pandit Jawaharlal has caused a stir among the Zemindars. Speeches exhorting the Zemindars to realize the danger of Pandit Jawaharlal's "challenge" were made at an important meeting of the Zemindars at Benares, the Commissioner presiding. The Commissioner advised the Zemindars to fraternise with the tenants, as the new constitution would be on a "purely Democratic basis."—*United Press*.

### *Work of Some Indian Artists in London*

*The Manchester Guardian* writes :

The little domed and galleried entrance hall at India House has been transformed into a glittering and brilliant panorama of Indian history, the Indian seasons, and Indian birds and insects and brightly coloured Indian fish. The effect on the visitor turning into the building from Aldwych is startling,



Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose

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though the work is not completed, and for a moment the eyes are dazzled as if one had come from the darkness into a room flooded with strong lights. The work of decoration has been done by four young Indian artists, Mr. S. Choudhury, Mr. Ukil, Mr. Burma, and Mr. Sen. Mr. Burma and Mr. Sen have gone back to India, having finished their part in the paintings on the dome, showing Chandragupta and his regiment of women, King Asoka, Akbar, and a dozen other heroes of the Indian story.

There are six seasons in India—spring, summer, the rainy season, pre-autumn, autumn, and winter—and the six pendentives in the hall show the year

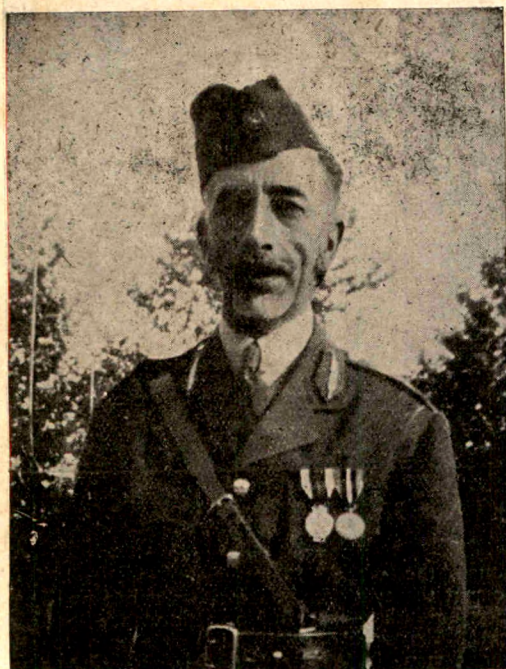


as a young girl in spring, as a young woman in summer, as a woman of middle age in autumn, and as an old, wizened woman leaning on a stick in the winter of her years. In the lunettes are shown the Indian flora and fauna—monkeys, strange, writhing trees, the scarlet caper-cotton plant, alligators, and the little 'titi' bird, which any English sportsman might shoot in mistake for a grouse.

The four young artists are holding an exhibition of their less heroic work at the Fine Arts Society in the autumn. They are all pupils of Rabindranath Tagore's nephew, but before setting to work at Aldwych they had to spend four months at South Kensington studying the craft of tempera painting under Sir William Rothenstein, after which they made a tour of the more famous frescoes in the churches in Italy.

### *King Feisal I*

The news of the death of King Feisal I. through arterio-sclerosis reached this country a short while ago. By his death one of the principal characters in the Near-Eastern drama has passed away from the scene. The son of the Emir of Hedjaz—a minor principality—this gallant Soldier and Statesman



King Feisal I

rose to the rank of the leader of the Arab revolt for independence against the Turks during the great war. Want of arms and funds and the terrible intertribal feuds amongst the desert Arabs imposed a handicap on the campaign that would have daunted a lesser man. But inspite of all obstacles and inspite of the difficulties he was placed in through the failure of supplies, Emir Feisal (as he was then known) surmounted all difficulties. The heroism and resourcefulness displayed by him is now a part of history.

After the war the tangled web of international diplomacy placed this gallant king, and the Arab nation as a whole, in a most awkward situation. The full story is not yet known, only a glimpse having been given by some of his English and American admirers. At that time he lost the throne of Syria and his brother that of Hedjaz. Later on he came on the throne of Iraq, which was by no means a bed of roses. To his last day he was engaged in disentangling the web of intrigue at home and abroad which enmeshed him and his people.

His name will always be on the roll of those who fought for freedom's cause; and although some may cast doubts upon the means adopted by him for the attainment of his goal, none can challenge his record of gallantry, courage and resourcefulness in the face of danger.

K. N. C.

### NOTICE

The Modern Review Office will remain closed on account of the Durga Puja Holidays from the 24th September to the 8th October next, reopening on the 9th October. Communications received during the holidays will be attended to on and from the 9th October next.



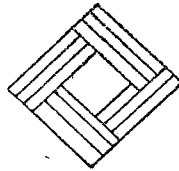


DAY-DREAMS  
By Kanu Desai

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## ANNIE BESANT : A PERSONAL IMPRESSION

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

"DEAR R. P. K."

**S**O began a letter written in the summer of 1911 by Mr. William T. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, introducing me to Mrs. Annie Besant. She had just arrived in London, where I was then living.

I puzzled over the initials as I read the letter sent to me in an open cover, as was the invariable practice of that courteous and warm-hearted Englishman. Rack my brains as I might, I could not unravel the mystery.

The next time I met Mr. Stead I asked him what those initials meant.

"That is Mrs. Besant's name in the astral world," he told me.

He paused for a moment and then added :

"That is a world of which, my dear boy, you have not had even a glimmer."

Mr. Stead was a man of great discernment. He discussed with me every subject under the sun. But after one or two unsuccessful attempts to interest me in spiritualism he confined his talk strictly to mundane matters.

II

Soon after I met him for the first time he told me how a dispute over Mrs. Besant had led him to sever a partnership with Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Newnes, in associa-

tion with whom he had started the *Review of Reviews*. Newnes had, by dint of native intelligence and force of character, risen from humble circumstances to a dominating position in the publishing world; but apparently he continued, to the end of his days, to believe in "good form." Hence the quarrel between him and Mr. Stead.

Mrs. Besant had scandalized society in the seventies of the last century by refusing to lead a double life. In her youthful emotionalism she had permitted a Church of England clergyman living in an obscure corner of Lincolnshire to lead her to the hymeneal altar: but as her intellect matured, her mental and spiritual outlook diverged from that of her husband. For a time she suffered mental torture for the sake of her children, but she finally left her husband's roof, taking her son and daughter with her.

As if this action had not been enough to shock the narrow-minded conventionalists who, during the reign of the Queen Victoria, constituted the "Upper Ten" in Britain, Mrs. Besant joined forces with Charles Bradlaugh, who was regarded by "goody-goody" people as a godless iconoclast and spoken of as the spawn of the Devil. The two dug out of oblivion a pamphlet indicating how the Malthusian principle of limiting the population could be scientifically utilized; and conjointly republished it.

That act, inspired by a noble desire to lessen the sufferings of the poverty-stricken masses huddled in the filth of dark, stinking slums in British cities, cost Mrs. Besant dearly. Her son and daughter were torn from her side on the plea that it was morally unsafe for them to be left in her custody. The shock of separation from them produced an illness from which, in all probability, she would have died but for the devoted care that Bradlaugh gave her.

Though brought up in a non-conformist manse in the north-country, Mr. Stead was remarkably free from bigotry and narrow-mindedness. He greatly admired Bradlaugh for his eloquence and his deep sympathy with suffering humanity; and had formed a high regard for Mrs. Besant, who, soon after her break with her clergyman husband and later with Bradlaugh, threw herself headlong into a struggle for the amelioration of the economic and social conditions that pressed so heavily upon the people hovering about the poverty line in Britain.

In the very first issue of the *Review of Reviews* Mr. Stead had included a note on some aspect of Mrs. Besant's socialistic work. Newnes took objection to it and wished it to be left out.

The fine sense of independence that characterized Mr. Stead from the time he first entered journalism in Darlington to the spring of 1912, nearly half a century later, when he sank into his watery grave in mid-Atlantic, would not permit him to be dictated to by a publisher. He bought out Newnes' share of the business and published the *Review* on his own sole responsibility as well as editing it.

### III

It is not at all unlikely that Mrs. Besant's interest in India had been stimulated by Bradlaugh, who closely followed events in our country and never lost an opportunity, in or out of Parliament, to champion the Indian cause. Mr. Stead, however, always spoke of having himself sent her out to India. He not only spoke in this fashion, but actually believed that he had done so.

Some time after he had succeeded Mr. John (later Lord) Morley as editor of the

*Pall Mall Gazette*, he received a review copy of *The Secret Doctrine*, written by a Russian woman, Madame H. P. Blavatsky, then coming into prominence—or notoriety, as conventional people called it. On glancing through its pages, he was struck by its unusual character and asked himself to whom he should send it for review.

He was in touch with men of great eminence in every walk of life and frequently commandeered them to supply matter for his leaders, leaderettes and articles and sometimes to write long or short reviews of books. On this occasion he however felt that the work of a woman philosopher should be sent to an intellectual woman for review and he picked Mrs. Besant from among his numerous friends and acquaintances as the most suitable person to whom the task could be entrusted.

She read and re-read the book, much as a person dying of thirst, on coming within reach of water, drinks draught after draught of the life-giving fluid. It seemed to provide her with a key to the problems which had been perplexing her. She wrote a review of it to which Mr. Stead gave a prominent place in his paper.

It opened a new world to her. Social and economic problems ceased to be the main concern of her life. She began to view them from an entirely new perspective. Religion, particularly as expounded in the Veda, Upanishads, Gita and other sacred writings of the East, became her primary interest and she was not satisfied until she went to India, where, she felt, she could study them to the best advantage.

Thereafter our country became her Motherland and she devoted her rich intellectual gifts and almost limitless energy to rousing our people out of the deep slumber into which they had been cast by Occidentals who, with their overweening faith in their own superiority, had exercised a hypnotic influence upon Indians suffering from an inferiority complex; and advancing them educationally, socially, economically and politically.

### IV

In my talks with Mr. Stead I felt that he was not entirely happy in having been



the cause—of course unconsciously—of sending Mrs. Besant out to India. It was evident that he thought that India's gain was Britain's loss. He was convinced that had she remained in the land of her birth there were no heights to which she, with her power of speech and writing and her marvellous organizing ability, could not have attained.

In this conclusion he was right. I, to my shame, must confess however that until I met him and had long, intimate chats with him about Mrs. Besant, I had failed to realize this fact.

While at college I had somehow or other formed the notion that we did not need any foreigners to teach us an Occidentalized form of Hinduism. Some years later, when I was sojourning in the United States of America, I came in contact with persons who belonged to the anti-Besant group of Theosophists, which was particularly strong in Chicago during my lengthy sojourn there.

A measure of my indifference to her, amounting almost to antagonism in those days, is furnished by the fact that I made no effort to see her in private or even to hear her speak from the platform, though on more than one occasion she and I happened to be simultaneously in the same city in the United States. Even my journalistic sense, strange to say, did not impel me to see for myself what manner of woman she was and, by having a talk with her, form a personal estimate of her attainments and character.

Mr. Stead used to talk to me at times like a father. He chided me most severely for my unreasonable attitude towards her and extracted from me a promise that the very first time she came to London I would go to see her with an introduction from him.

## V

Mrs. Besant's reply to my note enclosing Mr. Stead's letter of introduction and asking for an appointment was delivered to me through the ordinary course of the post with a promptitude that impressed me greatly. I was also struck with its brevity and yet cordiality. The writing was remarkably neat. The lines were straight and the letters were even in size. The letter could have

emanated only from a person who had an orderly mind. There was nothing in the writing, I particularly noted, that would suggest that a feminine hand had indited the letters. Bold and clear-cut, they looked as if each had been stamped out of a piece of steel.

The warm tone of Mrs. Besant's letter naming a time when she would be pleased to see me made me look forward to the interview with keen anticipation, as I set out, in good time, from my part of London to the south-western suburb in which she was staying. I found her even more cordial than I had anticipated.

She took me into a sunny parlour opening on to a carefully kept lawn bordered with annuals and perennials in flower, with tall, shapely poplars rising at the back and a cloudless blue sky overhead. She opened the conversation by telling me that she had read some of my books and innumerable articles written by me.

I asked her about her educational work in India, of which I knew something.

The institution she had founded in Benares for the education of boys and later another for girls had been, she told me, in the nature of an experiment. But the experiment had succeeded. Even the rule she had made of refusing admission to married boys in the high school had not roused anything like the opposition it might have.

I told her that only through such measures could a blow be struck at the pernicious custom of early marriage that had fastened itself upon Indian society during the dark ages through which it had passed.

She was also satisfied with the success that had crowned her efforts in assigning to religion its rightful place in education. Character forming should, she felt, be the principal aim of the educator. That was not the case in institutions maintained from public funds in India. She had reversed that practice and the results had been gratifying.

Nor had she neglected the artistic side. She had, for instance, introduced music in the regular curriculum.

"I hope you have not forgotten the

'untouchables,' Mrs. Besant," I said. "Our treatment of them is iniquitous."

"They are young souls," she answered.

"My mother would have put it differently," I rejoined. "She would have said that they had committed terrible sins in their past lives and were paying for them in this. But I, her son, have no desire to be an instrument through which that suffering is to be meted out to them. I do not wish to be re-born an untouchable because of my sins of commission towards them in this life."

Mrs. Besant smiled. She had great sympathy with the depressed classes, she said, and was not oblivious of their needs.

If I had thought that I would be the interviewer and she the interviewed, I soon found that I had miscalculated. She plied me with questions, chiefly regarding my experiences as a journalist in the Far East, North America and Britain.

The queries were very penetrating. Only a person who knew a good deal about journalism could have made them.

We went on talking until the failing light reminded me that I had made heavy inroads into the time of an exceedingly busy person and took leave of her.

## VI

I had no idea that in three or four years she would buy a daily paper in Madras, call it *New India*, and I would be sending her an article every week. That however proved to be the case.

As an editor she was all that a contributor could desire. Never once did she suggest to me what topics I should write upon or what treatment I should give them, much less what subjects I should avoid.

For a long time I regularly received from her a weekly cheque on her bank in London. It was not only made out by her, but was often accompanied by a letter couched in appreciative terms.

I marvelled at her energy. Her correspondence, I knew, covered the whole globe. In addition to editing *New India*, she wrote voluminously for it—editorials, notes under the heading "On the Line," reviews, and what not. She also contributed notes and articles to the *Commonweal*, of which one

of her disciples, Mr. B. P. Wadia, was the managing editor, the *Theosophist* and other publications. She lectured frequently, often at points widely separated from one another; and directed the activities of the Theosophical Society, with its world-wide ramifications.

Despite the enormous pressure under which she laboured, she, judged from my experience, showed great consideration for persons who came in contact with her. I recall, for instance, that on one occasion my weekly contribution failed to reach her. She figured out that it had gone down to the bottom of the sea in a ship that had been torpedoed by the Germans. She wrote out a cheque for half the amount she would have paid had the article reached her hands and enclosed it in a letter saying that she had halved my loss.

## VII

A strong personality like Mrs. Besant's not only binds persons to itself with hoops stronger than steel but also often rouses, quite unwittingly, deep-seated antagonism. I recall meeting casually Mr. (now Sir) H. E. A. Cotton, who then was editing the weekly organ *India* supported from the Indian National Congress funds about the time that she presided over the 1917 session of that organization and telling him of the experience I have just narrated.

"Bah!" said Cotton. "She is, my dear fellow, the most inconsiderate person in the world."

I was shocked at that statement and asked him to explain what he meant.

It turned out that Cotton and his colleagues of the *India* newspaper were greatly wroth at her for starting an organization in London in connection with the National Home Rule League that she had founded to further the cause of self-government for India. She had exasperated them by ignoring the long established custom of sending an advance copy of her Presidential Address to them. They were driven to obtain a copy from the officers of the Indian Home Rule London auxiliary, or to depend upon the summary telegraphed by *Reuter* and other press correspondents in India to British newspapers after the address had been delivered.

## VIII

Winning freedom for India was Mrs. Besant's consuming passion at this period. She made more than one effort to drag me out of the quiet of my study into the maelstrom of politics.

Towards the end of 1916 she wrote to me urging me to become a Vice-President of the League for furthering Home Rule for India that was being started in London through her initiative. On the heels of her letter came an invitation from the Lady Emily Lutyens to take tea with her. Lady Emily was the daughter of Lord Lytton, who, in conjunction with Benjamin Disraeli, then the Prime Minister of Britain, made the Queen of England the Empress of India; and is the wife of the celebrated architect whose creations adorn many capitals, including New Delhi.

So serious was Lady Emily in her attempt to make a politician of me that she forgot to put sugar in my tea. Her eloquence was however wasted upon me. I refused to be drawn out of the seclusion of my study into the whirlpool of politics.

## IX

A few months later my wife and I read of Mrs. Besant's internment. It was difficult for us to credit the news. She was British by birth and was, to my personal knowledge, thoroughly loyal to the Crown and anxious for the continuance of the Indo-British connection.

Everyone who knew anything about Mrs. Besant expected that the internment would last only a few days. I recollect a Theosophist telling me: "You probably do not know that Lady Willingdon's sister, the Countess De la Warr, is a devoted follower of Mrs. Besant. You will see that a way will soon be found to set her free."

Whether Lady Willingdon was approached by her sister in Mrs. Besant's behalf, and if she was, whether she exerted her influence to bring about the withdrawal of the internment order, I have no means of knowing.

I heard from an unimpeachable source about an incident in connection with Mr. Montagu's mission to India in 1917. Mrs. Besant was, I was told, *persona non grata* with Lord Chelmsford, who went

about India with the Secretary of State and his party. Yet she was too important a figure in Indian politics to be ignored.

To get over the difficulty a member of the Mission invited her to his sitting room in his tent. While she was there Mr. Montagu casually sauntered in. His colleague made some excuse and went out and the two had a long talk about the Indian situation and the means to mend it.

## X

When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was incorporated, in a somewhat modified form, in a Parliamentary Bill and that Bill was entrusted to the tender mercies of a Committee of the two Houses of Parliament presided over by a Conservative Peer (the Lord Selbourne), Mrs. Besant visited London. She resided in a flat in Adelphi, not far from Fleet Street, the hub of British newspaperdom, that had been placed at her disposal.

As professional exigencies frequently took me to that part of London, it was very convenient for me to drop in at Mrs. Besant's temporary home. She had given me a general invitation to call, of which I availed myself whenever time and opportunity permitted.

If I had needed any proof of her devotion to the Indian cause, I got plenty of it at that time. She seemed to have but one object in life and that to make India politically self-sufficing.

While thus striving to advance India, Mrs. Besant did not blink at Indian weaknesses. She was sore at heart at the jealousies and bickering among the Indian leaders then in London. If she could have had her way she would have gathered them under one banner and marched them to "Room A" of the House of Lords in which Lord Selbourne's Joint Select Committee sat, there to make a joint demand that India be made mistress over her own household. The fissiparous tendency among our people however made such a concerted effort an utter impossibility, as I soon found to my sorrow.

In and out of the flat as I was at odd times, I do not recollect ever going in and finding Mrs. Besant sitting still doing nothing. She was either giving an interview to some-



body, or holding a conference, or answering letters, or writing an article or a note for publication in one or another of her periodicals.

And on what simple fare she did all this tissue-killing work! I saw more than once her evening meal left on a tray for her to eat as she desired. It consisted of a little bread, a few grapes or some other fruit, and a small jug of milk—nothing warm, not even a cup of cocoa, tea or coffee.

## XI

During one of Mrs. Besant's visits to England I had the opportunity of hearing her speak from the platform. She had undertaken to deliver a series of lectures at Queen's Hall. It was large and centrally located.

Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I got to our seats only a few minutes before Mrs. Besant rose to speak. That short interval was enough for us to see that the hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. As far as we could see by straining our necks, we could not descry a single empty seat. At the back and sides of the room men and women were standing eager to listen to her.

The moment she began to speak a hush fell on the audience. Her clear, resonant voice filled every corner of the vast hall. Now it rose and again it fell. It had such remarkable carrying power that even her whisper reached the farthest corner.

During the hour or more that she spoke, never did she falter for a thought or a word, nor did she once refer to a note. She stood in front of us and words poured from her lips like Niagara from its cliffshelf.

Her language was chaste and imaginative. She decked Indian thought in a garb so rich that the people present found themselves lifted out of their chairs and transported to India, seeing for themselves the myriad ways in which Indian culture had found expression in our Motherland. When the sound of her mellifluous voice ceased we found ourselves back in matter-of-fact London, but all the better for the flight on the wings of fancy upon which she had taken us.

## XII

In November, 1921, Mrs. Besant learned that I was in Colombo and would shortly

visit my Motherland. She immediately wrote to me telling me that she would like to hold a "festival" in Mrs. Singh's and my honour when we reached Madras and asked me to let her know when she should expect us.

I do not like to have a fuss made over me and therefore the first intimation that she had of our arrival was when we called upon her at the office of *New India* late one afternoon when I knew the paper must have been sent to press and she could spare a few minutes to talk with us.

She chided me for not letting her know in advance of my coming. "You may not like receptions," she said upbraidingly, "but there are many persons who would like to meet you and I meant to ask them to come out to Adyar."

Happily that was the first and last time I saw her in an angry mood.

Soon we were talking about all sorts of things—about conditions in London as affecting India at the time of my departure; affairs in Ceylon, particularly the state of Indian wage-earners there in whom she took interest; how long we were to be in Madras and what was to be our programme; and so on and so forth.

Mrs. Besant had taken a very definite stand against the non-co-operation movement, which was just then very strong. "You are in disagreement with Mr. Gandhi in regard to the line of political action to be followed in India at this juncture," I said to her by way of elucidating the matter.

"Yes," she said, she was. She would have nothing to do with a purely negative movement—a movement that was opposed to law and order—with such a destructive movement.

Mr. Gandhi had done very useful work for India, she admitted, but he had gone astray. He had left the path of light and set his feet upon the path of darkness. She was more sorry for him than angry with him, and still more sorry for the people whom, according to her, he was deluding.

My wife and I both have a great deal of respect and regard for Mahatma Gandhi. We felt sad that Mrs. Besant disagreed with him so completely.

Her talk of law-breaking and of the firing

of bullets in reply to brick-bats flung at the police led Mrs. Singh to interject :

"But, Mrs. Besant, you made very vigorous protests against the laws that you considered iniquitous—you broke them and defied the authorities when they would have punished you for your action. I cannot see why you should now condemn Mr. Gandhi for doing the same thing."

"That was entirely different," she replied.

Not choosing to continue the conversation along that line out of respect for the aged lady who had done so much to uplift humanity, Mrs. Singh asked her if she still held the same views on the question of the limitation of population that she had suffered so much for expressing in the days when she and Bradlaugh had published the pamphlet on that subject which shook the religious and social world of Britain to its foundations.

Mrs. Besant replied most emphatically that she did not. She now knew that the Lords of Wisdom took great trouble to ensure that a soul should be incarnated in a particular family where it would be able to work out its *Karma* to the best advantage. If the parents they had chosen to create the physical body through which that soul should function, refused to bring it into existence, they not only would make it impossible for that soul to incarnate at the time its hour struck, but would entail upon the Lords of Creation the task of seeking another suitable vehicle for its rebirth. The man and woman who refused to become parents would themselves suffer inasmuch as they would not be able to work off the *Karma* connected with the particular soul that otherwise would have taken birth in their family. Knowing this, she felt that it would be committing a crime against the divine beings in whose care the affairs of our world had been placed to resort to contraceptive methods.

### XIII

A day or two later my wife and I drove out to Adyar to wish Mrs. Besant good-bye before leaving Madras. We had to motor some six miles to the outer edge of the city, to get there.

We caught a glimpse of the head-quarters of the Theosophical Society as our car neared

the bridge spanning the river separating Adyar from Madras. It looked as if we were going to a garden city. That impression, on nearer approach, proved to be correct. Well-kept lawns extended from either side of the broad road over which we sped. Buildings, most of them low, were set among palms and palmyras, banyan and tamarind trees.

Mrs. Besant sent us a message as soon as she learned of our visit asking us to go up to her "den," as she called the room in which she worked and, I believe, also slept. When we entered she was sitting, in Hindu fashion, upon a snow-white sheet spread over a thick mattress that was laid on a huge, very low *takht-posh*, or divan, as it would be called in England, in one corner of the large room. She was writing with a pencil on a pad against her knees. All around her were lying books, papers and magazines.

We could stay for only a short while as we had to go to the home of the friend with whom we were stopping to have dinner before taking the train for Mysore. There was therefore little opportunity for talk.

We both felt recompensed however for going to Adyar for the glimpse we had of her in the surroundings that she had made for herself. It gave us the opportunity to see how completely she had exchanged the material comforts of Britain for the simple Indian ways, how she had absorbed the Hindu spirit, and had, in fact, become an embodiment of it.

### XIV

During the next eighteen months or so we were travelling all over India—south, west, east and north. We covered altogether some 40,000 miles by rail and motor.

Again and again we chanced upon Mrs. Besant travelling by the same train. She usually was in a two-birth first-class coupe. Her secretary occupying the upper and she the lower one at night. We were not much more than half her age and yet often we felt wearied by travel. But she showed not the slightest sign of fatigue, certainly never talked of being tired. She thought no more of making the journey from, say, Madras to Lahore than she did of going in from Adyar to the *New India* office of a morning.

Nor was she looking out of the window at

the receding scene, or whiling away her time reading a novel. She was carrying on her work as usual, sitting with her feet up on the seat, answering letters, or writing notes or articles for her papers, or reading books sent to her for review.

Sometimes she invited us to come into her coupe and we travelled between stations, chatting with her. She read extensively and was in touch with movements all over the world: but in most cases her talk was about the Motherland. Her heart bled at our country's depressed condition. She grieved over the dissensions prevailing among Indian leaders, at the refusal of one section of the community to make common cause with the other. More than once she talked of men who regarded themselves as leaders and were so regarded by others, and who yet could not stand up and demand freedom like men.

Her faith in India's destiny never wavered.

She assured me again and again that India would soon be mistress in her own household—that the constitutional weapon would prevail where other instruments had failed.

I shall ever cherish the memory of those talks in railway trains, for little as I could have conceived it then, they were to prove to be the last we were to have with her. When I visited Madras during my present Indian visit I lost no time in going out to Adyar: but much to my regret she was too ill to see me.

Great was her love for India and she gave the best in her to advance us. Important as was her contribution to the educational, social and political progress of our country, I feel that the greatest service she rendered us was by helping to break the spell cast by the Occident upon our minds.\*

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## ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE REICH

### AN INTERPRETATION OF THE NAZI RACIAL POLICY

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M. A., Ph. D.

**T**HE attention of the world has been focussed recently on the powerful campaign that is being carried on in Germany against the Jews. Under the Nazi regime Jewish physicians have been dismissed from hospital staffs, Jewish judges have been relieved of office, Jewish prosecuting attorneys have been prevented from practising law, Jewish teachers and professors have been put out of educational institutions and Jewish students have been refused admission to professional schools. More than a million Jews dwelling in Germany have been affected thus, directly or indirectly, by Adolf Hitler's vigorous anti-Semitic campaign. When the last census was taken in 1925, there were 564,379 Jews living in the Reich alone, and it is estimated that the Jewish population has grown only by a few thousand since. Jews constituted only 0.9 per cent of the total

population in 1925. The great majority of Jews in Germany,—405,969 or more than 70 per cent of the total number,—lived in Prussia. As is generally the case in other countries, the German Jews were concentrated in the cities, nearly two-thirds of them living in places with populations of 100,000 or more, and only 17 per cent in towns of 10,000 or less. The distribution is in sharp contrast with the country as a whole; 53 per cent of the total German population was found to be living in the towns of 10,000 or less in 1925.

Before the Nazis took over power, the civil and political equality of Jews was fully guaranteed under the constitution. Article 136 of the Reich's constitution reads thus: "Civil and political duties are neither dependent upon nor restricted by the practice of religious freedom. The enjoyment



of civil and political rights as well as admission to official post, is independent of religious creed." The article immediately preceding asserts that "all inhabitants of the Reich enjoy full liberty of faith and conscience. The undisturbed practice of religion is guaranteed by the Constitution and is under State protection." Under these safe-guards, it is said, Jews in Germany enjoyed full legal equality before the Nazi administration came into power. Even then a certain amount of social and economic discrimination was common but at no time was there such positive anti-Jewish feeling as we find today in Germany. What then has brought about the present attitude of the Germans towards Jews?

#### A NEW NATIONALISM

To understand the Nazi German mind and what is happening now in Germany, it may be worth while to ponder over the following observation which William James considered the most philosophical remark he had ever heard: "There is precious little difference between man and man, but what little there is of tremendous importance." If now we substitute "race" for "man" and then examine the assumptions which underlie the Nazi programme, then we will be in a position to understand the present German mind. "Between us and the others (non-Nazis)" declares Gottfried Feder, a spiritual father of Hitler and author of the Nazi platform, "stands this unbridgeable flaming sword of our *Weltanschauung* (or general point of view)." The German people, maintains Herr Rosenberg, form a race of peculiar energy and purity with a remarkable cultural heritage of purely German character. The great empire, which they formed and which for four long years defied the world, was vanquished because it was weakened by spiritual poisons. These poisons, such as belief in human civilization (as opposed to German), internationalism, pacifism and parliamentarism, were mixed up with the pure socialism (which the Nazis champion) into a devil's brew called Marxianism. Through this subtle weapon, which it has devised, the international Jewish capitalism which rules the world has blinded the German

working class and led it astray. Labour's best efforts to destroy international capitalism are thus paralysed.

The Nazis see in Marxianism a crass materialism which denies the creative individual and exalts the mass; so they attack every form of the doctrine of Marx, from extreme Left Communism to mild revisionism. But this alone will be fruitless, they maintain, until the "bacillus" which poisons the German blood and devitalizes the German spirit has been destroyed; and so a pitiless war, they believe, must be waged on Jews and their influence. These once removed, Herr Rosenberg declares, it will be possible to unite the working classes with the middle classes, who have been destroyed by international capitalism, into a glorious whole from which the spirit of materialism and gain has been uprooted. German workers are never again to make the anti-national mistake of feeling more closely akin to the workers of other nations than to their own employers. It is on the foundation of a purified racial and national outlook that the structure of German culture and national life is to be rebuilt.

#### THE NEW RACIAL POLICY

The steadily sharpening crisis of the last six years or more in Germany, the permanent and transient injustices of the Treaty of Versailles and the impassioned eloquence of Hitler have given rise to a far-reaching spiritual movement. Germans have written countless books, developing various aspects of national socialism and a holy war has been declared upon its enemies. The purely racial aspects have found pseudo-scientific justification; Germanists have been found to bless the Nazi version of *Deutschtum*, economists have exhumed Friedrich List and developed ideas of national economic self-sufficiency under the awkward title of "autarchy." Meantime, the guiding spirits of the movement have maintained close touch with Italy and have given the Fascist movement there a careful scrutiny. Nevertheless, Hitler has never permitted any important changes in the Nazi programme, and it stands today virtually as it did in 1920.

Of the twenty-five points in the Nazi scheme for recasting German society, seven

deal in whole or in part with eliminating the Jew and Jewish influence; five deal with national and political aims and thirteen with social and economic principles. The first group has in the main been put into operation, the second has been practically realized, while the third constitutes the nub of social policy which is likely to prove most difficult of achievement. It is necessary to make clear at the outset the distinction between the platform, the extreme measures taken during the height of the anti-Semitic outburst and their very slight relaxation as indicated in the more recent dispatches. These latter two are not easy to keep apart, but it may be said that Cabinet pronouncements now tend to be a little more moderate than the actions and declarations of Nazi subordinates.

The seven planks of the programme that deal with Jews and other "undesirable" elements in the German racial and national commonalty are as follows:

IV. Only a member of our own people (Volksgenosse) may be a citizen. Our own people are only those of German blood without regard to confession; consequently, no Jew may be a member of our people.

V. Whoever is not a citizen may live in Germany only as a guest and must be governed by laws relating to foreigners.

VI. Only citizens have the right to decide on the leadership and laws of the State. We, therefore, demand that every public office, of whatever sort, whether in the Reich, the States or the communes, be filled only by citizens.

VII. We demand that the State assume the burden of providing working and living possibilities for its citizens. If it is not possible to feed the entire population, non-citizens must be expelled from the Reich.

VIII. All further immigration of non-Germans is to be stopped. We demand that all non-Germans who have immigrated to Germany since Aug. 2, 1914, be forced to leave the Reich.

XXIII. We demand a legislative battle against deliberate political lies and their propagation through the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press, we demand that: (i) all editors and workers on newspapers which appear in the German language be members of our own people; (ii) non-German papers be required to seek the express permission of the State for publication; (iii) any financial participation or influences in a German newspaper by a non-German be forbidden by law and punished by confiscation of the paper as well as the immediate expulsion from the Reich of the non-German in question.

Newspapers which work against the common good are to be prohibited. Such tendencies in art and literature as exert bad influence upon our

national life are to be suppressed, and institutions which further such influences are to be closed.

XXIV. We demand freedom for all religious sects in the State so far as they do not endanger its existence or work against the customs and morals of the German race.

The party as such represents, it is said, the point of view of a positive Christianity without tying itself down to any particular form of confession. It fights the spirit of Jewish materialism in and outside the people and is convinced that a lasting recovery of the German nation can only result from the inner conviction of national and common good.

#### THE JEW NOT EASILY ASSIMILATED

The whole racial problem in Germany seems to centre round the fact that the German Jews have not become assimilated in Germany as they have, for instance, in England. In England the Jews think as national Englishmen; in fact, out there they have become completely absorbed in the English people. There is a difference, however, between England and Germany that needs to be kept in mind. Germany is the transition station from Eastern Judaism, that is from Poland, Austria and Hungary, to Western Judaism, and consequently, Germany, after the Eastern frontiers were opened up by the Social-Democratic Government, received the riff-raff of Eastern Judaism. And unfortunately these people do not become easily assimilated in the nation that has extended to them its hospitality; they always remain as an alien substance in the life of the nation. Though the Eastern Jews speak the language and adopt the customs and habits of the German people, they seldom imbibe the German spirit and culture. Therefore, Jews, not being of the the German people, easily carry on, so the Germans say, propaganda against the nation.

"The Eastern Jews," declares Dr. Goebbels, "have created a desolating disorder in the field of the press, films and of public opinion under the protection of Social-Democracy. All of this was possible in Germany because of the freedom and hospitality given to them. If you will take into consideration first the corruption scandals, secondly the increase in the number of Jews in the public life of the

country, and thirdly, the large number of public posts occupied by Jews, which in no way corresponds with the proportion of the Jewish element to the population of Germany as a whole, then you will understand how a certain feeling of aversion on the part of the German nation towards Judaism has grown up." To make matters worse, Jews segregate themselves from the rest of the population. The prosperous Jewish business men, for example, live in Berlin on the Kurfürstendamm; the poorer element of Judaism lives in the Grenadierstrasse. Such sections become definite Jewish quarters.

#### CENTRES OF COMMUNISM AND ANTI-GERMAN PROPAGANDA

In those sections, for the most part, so the Germans say, the practical and intellectual organizations of the Communist movement were established. These un-German tendencies on the part of Jews have naturally aroused bitter feeling against them, and the government has only sought to direct this feeling into legal and properly regulated channels. To check growing trouble, it has also laid down the definite percentage of positions which shall be occupied by the Jews in the legal and medical professions. Resenting this anti-Semitic attitude of the German, Jews carried on propaganda outside the State against Germany. And when the German people came to know definitely that a large part of the atrocity campaign was being engineered by German Jews, by men, they point out, like Ludwig, Einstein and Feuchtwanger, at that moment the hate and determination of the German people to defend themselves became active. The result of this feeling was the boycott of the Jew.

If the government had not stepped in and taken the situation in hand at the critical moment, legalized the boycott and steered it into organized channels, this feeling, the Germans say, would have broken out among the nation at large and might have caused immeasurable damage. The Government control of the boycott helped to carry it through with unparalleled discipline. We are now informed that the German nation is ready to leave this question in abeyance if Judaism will leave the German nation alone. To

understand fully this complicated problem, one must be able to differentiate between what had happened before the present Government took over power and what has taken place since, and also to differentiate between what inevitably emerged from the people and what has been done by the Government itself.

#### THE NAZI BEFORE THE BAR OF WORLD OPINION

Germany has had a revolution,—a revolution which would have probably resulted in a heavy loss of human lives in other countries. On the whole the recent German revolution was bloodless and peaceful. It cannot be denied that excesses have happened ascribable to the excitement of the masses at the upheaval. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that on the whole this revolution was bloodless and peaceful. Though the change in the government of the Reich and in the administration of the States and cities was greater, yet it was welcomed more enthusiastically than the revolution of November, 1918. This reception could be accounted for by the fact that the German people themselves discredited the republic, in spite of the amazing German recovery under that Government, as they thought it was linked with the Treaty of Versailles and the moral stigma the war guilt clauses placed upon Germany. Even Hitler's success is due largely to the craving of the Germans to extricate themselves from the fetters imposed upon them at Versailles. When they are thus going through the pangs of a national rebirth, it is natural for them to take severe action against irreconcilable groups within the national fold. This feeling of anti-Semitism, therefore, appears to be an integral part of the national resurgence.

Nevertheless, it is a great pity that the regeneration of the German nation should be so intimately linked up with race hatred and animosity. While it is not difficult to understand the problem of an unassimilable element in national life, yet we must say that the present outbreak of evil passions among a large section of the German people will, as a memory, remain for a long time a blot on the record of a nation so proud of its high culture. Albeit, it is certain that world opinion will



give Hitler a fair show, since no government can be properly judged when it is forming itself. That he used what anti-Semitic feeling he found in Germany to his political advantage in the past will not prevent recognition of his efforts if he crushes hereafter at least, anti-Semitism as a government policy. The world is watching the development of Hitler's policies, and Germany will suffer in her world relations if Berlin consecrates officially anti-Jewish campaigns of a legal and economic

nature. That is true not only because of the strength of Jewry in the world, but because democratic governments the world over have condemned anti-Semitism as something that has no proper place in modern civilization. And so, exaggerated or not, the protests, which have been directed at the German anti-Jewish movement by public opinion recently, can probably be written on the credit side of humanity's ledger.

## RELATION BETWEEN THE BUDDHA IMAGES OF ORISSA AND JAVA

BY DEVAPRASAD GHOSH, M.A.

THE predominance of Orissa as a centre of Buddhism and the great maritime activity of its people, in the 8th century A. D., has been proved beyond doubt by Prof. Sylvain Levi. He has shown from Chinese Buddhist texts that the Chinese Emperor Te-tsung received in 795 A. D. an autograph manuscript, containing the last section of the *Avatamsaka*, from a Buddhist king called Subhakarā-Kesorin ("who does what is pure, the lion") of Wu-ch'a (Uda-Orissa), through the monk Prajna, a native of Kapisa (Afghanistan), who had settled in the monastery of the king of Wu-ch'a to study Yoga philosophy there, after having visited the sacred places and finished his educational course in the well-known universities of northern India. "The biography of Prajna, written by a Chinese contemporary, shows that in those days Orissa was a great centre of Mahayana Buddhist learning as Magadha with its university of Nalanda." Subhakarā and his predecessors, belonging to the Kara dynasty, under whose patronage Buddhist art and religion received a strong impetus in northern Orissa, were themselves devout Buddhists. Such significant titles as "Paramopasaka," "Paramatathagata" and "Paramasaukata" are found to be associated with their names in the grants issued by them.\*

The recent explorations in Orissa by Rai Ramāprasad Chanda Bahadur, the late Superintendent of the Archaeological section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta† and Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar§ of Calcutta University, have brought to light the extensive ruins of a large and flourishing Buddhist monastery and University, covering the three remote hills of Lalitagiri

(Naltigiri), Ratnagiri and Udayagiri of the Assia Range in the Cuttack district. It has been identified with the great monastery of Puspagiri (Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li) visited by the famous Chinese pilgrim in Odra (Wu-t'u) or northern Orissa in 7th century A. D. More than sixty years ago, a local Bengali official, Babu Chandra Sekhara Banerji, was responsible for discovering the important sites of Lalitagiri and Udayagiri. While another noted Bengali antiquarian, Rai Monmohan Chakravarti, who was at one time the sub-divisional officer of Jajpur, first discovered Ratnagiri, about the beginning of the present century.

Apart from the intrinsic merit of the numerous sculptures from these sites, they cover an important and hitherto unbridged gap in the historical evolution of Indian art. During the Gupta period the artistic activity throughout the land was regulated, more or less by the plastic tradition specially associated with the Sarnath school of Magadha. After the fall of the Imperial Guptas, however, this uniformity of style was disturbed and the various provinces began to develop local and individual styles of their own, based on the Gupta technique. Thus there grew up the Pallava and Rastrakuta styles in the south and the Central Indian, Orissan, Eastern Indian and Kashmir styles in the north. The vigorous school of Brahmanical art, which thrived on the soil of Orissa, in the medieval period, from the 8th to the 13th century, with its centres at Khiching, Jajpur, Chanduar, Bhuvaneswar, Puri and Konarak, was hitherto unconnected with the parent stream of Gupta artistic impulse. The ruins of Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri, provide this important but missing link.

### SOME BUDDHA FIGURES FROM THE HILLS

Among the sculptures, the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures are undoubtedly the most remarkable. The Orissan artist created a Buddha

\* R. D. Banerji—*History of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1930. Vol. I, p. 147.

† R. Chanda—*Explorations in Orissa*, Mem. of the Arch. Surv. of India, no. 44; Calcutta, 1930.

§ H. C. Chakladar—"A great Site of Mahayana Buddhism in Orissa," *The Modern Review* Aug., 1928.



image of peculiar interest and characteristic local type. The earliest specimens, perhaps belonging to the Naltigiri group of Bodhisattvas,\* are marked by great simplicity, slimness and inner absorption. Their regular and well defined features greatly add to the impression of dignity and transcendental vision.

The colossal image of the youthful Buddha, seated in the *Bhumisparsa mudra*, from Lalitagiri (Fig. 1), is one of the few enduring pieces fashioned by the chisel of the early mediaeval Orissan artist. It may be ascribed to the seventh century A. D. on stylistic grounds. The spiral locks of the head, which itself is about one and a half feet in length, crowned by the *Usnisa*, are smaller than usual. The delicately chiselled face is oblong shaped. By gracefully curving away the unusually long ear-lobes, the inevitable stiffness has been deftly avoided. *Urna* is prominently marked

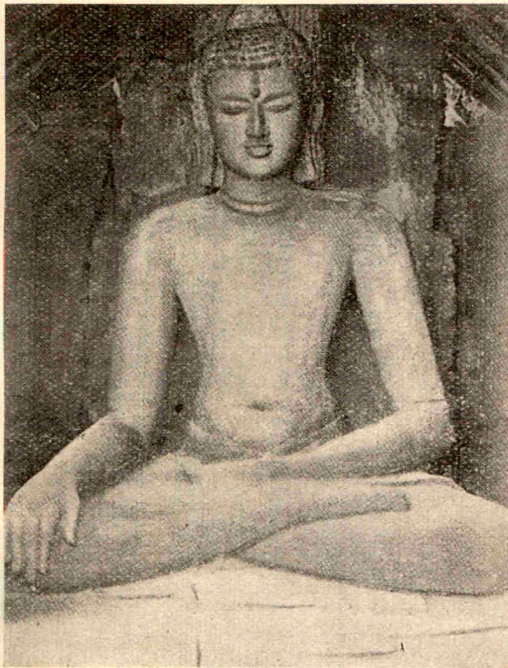


Fig. 1. Buddha Touching Earth, Lalitagiri

on the forehead. Straight slanting eyebrows, which define superficially modelled half-shut eyes, outstretched in shallow curves, combined with a long-pointed nose and tightly compressed pouting lips, give an abiding impression of intense spiritual force and determination, which all the terrors of Mara and the wiles of his daughters miserably failed to disturb or destroy (Fig. 2). This remarkable head is joined to a leonine trunk, by a narrow neck and sloping shoulders. Of the hands, the left one rests on the lap, while the right

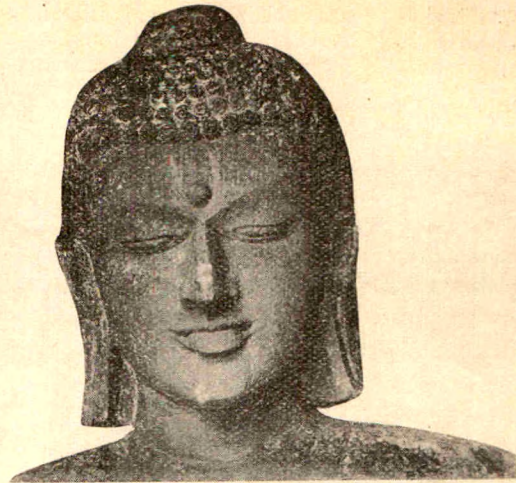


Fig. 2. Buddha Head, Lalitagiri

one, ending in tapering rhythmic fingers, point downwards, calling the Earth as witness to His rights and righteousness. Legs are interlocked in the *Padmasana* pose. But for the traces of the transparent drapery across the chest and about the wrist and ankle, the body seems to be entirely unclothed.

Consequently, the fully revealed form is

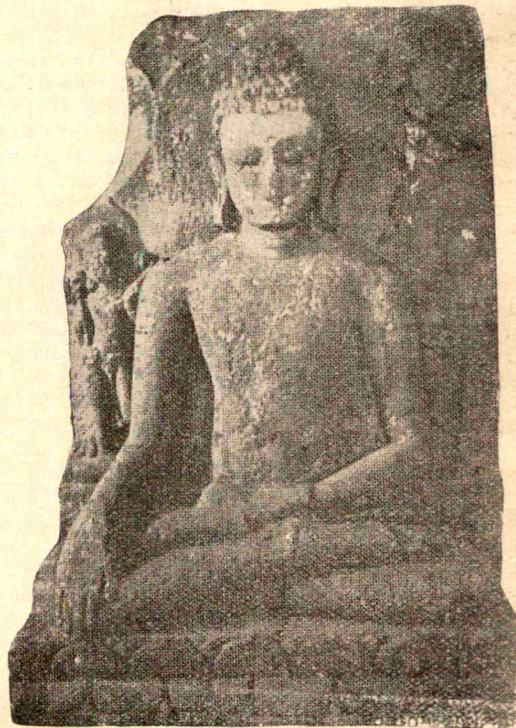


Fig. 3. Vajrasana Buddha Bhattaraka from Cutack District

\* Chanda—*Ibid.*, pl. II, figs. 1.5 ; pl. VI., figs. 1.3.



characterized by severe plainness and utter lack of details, so concentrating the observer's attention on the exquisitely rendered sensitive face, vibrating with divine pulsation. In spite of the comparatively flat modelling, the limbs are

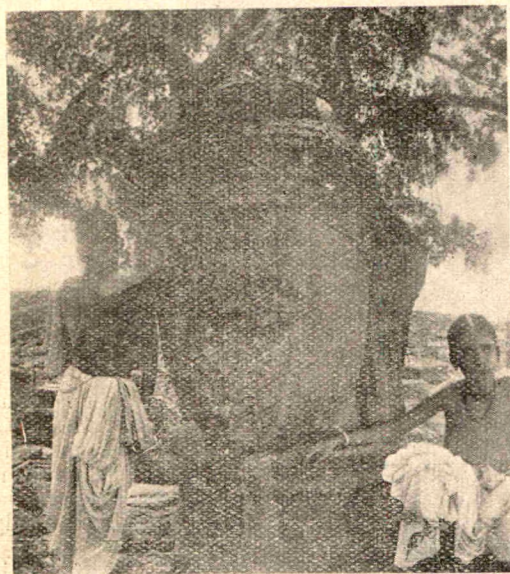


Fig. 4. Colossal Buddha head, Ratnagiri

slim, slender and extremely elongated. Confined, as they are within a strictly triangular frame, the tapering lines of the erect symmetrical figure, specially emphasized by the spreading legs and converging arms, skilfully convey our vision up towards the crowning member. The accidental absence of the decorated pedestal and the customary elaborate backslab, as well the broad summary treatment of the tight clinging flesh, affords little scope for any pronounced interplay of light and shade except the regions between the bust and the arms and around the face. But the sharp angular lines of the limbs greatly enhance the tense alertness of the exceptionally placid countenance. With the utmost economy of details, the artist has been happily successful in obtaining the maximum graphic effect by a rare combination of strength and delicacy. Nobody can deny that the simplicity and vigour of execution has endowed the image with a vital and mysterious significance of singular emotional appeal.

The Buddha represented in fig. 3, seated likewise, seems to be a little later than the previous one. It is more damaged. But the backslab is intact here. Although devoid of the usual paraphernalia of the throne, consisting of fantastic animals like Makara, Kirttimukha, Kinnara, Gaja-simha and other decorative devices which generally accompany the post-Gupta and early medieval reliefs, specially in Eastern India,

the extreme severity of the background is relieved by a pair of attendants and hovering Gandharvas which flank the plain oval halo round the head. These secondary figures, however, do not in the least affect the inspiring majesty and immobile serenity of the main image. It is also provided with a lotus pedestal. Otherwise in plastic conception and execution, there is no material divergence from the preceding idol.

A colossal Buddha head, severed from its trunk, lying on the top of Ratnagiri under a spreading banyan tree, is undoubtedly one of the wonders of Indian art. It measures 3' 8" by 3' 2" and its amazing proportions can be guessed from the two accompanying Oriya boys (Fig. 4). As far as I know, this head has never been reproduced before. We should notice that the treatment of the eye is different from that of the foregoing Buddhas and is closely akin to the technique followed in the Sarnath Gupta Buddhas. By chamfering off the receding arch, below the eye-brow, at sharp angles, the exquisitely full *Padmapalasalochana* is delineated in a soft graceful convex, with elusive lights and shadows



Fig. 5. Vajrasana-Buddha-Bhattacharya from Cuttack District

playing around. Following the Gupta formula, again, great care has been bestowed on the delicately curling sensitive lips, which bear striking resemblance to the elegant lips of the



Bodhisattva statues from Lalitagiri. We are unconsciously reminded of the inspiring Dhyani Buddhas of Borobudur, Java, as we look at the massive grandeur, round smoothness, harmonious rhythm and deep spiritual abstraction of this intriguing head.

However, the air of elegance, which permeates the sculptures, described above, is notably absent in the examples belonging to the subsequent periods. The Buddhas of the 8th-9th centuries are comparatively heavy and coarse. The stela

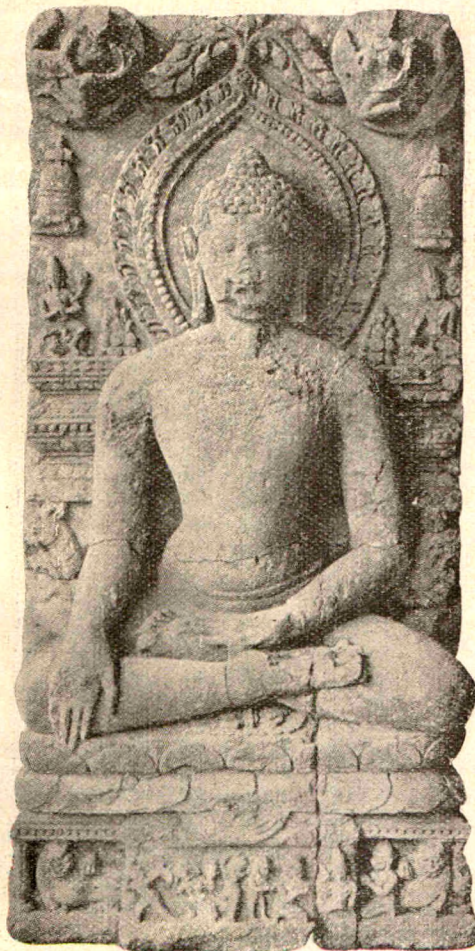


Fig. 6. Buddha (Touching Earth, Ratnagiri

representing Vajrasana-Buddha Bhattacharya from one of the hills (Fig. 5) is more elaborate than the reliefs already noticed. Here, we find the high pedestal divided into two horizontal compartments. The lower one consists of a sunken panel carved with vertical figures. While the upper one contains double rows of lotus petals, upon which Buddha is sitting upright. The backslab is flanked by two vertical friezes, each divided into three rectangular panels con-

taining figures of Bodhisattvas. In between them, a novel decorative adjunct in the shape of the hanging foliage of the Bodhi tree is introduced. Its drooping curve is happily responded by the elliptical halo which not only counterbalances the increasing sense of animation resulting from the crowded treatment of the backslab and the pedestal but visibly augments the prevailing sense of quiet restfulness of the image. Modelling gains in volume and roundness and an added strength is imparted to the face by squaring the jaw and tightening the thin compressed lips.

Subsequently, in the 9th-10th centuries, the note of dignified composure and austere simplicity pervading the foregoing sculptures is apparently disturbed by the predominance of luxurious, fantastic and agitated details (Fig. 6). Although the contour of the fleshy body, informed by

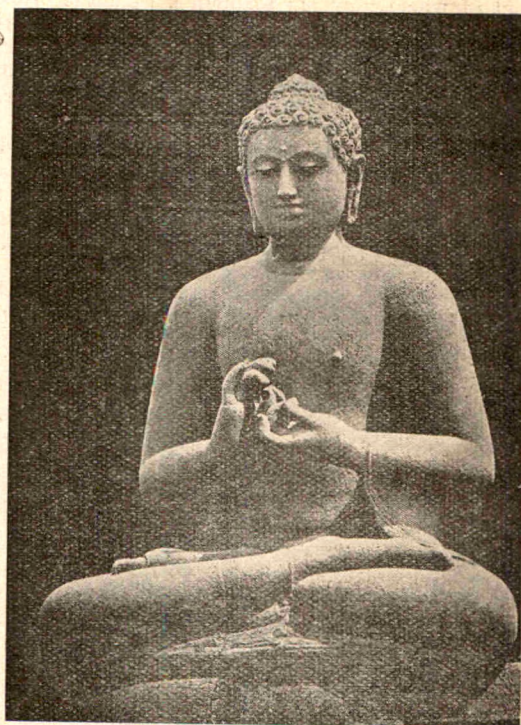


Fig. 7. Buddha from Borobudur

voluptuous grace, becomes more elastic and swelling; the treatment more soft and sensuous; still the conspicuous and striking quality of the main image is carefully retained. But the palpable signs of creeping degeneration could not be checked for more than a century.

#### PECULIAR TREATMENT OF ORISSAN BUDDHAS

There are obvious indications to show that the Orissan artist was influenced, at least in the



medieval period, by Magadhan models of the Pala empire. If we compare the last Buddha figure from Ratnagiri with a contemporary Buddha figure from Magadha we may be struck by the great iconographical resemblance, as suggested by Chanda. But a critical study will at once reveal that the idiom followed by the early medieval Orissan sculptor deviated from that of his northern contemporary to not a small extent. The two reliefs may agree in details, more or less, but there is great divergence in general style. In the Orissan example, we are readily attracted by the monumental character of the image. This bold and vigorous conception and the general breadth of treatment is entirely lacking in the Magadhan specimen. Such notable aesthetic achievement is accomplished by a simple technical process, *viz.*, the principal figures of the Orissa school are often larger in proportion in relation to the stelae out of which they are fashioned, than the reliefs of the rival school. Again, the utmost severity of conception of the main image, virtual absence of any clear indication of the wearing apparel and complete lack of folds of drapery, in contrast to the comparatively elaborate arrangement of dress in the Magadhan school, constitute the distinguishing features of the Orissa school. We are allowed to visualize the entire volume of the body and the flowing curves of the round tapering limbs, unhindered by any intermediate barrier. This rigorous severity and plainness of figure is complemented by a sense of rigidity and erectness of posture, which so happily contribute to the noble dignity and monumental quality of the images. Also, this peculiar effect is further enhanced by the broad mass of severely plain body, sharply contrasting with the elaborately decorated background.

Even the famous Gupta Buddhas of Sarnath which invariably served as the model for all subsequent attempts at shaping the Buddha image, in and outside India, are clearly marked by voluptuousness and sensuousness which practically verges on effeminacy. The post-Gupta Buddhas of Bengal and Bihar could not escape this effete inertness. Although somewhat lacking in refined delicacy and suavity of modelling, here in Orissa, we are for the first time faced with somewhat different types. They are not merely compassionate divine beings, but also pronounced ascetics, terse and forceful, with no trace of weakness or hesitation. These singular products not only bespeak profoundly spiritual or energised experience but considerable nervous tension and concentration of force too, like the celebrated Buddha of Anuradhapura, Ceylon.

#### THE PROTOTYPE OF JAVANESE BUDDHAS

Such traits, as also the peculiar types of halos round their heads, lead us to infer that the Javanese Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Barabudur and Prambanam (8th-9th century A.D.), which are distinguished by the same clarity and severity of conception, the same supreme spiritual fervour, the same remarkable monumental character and the same subtle sensitive modelling, may have as their prototype the Orissan Buddha of the early medieval era. Moreover, it is interesting to note that both the absolutely plain elliptical nimbus in high relief and the long tapering pointed halo, either plain or fringed with flamboyant scrolls, are typical Orissan features. Its simultaneous occurrence in Javanese Buddhist works may connote something more than mere chance coincidence. (Figs. 7 and 8).

If we remember, in this connection, the brisk maritime and colonial activity of the people of Kalinga during the early medieval period; the thriving Orissan port of Che-li-ta-lo (Charitrapura?) which was the starting-point of sea-going vessels bound for the Far East; the historical embassy of King Subhakarā of Orissa to the Chinese Emperor Te-tsung; the interesting fact revealed by Burmese texts that at one time Pegu in Lower Burma was known as Ussa (Odra or Orissa) and old Prome as Sikset (Srikshetra=Puri); as also the indelible impress of early medieval plastic language of Orissa on some sculptures from Thaton; and lastly the migration of a branch of the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kongoda (Ganjam district) to the Malay peninsula; there is nothing astonishing in the revelation of certain marks of close affinity between contemporary Orissan art and the Mahayana Buddhist images of Sailendra art of middle Java. It is also highly probable that the softness luscious grace and sinuous rhythm of the relief panels of Borobudur and Prambanam may be due to the influence, at least partly, of the same source, characterized as it was in the 8th century, by an identical emphasis on heaviness, supple spontaneous charm, and extremely elastic round curves, as illustrated particularly in some Buddhist products from the hill tracts in the Cuttack district and the Brahmanical sculptures from the Parasuramesvara—Vaital Deul group of temples in Bhuvaneswar. The influence of post-Gupta provincial schools of Pala and Pallava upon Sailendra art has already been established, but the present series of remarkable discoveries of Buddhist sculptures, ascribed to the Karas of Orissa, may help to clarify some perplexing problems of the most glorious chapter of the artistic history of ancient Java.



## INDIA AND ITALY—A PLEA FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

By P. N. ROY

**N**ATIONAL rivalries are keen now-a-days, keener than ever before, but at the same time the need for cultivating relationship with neighbouring and distant nations is also felt all the more keenly. It seems to be a contradiction, but it is not so if we consider the fact that it arises from the spirit of national self-defence as well as national self-expansion. So far as isolation means death and expansion means life, a nation on the ascendant or that wants to be on the ascendant, must try to approach other nations, in obedience to this law of life, not only through politics, but also through art, literature and general culture.

The cry for fellowship is, therefore, now common; and not a few are the international institutes and societies that already exist and are being established for promoting human and national relationship.

We in India know the tragic consequence of the isolated life that we lived through the different ages of our history. We are too painfully aware of the handicaps on our national progress that we ourselves have imposed as a result of our deliberate disconnection from the early days of our history with the external world. We have a civilization that is the most singular in the world, and it must be admitted that this singularity or uniqueness is due to its comparative freedom from external influences; but at the same time who is so blind as not to observe that our historical position today is also to a large extent due to this?

India lived in a tower of ivory, absorbed in her mystic dream, forgetful of the forces of life that were at work outside her own confines, and is now paying the penalty for it. These forces of life scaled over her mighty natural barriers and because of her unpreparedness to meet these forces, produced material wretchedness and political vicissitudes.

For centuries we have suffered from material wretchedness and political vicissitudes and now, at last, there seems to have come upon the nation the consciousness, though still not very widely spread, of this material and political condition, as a result of which a feeble effort is being made to ameliorate it. I say feeble effort, because, considering the extensiveness of national decomposition, the effort to arrest the progress of putridity and to restore the sinking vitality of the nation, cannot as yet be said to be adequate, notwithstanding the noble self-sacrifice and the heroic courting of the utmost suffering by many.

But the new orientation is there. The hopeful sign of reaction is there. At this time what is necessary along with other things for the uplift of the nation, is the growth of men and societies that would devote themselves to the study of the laws that govern the growth and decay of national aggregates to the study of the forces of life that are at work all the world over and that might do harm or good to us and to help in the spreading of such ideas and activities that might be conducive to the health of the nation.

Of all the countries that are making the new civilization, Italy is the one which can teach India a great deal. When I say this, I do not in the least suggest that India can learn nothing from other nations. Not at all. There are qualities among the Anglo-Saxons and the Teutons which are worthy of being imitated by India. The Slavs also may give something to India. What I mean is this—that there is a great deal of similarity between the historical evolution, the political destiny of India and Italy, the two countries might be said to be friends in misfortunes,—the misfortune of foreign subjugation that is now over in Italy but that still continues in India, the misfortune of subjugation to priestly craft, the misfortune of parochialism and the



petty provincial jealousies and rivalries which it produces and many other small or big misfortunes which it is useless to reiterate, and Italy might teach India how to get rid of these misfortunes. In these sense Italy is the only country the study of whose history and political institutions might be of real service to India.

Let us take a panoramic view of the history of Italy. We see the brightness of Rome illuminating the centuries of pre and post Christian history all over Europe. To Rome belonged the spiritual and intellectual leadership of entire Europe for centuries and all the nations of Europe lived cheerfully by a culture that had come from there. Rome conquered other nations and gave the conquered its own culture and institutions, which the subject nations accepted and appreciated notwithstanding the political submission to Rome. As G. K. Chesterton in his book, *The Resurrection of Rome*, says :

They were no more ashamed of it than Americans are ashamed of being white men from Europe, rather than black men from Africa or red men from America. They were no more insulted by it than a Christian is insulted by the existence of the Holy Land. It was something admitted and admired.

Even when Rome was Christianized, the Christian religion was given a catholic character by Rome and Rome became the religious fountain-head of Europe. Next to the Holy Land, Rome was the greatest centre of pilgrimage for all the religious people in Christendom. But then the Latin discipline which had maintained the supremacy of Rome was broken and Italy became a prey to comparatively less cultured invaders from the north who, however, due to the wonderful assimilating genius of the Latin people, were, in course of time, absorbed by it into its own national organism. Then followed the rise of the communes, a sort of fragmentary brilliance for Italy, fragmentary, because there was no national centre of unity where the brilliance could be focussed and from where it could be reflected over the entire country. Then followed the marvellous period of the Renaissance and along with it the subjection of Italy to foreign domination beginning from 1492 and lasting till 1870, the year of the completion of Italian unity.

The heroic fight which Italy put up to get rid of the yoke of foreign subjugation is well known. Italy rose again under the leadership of men like Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour to march forward along the path of civilization and so in Italian history the struggle for independence which she made is known as the Risorgimento. From the Risorgimento to Fascism, from Mazzini to Mussolini, there has been continuous progress, through ups and downs of course, of nation-building, and Italy has again asserted her supremacy by giving to the world a new social system in the corporative State and a personality who is himself an embodiment of youthful energy and who has made the old languid nation again vigorous and young.

Let us take a panoramic view of the history of India. The early centuries of Indian history are filled with the light of Vedic civilization. Then comes the illumination of the great Lord Buddha and this illumination gradually spreads all over India and then crosses the confines of the country—and adorns the entire extreme east with a new spiritual beauty. To India comes pilgrims from beyond the seas and mountains to make their lives sublime by looking at the new illumination at its source and marvellous institutions of education and culture grow and develop all over the country. Then the light dies and the spiritual expansion of India is contracted and limited to its own boundaries and the country falls a victim to barbarous invasions from the north. The first invaders were very soon absorbed by the country so that no distinction between the invader and the invaded remained. But soon came invaders who refused to be absorbed by the country, on the contrary who tried to impose their own religion and customs on it. They made India their home but could not forget the traditions of the countries from where they had come, so that their domination was virtually felt by the people native to the land like a foreign domination. The fall, one after another, of the Hindu Powers of the time in their struggle with the new-comers is an instance of historical inevitability and reveals the depth of national degradation during which the country changed

hands like a toy till it ultimately came to the hands of our present rulers.

Our condition now is like that of the Italians during the centuries that followed the Renaissance. Makers of a civilization in the East like the Italians in the West, we are now not sufficiently capable of any new effort and efficiency, and while Italy has emerged bright and strong out of obscurity and gloom, we are still fumbling in the dark to find a window or a door to emerge out of the suffocating atmosphere of political inferiority into the free sphere of autonomy.

There is a difference between the Italian fight for independence and our fight for freedom. Along with the political fight for independence, Italy developed, through her poets, philosophers and men of thought, the *idea of Italianity*,—the idea that the Italian national mind had a distinct mould and that this mould must be preserved at all costs by cultivating the traditions of the country and by developing in the nation the historical consciousness. So the Italian fight was not merely a fight for political freedom but was also a question of rebuilding a civilization. It was not merely a question of physical emancipation but also a question of refinding of the real self of the nation and its spiritual reassertion. This idea of Italianity was emphasized by Vico, Cuoco, Gioberti and Spaventa and in our day it has been developed by Croce and Gentile, Mussolini, Malaparte and other Fascist writers.

But in our fight for freedom we have not yet been able to find or establish a moral centre of action where the source of motion may reside and whence movement may spread to all its parts as from the centre to the circumference. Our fight is not accompanied with any keen sense of the historic past of the country. We have not as yet found a philosopher to interpret our movement in terms of our spiritual necessity and to set an ideal before us or to aid us in finding a moral centre of our action. Our freedom movement has not been a thing of the soil, it has developed like a grafted thing, it is like a baby that is bottle-fed and not nourished upon the mother's milk, because it was born not out of a national soul in agony, but out of the desire of a

few England-returned men who formed an association for constitutional agitation for the advancement of the country on European lines. And now also, after about half a century of the movement, we cannot say that we have been able to discover any *raison d'être* of our agitation apart from that of physical and economic emancipation. When we fight for liberty, we do not do so in order to live according to the modes of our history and civilization but to emulate other nations in becoming Europeanized, at least in part.

I know very well that the first beginners of our freedom movement uttered the names of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour with frequency and took not a little delight to quote from the writings and sayings of these great men. Young Italy for a time became the ideal of Young India. But the spirit of Italian movement was not understood by those beginners. They only saw the sight of the overthrow of foreign rule by Italy and they were stupefied at the achievement, but they did not know from where Italy derived the herculean strength of performing this feat—they did not know where existed her moral centre of action. Had they done so they would have at once made an effort to make a profound study of Indian history to discover our spiritual physiognomy and to find the moral centre of motion for the nation. But our leaders, instead of going to gather the roots of Indian history, went to pluck the flowers of English politics and to adorn themselves with those flowers. Hence it is that our fight for freedom is not really a fight, but a political game. It is not the case of a nation setting out to re-find its lost self, but of political parties trying to snatch power from the Government. In this game the real awakening point of the nation has only been slightly touched.

It is a defect of our national movement, and, according to me, to remedy this defect, India of 1933 may, with profit, look back through the corridors of time, at the birth, a hundred years ago, of the dynamic movement of Italy to the spirit of which the Italians of today have also returned—I mean the *Risorgimento*. Mazzini and the files of his *Young Italy* are not out of date for India. There is ample food for thought for Indians of today in the writings of Gioberti and other

thought-leaders of the Risorgimento. Indians can learn from them how to hold their Indianism as a solemn trust, not for themselves alone but for humanity.

But there are other things as well which India can learn from Italy.

One of the pressing problems of present-day India is the form of Government that we should have. The leaders of the country are committed to the idea that we should have democratic institutions and party-form of government. This at once shows that India is still governed by the nineteenth century ideas and honestly believes that in them is contained the panacea for all the ills from which the nation is suffering and is ready to go through all the sad and bad experiences of the democratic and liberal government without trying to learn from the experience of others. But it is to be carefully considered whether the liberal form of government is really suitable for India. In all countries where the democratic and liberal form of government exists, the great historical incident to be noticed today is the decay of Parliament. We are witnessing the events and hearing the reasons for which the world is gradually discarding the democratic ideals—first Italy, then Germany, and now also America. France is also on the verge of a revolution that might throw her on the same rank with Italy and Germany. While the world is moving fast towards a new civilization, a new social order, a new form of government, for India it is backwardness and stupidity to cling to the half-discarded ideas and to be enamoured of social forms that are rapidly vanishing, particularly when democratic liberalism, as practised for over a century, will only enhance the tendency to lethargy and endless discussion, the spirit of division and sub-division that is only too developed in India and that is inherent in the Indian social system. With our numerous castes, sub-castes, and communities, we have already the ground prepared for many parties and the parliamentary form of government will only favour and accentuate the growth of many more parties that will come into clash with one another causing the frequent change of government at the cost of the development of the nation as a whole.

The dire necessity for India is the growth of a party that would be nation-wide, that would be the nation itself, that would gradually transform itself into or become identified with a state that would be the symbol of the nation, the expression of the hopes and aspirations of the nation, the means of realizing the inner self of the nation. India requires discipline, unity, authority, strength. All these she can learn from Fascist Italy. From Fascist Italy she can learn how to fight the virus of communism, communalism, provincialism, how to remedy the injustices of capitalism and harmonize the interests of different classes of society, how to make tradition a living force, how to promote and maintain national constructive action, how to promote the reform of the state on corporative basis so that justice might be done to all, how to awaken in the country a spirit of collaboration and discipline, of zeal and patriotic realism, how to protect and defend national agriculture as the essential basis of the economy of the country, and how to encourage athletics and every other form of sport for improving the physique of the race, how to induce the people to go back to the land and to protect the villages from decadence.

The world now stands between two civilizations—the one that is dying and the one that is being born. India also stands today at the parting of the ways. One cycle of her movement for regeneration and re-orientation is complete. It had its birth in the nineteenth century ideas, it has its tragic death, with the end of the Gandhi movement, in the nineteenth century ideas. Before she begins her second cycle of movement, the task for India is to form a new attitude in the face of her many problems. She must leave books—bookish philosophy, bookish politics—aside and look at the animating ideas and the consequent significance of the facts that are before us in the great book of present-day history. India must now generate a new moral activity, based on her calm contemplation and study of these ideas and facts, an activity that must will according to some ideal. I do not say that the ideal must necessarily be taken from the Italian



example, but Italy today certainly can give India the spirit of willing according to some ideal, because Italy is trying to realize itself through an incessant process of creative activity and has accomplished the difficult task of bringing into existence a state that is an ethical substance and is the supreme manifestation of the energetic will of the nation. Democratic babbling must cease in India and India must also develop her will.

I conclude this article with a quotation from a discourse by Mussolini made recently in Cuneo. The words were meant for

Italians but they apply equally and fittingly to India :

Six thousand years of history teach that it is necessary to be strong, because only the strong are respected, only the strong can impose their personality on friends as well as foes ; only the strong are capable of realizing in the world the ideals of justice and bounty, . . . In the international field only power well employed contributes to the increasing development of civilization ; weakness serves nothing and creates conditions dangerous for civilization itself, encouraging the brutal pretexts and egoism of adversaries.

Rome  
26. 8. 33

## GANDHI AT THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

By WILLIAM J. PEACE

**I**N a special article on India in the *Manchester Guardian* of October 10, 1932, the writer remarked on Mr. Gandhi as follows :

"But, as the last Round Table Conference showed, his (Gandhi's) own idea of government is anarchy. He has no faith in any form of legal or military compulsion and he has scant respect for the institution of property. To negotiate with such a man about the financial and military arrangements necessary for the defence of India would seem to be futile."

I have since read the speeches of Mr. Gandhi at the R. T. C. once more, and I am afraid that this statement could not be substantiated. Speaking in the Federal Structure Committee on November 17, 1931, Mr. Gandhi said about defence :

"It should be the proud privilege, the proud duty of Britain now to initiate us in the mysteries of conducting our own defence. Having clipped our wings, it is their duty to give us wings whereby we can fly even as they fly."

On the same day replying to a question of Lord Sankey, he said :

"I have not asked for the withdrawal of the British troops. I do not think there is one sentence in my remarks to that effect, and if I did utter a sentence of that character, I should like to withdraw it."

About financial obligations we read in another speech :

"I am positive that the British people do not want to settle upon India a single burden that it should not legitimately bear, and I am here on behalf of the Congress to declare that the Congress would never think of repudiating a

single claim or burden that it should justly discharge. If we are to live as an honourable nation worthy of commanding credit from the whole world, we should pay every farthing of legitimate debt with our blood."

Then about landlords :

"There has been no desire on the part of the Congress to dispossess the landlords of their possession, but to act as the trustees of their tenants. I pride so much that the landlords should be their candidates or representatives."

"If you can convince me and show me that the Congress claim is inimical to the interests of the dumb millions, I will personally revise it. I am open to conviction."

Finally, whenever he spoke about the Princes, he spoke with great consideration and politeness ; for instance, on October 23rd, he made "a humble but fervent appeal" to them that they should "come forth with some scheme whereby their subjects also may feel that though they were not directly represented at this table, their voices will find adequate expression through these noble Princes themselves."

In the plenary session he made a personal appeal to the Prime Minister, in the course of which he said :

"There is ample room for compromise. It is friendship that I crave for...I do not want to break the bond between England and India, but I want to transform that slavery into complete freedom, freedom for my country."

One may or may not agree with all that Mr. Gandhi said, but I cannot see how the writer of the article in the *Manchester Guardian* could have arrived at his conclusions.

# THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SITUATION

By ABANI MOHAN KUSARI, M. A.

## MONETARY HISTORY OF 1929-33

THE present economic depression began with the Wall Street Stock Exchange collapse of 1929 which is very well known. It is also well known that America had become a sink of gold at the expense of the rest of the world as a result of the abandonment of the gold standard by the Continental countries during the War and the subsequent payment of War Debts and Reparations. During the second half of 1927 the Federal Reserve system wanted to ease the world monetary stringency by encouraging low money rates in New York which led to a boom in the prices of securities, an event totally unforeseen by the Federal Reserve authorities. The attempt of the latter to check the boom by enforcing high bank rates reacted unfavourably on the rest of the world. The rates for call money in the U. S. A. rose to such an unprecedented scale that there was an inflow of gold to America which bankers in the rest of the world tried to resist by high bank rates. Additional strain was put upon the gold stock of the world by the *de jure* stabilization of the franc in 1928 which necessitated increased *per capita* holding of currency in France. The policy of dear money which these events engendered made the world monetary situation extremely panicky, a situation which destroyed the feeling of confidence and security required by post-war trade and industry. The economic depression was thus ushered in in 1930.

Upon the effects of the economic depression have been superimposed those of the international monetary crisis. Since June, 1931, most countries of the world have gone off the gold standard. At present only five countries are on the gold standard, *viz.*, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, which together form the "gold group." Post-war monetary conditions show the causes of this *debacle*. First, the return to gold was a wholly unco-ordinated movement and in most cases there was divergence between the purchasing power parity and the rate of exchange at which the monetary unit was stabilized. Secondly, the payment of War Debts and Reparations could not be made in terms of goods owing to the existence of high tariffs, and this resulted in maldistribution of gold amongst the gold countries. Thirdly, during 1929-33 there was a great fall of prices, which necessitated reductions of costs. But such a policy could not be carried out by *force majeure* under modern industrial conditions

which include organized Trade Unions, international pools, price-agreements, etc., as these make the economic structure of society extremely inelastic. Moreover, the fall of prices greatly increased the burden of the debtor countries which could only meet their commitments by reborrowing. But America, the chief creditor country, was itself turned into a debtor country during the Stock Exchange Boom of 1929 and thus there was no way left for the debtor countries to maintain their international balance of payments by reborrowing.

## CRISIS IN THE CONTINENT

In June, 1931, the assets of the Austrian Credit Anstalt were revalued and it was found that the famous banking institution was insolvent. The assets consisted largely of credits to industries and securities which, like most securities throughout the world, had lost much of their value. A short-term advance was secured from the Bank of England but it could not be renewed. The news of the failure of the Credit Anstalt impinged upon the world, says Sir Arthur Salter, like that of the murder of the Archduke at Sarajevo on the eve of the War. There was a rush to withdraw short-term balances from the Continental countries, especially Germany, and the German Government was compelled to declare a banking moratorium of several days, and bring most of the banks under its control. The storm-centre shifted from place to place and soon reached England.

## CRISIS IN ENGLAND

On September 21, 1931, England went off the gold standard. After the war both London and New York have become the depositaries of the short-term funds of many countries. The liabilities of London to other countries in this respect greatly exceed its assets in the shape of sterling acceptances. That the position of London was thus vulnerable was recognized even before the crisis, for example, by the Macmillan Committee, the statistics published by which were to some extent an eye-opener to continental bankers with huge short-term balances in London. But even the unbalanced position of London would not have forced England off the gold standard but for certain developments of the domestic situation and the crisis on the Continent which reacted unfavourably on the domestic situation. The Bank of England afforded relief to the Central European position

by granting credit to the amount of £4,000,000 to the Austrian National Bank. But, as the report of the May Committee showed, the National Budget was itself unbalanced and credits to the extent of £ 130,000,000 had to be raised in the U. S. A. and France for the protection of the pound. The Government had also acted unwisely in neglecting the economy plan of the May Committee and in not dealing with the question of unemployment benefit on the lines suggested by the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance. The "culminating point" was the news of the Naval Mutiny which made the Continent believe that the British executive was powerless. There was a rush on the part of foreign bankers to withdraw their balances in London; more than £200,000,000 was withdrawn in about three months (July to September, 1931). The abandonment of the gold standard by England was followed by other parts of the British Commonwealth—India (the rupee being linked to the paper pound at 1s 6d), Australia, Canada, South Africa and all the Colonies. The Scandinavian countries and Japan also followed suit.

#### CRISIS IN THE U. S. A.

The U. S. A. went off the gold standard in March, 1933, an event, apparently the least expected, judging by the huge gold holdings of the U. S. A. The explanation offered is one of a panicky internal monetary situation—the hoarding of currency by the public, the "freezing" of bank assets and the consequent failures galore of local banks. These failures are not uncommon in a period of steeply falling prices, specially in the case of the shaky banking system of the U. S. A. There was also an attempt on the part of foreigners to withdraw short-term balances in New York. But there is another explanation of the crisis offered by suspicious critics, namely, that the decision of the U. S. A. represents a triumph of the British monetary policy which has compelled the U.S.A. to follow the path of the external depreciation of her currency to withstand the competition of England or gain the temporary bounty on exports which such a policy promises. The present inflationist policy of Roosevelt—or a policy of "reflation," if it is more significant—shows that there were also other important aims in view. Of this more as we proceed.

#### TENTATIVE MEASURES

To remedy the monetary crisis of 1929-33 several tentative efforts have been made from time to time. We shall see whether or not they have borne any fruits.

#### THE HOOVER MORATORIUM

In the third week of June, 1931, President Hoover proposed that there should be a suspension for one year of all inter-Governmental payments. The proposal was hailed widely with

relief and a sense of escape from the grave risk of imminent disaster which was then brooding over the Continent. But the optimism generated by the proposal was almost destroyed by the bargaining of France which insisted on receiving at least the "unconditional annuity" from Germany. The proposal as finally agreed to was as follows :

(i) "The payment of inter-Governmental debts is to be suspended from July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1932.

(ii) "The German Government is to continue the payment of the unconditional annuity; but the French Government agrees in so far as it is concerned that the payments thus made by Germany shall be invested by the Bank of International Settlement in guaranteed bonds of the German railways.

The modification of the original proposal and the delay in its acceptance destroyed the confidence which was necessary to the safety of the continental banking systems, especially to that of Germany. As there was a rush to withdraw foreign balances from Germany, the Government had to declare a moratorium, i.e., stoppage of payment by the banks.

Subsequently there was a Prime Ministers' Conference in London. The "standstill" arrangement was made according to which the bankers who had given short-term advances to Germany agreed to renew them till the end of February, 1932. To strengthen further the financial position of Germany the general condition of her foreign obligations was examined by a Committee at Basle the recommendations of which were given due consideration at the Lausanne Conference.

#### THE EXCHANGE EQUALIZATION ACCOUNT

The account was created on July 1, 1932, by the English Finance Act of that year, which gave the Government the power to buy and sell foreign exchange within a limit of £175 millions. Its object is to smooth out the fluctuations in external value to which the paper pound is particularly liable. It has proved a deterrent to the activities of speculators who are unable to forecast the state of the future exchanges on an analysis of existing tendencies. The size of the Account puts a definite limit to the extent of its operations as is seen from the big downward movement of the sterling in October, 1932, which, it is said, was beyond the power of the Account to arrest. But it is fair to add that the Account has not escaped the suspicion that it has concerned itself more with preventing an appreciation of the sterling than with a depreciation and has allied itself with hindrances like tariffs with the object of stimulating exports, retarding imports, and preventing the international movement of funds. Exchange control has been adopted in many Central European and South American countries with no better objects than these.



## THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

As in June, 1932, the Hoover Moratorium was going to expire the European Powers assembled at Lausanne to arrive at a settlement regarding German Reparations in the interests of the recovery of the trade and industry of the world. It was evident, in view of the depression in Germany, that the burden of Reparations must be reduced almost to nothing. But the proposals of the creditor countries contained a hitch, namely, the so-called "escalator" clause which provided that the figure of Germany's future payments (be it never more negligible than the figure at which it was fixed at that time) should be subject to modification in the light of such revision as might be effected of the payments due by the Allies to the U. S. A. Germany, on the other hand, wanted an annulment of Part 8 of the Treaty of Versailles (*i.e.*, the Reparations Section, which includes an article ascribing the "War Guilt" to Germany) and claimed equality of status with regard to armaments. It was mainly due to sheer force of circumstances that at last the Lausanne Act was evolved out of the conflict. Article I runs thus:

"The German Government shall deliver to the Bank for International Settlements German Government 5 per cent. redeemable bonds to the amount of three milliard reichmarks gold of the present standard of "weight and fineness."

The annual payments by Germany were thus reduced to a nominal amount—about one-tenth of the payments prescribed in 1929 by the Young Plan and the Hague Agreement. Germany was also granted a moratorium of three additional years. The Allies were too cautious to abolish formally the "War Guilt" article. Germany had to be content with the preamble, the key phrases of which are that the Lausanne Act "will completely put an end to reparations" and that the Act was to "create a new order, permitting the establishment and development of confidence between the nations in a mutual spirit of reconciliation, collaboration and justice." The settlement thus arrived at, though no less than an achievement as far as it went, was not however unconditional even without the "escalator" clause, because it was not to be ratified until there was a corresponding settlement in the matter of Europe's War Debts to America.

## ROOSEVELT'S LEGISLATION

In March, 1933, President Roosevelt took up office in the midst of the crisis in the U. S. A. and hurried through the Congress a series of laws which have virtually made him an "inflationist" dictator. The Emergency Banking Act has empowered the President to take control of National Banks, to demand the delivery of gold hoards and to issue emergency currency. The Farm Relief Act with its "inflation amendment" has been passed at the initiative of the President

with the "definite objective of raising commodity prices to such an extent that those who borrowed will on the average be able to repay money with the same kind of dollar which they borrowed." Under this Act the Federal Reserve Board has become merely an agency of the Treasury. Another Bill has been passed providing for the enlistment of a "civilian army" of 250,000 men. These men, voluntarily enlisted and organized in camps under the command of army officers, will be fed, clothed and housed by the Government and employed chiefly on afforestation. This policy of Roosevelt has been dubbed a policy of "reflation" inasmuch as it aims at regaining the price level which prevailed before the trade depression. It is thus believed to be free from the odium which attaches to a policy of deliberate "inflation." We shall see the impact of this policy on the ill-fated World Economic Conference.

## THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

In June, 1933, the World Economic Conference assembled in London amidst an atmosphere of buoyant optimism. Indeed, it was felt that the only chance of recovery from the slough of the depression lay in the evolving of a workable programme of economic activities for the whole world. Yet the Conference had to adjourn from July 27, inasmuch as to the continental delegates, to whom stabilization of the leading exchanges of the world was a "condition precedent" to any other agreement, the first message of Mr. Roosevelt to the Conference, dated July 3, appeared to be no less than a *coup de grace* to all possible international agreements. The memorable message revealing as it does clearly the attitude of the U. S. A. towards currency problems, deserves to be quoted *in extenso*:

"The world will not be lulled by the specious fallacy of achieving a temporary and probably an artificial stability in foreign exchange on the part of a few large countries only.

"The sound internal economic system of a nation is a greater factor in its well-being than the price of its currency in changing terms of the currencies of other nations.

"... old fetishes of so-called international bankers are being replaced by efforts to plan national currencies with the objective of giving to those currencies a continuing purchasing power which does not greatly vary in terms of the commodities and need of modern civilization. Let me be frank in saying that the United States seeks the kind of dollar which a generation hence will have the same purchasing and debt-paying power as the dollar value we hope to attain in the near future."

The following passage from the second message of Mr. Roosevelt, dated July 5, transmitted by the American Delegation, shows that the American attitude is prolific in self-justification:

"When the currencies of those great nations of the Continent of Europe—France, Italy, and Belgium—depreciated over a period of years, there

was no criticism from the United States, nor did we criticize their ultimate devaluation."

Now, the gigantic economic experiment of Mr. Roosevelt with exclusive attention to national economics did not naturally appeal to the Continental "gold group" whose attitude, as *The Banker* (August, 1933) puts it, was somewhat as follows:

"We have either suffered grievously from inflation ourselves, or have seen our neighbours suffer next door. At the present moment our currencies are being subjected to subversive attacks, designed to drive us off our one anchor—which is gold. Whatever happens elsewhere, we are determined not to suffer the evil consequences of inflation a second time, and for this reason alone we propose to join forces in defending our currencies and maintaining the gold standard at existing parities regardless of the cost."

The attitude of Great Britain and of the countries linked to sterling was equivocal and seemed to waver between those of the U. S. A. and the Continent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated in the House of Commons on July 11:

"The British policy remains what it has been from the beginning. We have made it clear that, in our view, and I may say this is also very strongly the view of the British Dominions and India, the raising of the prices of wholesale commodities still remains the primary objective."

But more significant words followed:

"We still believe that it is not possible to effect the raising of the price level by monetary action alone. . . . At the bottom of the whole trouble lies the lack of confidence."

If this indicated a timid disapproval of the Roosevelt programme, the British Government was not explicit on the question of exchange stabilization which proved to be a rock on which the World Economic Conference foundered.

#### THE FUTURE

The adjournment of the World Economic Conference can be traced to several definite causes. First, the failure of the tariff truce solemnly arranged in the Conference of 1927 cast a gloom over the Conference of 1933. Secondly, the refusal of the U. S. A. to go into the question of War Debts made it impossible to progress beyond the tentative Lausanne Agreement. Thirdly, the Conference tried to realize simultaneously the impracticable dual plan of stabilizing currencies and raising price levels. In fact, in view of the unexpected situation arising out of the attitude of the U. S. A. towards the war debt question and the plan of recovery engineered by Mr. Roosevelt, the Conference ought to have assembled at a later date. Fourthly, monetary agreements would have been facilitated if the chief countries of the world had balanced their budgets. And finally, the quasi-economic problem of disarmament was

yet unsolved and nothing but confusion prevailed in June, 1933, in the Disarmament Conference.\*

It is a well-known fact that changes in the purchasing power of money have unequal incidence on the different classes of people and may thus lead to social disintegration. There is by this time a tolerable agreement among economic thinkers as to the methods of escape from the present monetary chaos. But in the way of translating theories into practice lies the great barrier of national jealousy. The signs of economic recovery in Germany and the U. S. A. show that the formulation of methods of recovery is not yet useless and that nations may yet learn to "think internationally." First, we suggest that there should be a revision of War Debts on the model of the Lausanne Agreement. The unwillingness of the U. S. A. to reduce her claims on Europe is easily explained, because it is the American taxpayers who will have to pay the bond-holders in their country if money is not forthcoming from Europe. The unwillingness of France to let go the hold on Reparations unconditionally is also understandable when one remembers her expenditure on the reconstruction of devastated territories. England may well take up a neutral attitude because her debts and claims balance. The urgent need of the present moment is a realization in both the U. S. A. and France of the fact that though the claim of the former to War Debts and that of the latter to Reparations may be legally and morally justified, it is expedient not to press one's claims up to the hilt, because an economic crisis like the present one does not spare any country. Secondly, tariffs should be lowered, not indeed suddenly, for that may react unfavourably upon the economic structure of a nation, but by agreed successive stages. There should also be outspoken condemnation of the so-called "scientific tariff" which seeks to compensate the differences in costs in different countries. Thirdly, there should be a concerted policy of "reflation" throughout the world and the price-level aimed at should be that lying midway between the level of 1929 and the present level. With a view to realizing this objective foreign lending should be restarted and the safety of the lender should be guaranteed by the Government of the borrowing country. The recent reflationist programme of Roosevelt, though not free from the danger that the credit machinery may get out of control, has given a lead in the right direction. But it may be better to have a concerted international plan of "loan expenditure" which has been recently advocated by Mr. Keynes. Unemployment can be relieved to a great extent if Governments increase their expenditure on public constructional works. The present strain on the monetary machine can

\* For the above analysis the writer is indebted to an article by Mr. George Peel in the *Contemporary Review*, August, 1933.

be relieved if the Bank of International Settlements be authorized to issue a specified number of certificates which the different countries would agree to accept as the equivalent of gold and which should be distributed amongst the participants in proportions determined by their economic weight in the world. It is apparent that the restoration of the gold standard

with absolutely fixed exchanges is a desideratum that cannot be immediately realized. In the place of an automatic gold standard we should at present have planned currency systems. But planning should not be exclusively national, for, as Sir Arthur Salter has said, the solution of world problems requires "thinking internationally."

## RAMMOHUN ROY

By C. F. ANDREWS

A long and careful study of world history has convinced me that Raja Rammohun Roy was by far the greatest religious genius of the 19th century. Even today, after a hundred years, we are only slowly and hesitatingly working out the supremely vital principles for which he had lived and died.

Born in the narrowest of family religious circles in Bengal, in the later part of the 18th century, he had broken through one barrier after another which had confined the religious and social outlook of his age. He seemed guided by a divine instinct within, from childhood onward, which made him always direct his course to one single end, the 'Religious Unification of Mankind.'

The more I have studied his life the more I have felt that this principle of the Divine Unity creating human unity and brotherhood was the guiding principle underlying all he did and said and thought. This is a conception which has its deepest roots in Indian soil. The Search for the One is the passion of the Indian heart. Satisfaction only comes when that divine passion has found its fulfilment.

It was this supreme enthusiasm which drove the young lad to seek the Truth among the Himalayan mountains. It guided him to enter Tibet. There he nearly lost his life, but the women of Tibet pitying his youth saved him. Even from earliest days his mind was so massive in its greatness that it overleapt all obstacles and difficulties which stood in the way of obtaining intellectual culture. He made himself proficient in Persian and Arabic

in order that he might study the unity of God in Islam. He learnt Greek and Hebrew so that he might study those Jewish and Christian scriptures which led up to the birth of Christ and told the story of His life. He published the pure teaching of Jesus as he found it in the Sermon of the Mount and wrote a notable preface to his book which he called *The Precepts of Jesus*. Thus he went to the sources of religious truth and was not content with any external knowledge of such vital subjects.

In practice he was equally insistent on finding the unity of human life in society. He realized that the divine in mankind was obscured and obstructed by social abuses, such as existed in his own day. Fortunately, he found among those who had come out to India from England certain enlightened men and women who were ready to go any lengths in moral courage and perseverance in order to rescue mankind from these abuses which had gradually crept in. Thus East and West were able to work together, for the first time, in a marvellously effective manner. Lord William Bentinck and Duff were great, each in their own way, and they fully recognized the moral genius of Raja Rammohun Roy. Miss Carpenter was, in her own sphere, equally great and collaborated with him to the end.

The closing days of Raja Rammohun Roy's life were saddened by much physical suffering, but at the same time enlightened with the



glow of the rapid passage of certain moral and political reforms which were completed in the very year in which he died. For, only a month before he passed away, he was able to learn that the bill abolishing slavery had been passed, and the emancipation of the Negro race had begun. How greatly the news of this victory cheered his last days, we can read in the memoirs which have been written about him. He died in an auspicious year,—the year when slavery was abolished and the great reform measures, granting political liberty, were being carried through. It was the year also when the change in the East India Company's constitution was confirmed, whereby racial equality was enunciated for the first time.

As one looks back over the whole century since the death of Raja Rammohun Roy it is possible, as an historian, to watch the strength of the current setting in the opposite direction and rendering nugatory the very things for which Raja Rammohun Roy had stood out so boldly and bravely. Racial equality in India and in the rest of the world

has not yet been attained. Political equality has been swept away since the war by one dictatorship after another. Even slavery has returned, in the form of indentured labour, and in wage slavery under the cruel lash of economic pressure, and also in forced labour in many different ways. Central Africa and the Indian States were examples of the bad relics of the old slave system. What would have troubled Raja Rammohun Roy most of all would have been to find religious tolerance, on which he laid such stress, passing on into religious indifference and from thence into militant hatred of religion.

Thus the great causes for which he stood out so boldly have not had an unchequered career. The backward current has often proved too rapid for the forward progress. Yet we can be certain, that, with a faith and courage so strong as his, Raja Rammohun Roy would have been today, if he had been living with us, in the vanguard of the great struggle for human liberty. He would never have been on the side of the reactionaries. His spirit is with us still to cheer us on.

## WHAT IS INVOLVED IN THE NEW GERMAN ANTI-SEMITISM

By WILFRED WELLOCK

ONCE again the Western world is being torn asunder by the Jewish problem. The emergence of that problem in Germany under the terrorist policy of the Nazis,—where it assumes a more acute and brazen form than has been experienced for several generations,—synchronizes, strangely enough, with the growth of an international spirit and outlook among the advanced sections of every nation, which more and more was being regarded as one of the greatest assets and achievements of the present age.

But the problem is not confined to Germany. It threatens to arise in Austria and even in England attempts have been made to test its "propaganda" value, though without success.

The real difficulty is to discover the root of the problem, nature of the grievance or grievances which lie behind anti-semitism, and the extent to which the racial hatred which it engenders is being used to support a revolution which is essentially anti-democratic. It is no easy task to win the consent of a democratic community to the abrogation of its democratic rights, especially when the underlying purpose of the usurpers of power is the subjugation and dragooning of the workers in the interest, as in this particular case, of the Middle Classes.

For the outstanding fact in connection with the present conflict in Germany, is that it is a supreme attempt on the part of the Middle Classes to secure themselves against the domination of high finance and big

business, on the one hand, and the dictatorship of the proletariat on the other, the two mill-stones between which they believed they would sooner or later be ground to powder unless they took strong action and asserted their power.

But how do the Jews come into the picture? They come into it by reason of their peculiar relation to the German Middle Classes, who, as I have already said, are making the struggle of their lives, and are the soul of the Hitler or Nazi Movement.

In the first place, many of the big financiers who have been playing a game of reckless speculation during recent years, both in Germany and on the international field have been Jews. In the second place, it is contended, with what degree of truth I am unable to say, that during the period of Germany's bankruptcy, from 1920 to 1924, a considerable portion of German business and other property was bought up by Jews, chiefly, though not wholly, German Jews. Certainly the financial power of the Jews, together with their international roots and connections, rendered such transactions easy. As early as 1920, during which year I spent some months investigating conditions in Germany, I heard many complaints of this nature against Jews, but I was unable to get at the facts.

But there was another section of Jews who came in for strong criticism at the hands of the Middle Classes, *viz.*, the Socialists and internationalists, or what the Nazis now call Marxists. Without question a very high percentage of Jews, let it be said to their credit, are internationalists in the highest and best sense of the term. During my wanderings in Germany in 1920, some of the finest spirits I met in the socialist and pacifist movements were Jews. They won my admiration. Nevertheless I saw in their leadership certain dangers, the possibility of a flank attack upon the movement for working-class emancipation. This possibility was also realized by many of the Jews who were most deeply concerned.

That attack has at last come. The tragedy of the present situation in Germany is that the Jewish problem is being used

deliberately to generate hatred which is being extended to everything with which Jews have in any way been connected. The "success" of this method has caused the hatred of Jews to rank as the primary weapon for the attainment of Nazi ends.

This tendency of the Right to carry through revolution by negations is one of the most sinister signs of the age. In this tendency the Right distinguishes itself from the Left, whose appeals are essentially positive in character. From first to last the Nazis have appealed to the lowest elements in human nature; having sought to gain their chief support from intensive hatreds, which have been stimulated by terrific engines of propaganda. In this endeavour they have fallen back on what is the recognized sheet-anchor of all hatred-mongers, *viz.*, race hatred. Working-class emancipation from economic domination was the central fear of the German Middle Classes, which was symbolized in Marxism, Communism and Internationalism. But it was not enough to attack these in a straightforward way. They must be converted into monsters and hated: to which end the element of race was brought in. The Jewish question served this purpose admirably. So the Jews were laid on the altar of Fascism, and hatred of Jews being hitched to the fear and hatred of Communism, an ideal weapon for carrying through a reactionary revolution was secured.

Of course, there will be a reckoning day, as people cannot live on hatred indefinitely. However much the workers may have been lured into supporting an insensate policy, the majority of Hitler's supporters are concerned with economic betterment, and by and by they will demand the fruits of their "achievement." Merely to have enthroned Hitler in the seat of power may spell success to the Middle Classes, but it will mean nothing to the workers unless it carries with it substantial improvements in their economic existence.

The danger at the moment is that the first "success" of Hitler may be interpreted by the reaction abroad as real and permanent, and be the means of stimulating the desire to start similar movements in other countries. Were that to be the case, reactionary parties would



begin to look around for the surest means of stimulating the most intensive hatred, in which case it is possible that the Jewish, or some other racial issue would be used. For that very reason it is to be hoped that the better elements in Germany will yet prevail, as otherwise the immediate future of Western civilization might become tragic beyond description.

For the present it should be the duty of all thinkers and writers throughout the world to expose the hidden terrors, and the final fate of civilization under the method of revolution by hatred. Civilization cannot possibly survive such methods. The hatreds and passions aroused by the Nazis of Germany can have but one result. There will be a sequel to the chapter in her life which Germany is now writing. We dare not contemplate it. Unless that sequel is written with a moderation, which perhaps ought only

to be expected of angels, the next decade or two in Germany can only be imagined.

Clearly this policy of revolution by hatred, and especially by racial hatred, is the end of all things. Civilization cannot survive it. Sooner or later it will light fires which will burn to the ground the entire fabric of modern civilization. We must either abandon it or perish. This struggle for power, domination and monopoly in a world of abundance is the maddest thing that has happened since the world began. If in the midst of this phenomenal abundance mankind cannot learn to co-operate, to abolish classes and racial domination, then indeed is the end of civilization in sight. That is our problem; it lies behind all our modern wars and threats and fear of war, all our revolutions and threats and fear of revolution: we shall face and solve that problem or perish.

## NICHOLAS ROERICH'S PLAN FOR WORLD PEACE

BY FRANCES R. GRANT

*President of the Pan-American Women's Association.*

ON the eve of the International Conference of the Union Internationale Pour Le Pacte Roerich at Bruges, there appeared a story in the *New York Times* relating that all the Flemish matrons of that city of many memories, were assiduously sitting up nights sewing strips of red-white bunting into American flags in honour of Nicholas Roerich and the country from which the plan of the Roerich Banner of Peace for the protection of the world's art and scientific treasures had emanated. Never, according to the *Times* correspondent, since the day when American soldiers landed in Europe, had there been such an array of American flags in this Flemish city, nor was it so deeply drawn towards America.

Thus the city of the Van Dycks and Memlings paid its tribute to that great spirit, Nicholas Roerich, whose indefatigable labours for World Peace through culture have re-stated themselves once again in the Banner of Peace Plan, which re-invests with new force the title already given him as one of the supremely great leaders of world peace today.

In the Bruges conference, which gathered

together four hundred delegates from cultural and learned bodies of many countries and from government officials, many results which assume epochal importance in this plan of peace through culture might be mentioned—notably the formation of a permanent body comprising some of Europe's great cultural leaders to further the adoption of this movement. But for the moment I have especially pointed out the incident of the flags, because its simple earnestness seems to me to touch some very deep and essential principle between the relation of man to man and nation to nation—the contagion of good-will based upon a common appreciation of beauty and culture.

It is this basic principle of peace and culture which forms the premise of Nicholas Roerich's plan and which constitutes for him a solvent of our international relationships. Because in the search for Peace, Roerich looks for prophylaxes; culture in its broadest and most superb sense, alone, can transmute the human consciousness and this transmutation is the only guarantee for human unity. For forty-three years Roerich has been urging the practical and immediate application of a conviction which science has recently



expressed when Sir James Jeans says that "the material world is probably derivative from consciousness, not consciousness from the material world."

At this moment, Roerich's Peace Plan for international understanding through culture and beauty allows for special analysis for several reasons. For one thing this autumn sees the celebration of the Third Convention of the Banner of Peace, to be held at Washington. And secondly it sees the issuance of his book *Fiery Stronghold*, which pronounces in its most forceful manner this conviction sounded with the corroboration of forty-three years of experience.

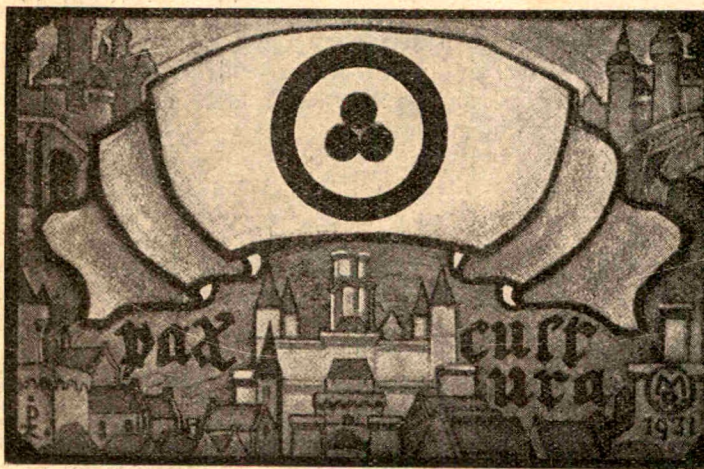
To see the true evolution of Roerich's plan, one might go back over Roerich's entire artistic

arts, very often by the artists themselves. "Art is one—indivisible. Art is the manifestation of the coming synthesis." This is his call to the creator and to the student those future creators of beauty, when he aims to unite in a Legion.

From the individual, Roerich passes to the masses in the second field of work touched by his plan, the International Art Centre of Roerich Museum, which seeks to create a common kinship through the interchange of art, and through exhibitions which have not only presented artists of this country, but have brought to America the creative products of countries heretofore often culturally in-existent in the American consciousness. A service no less necessary has been carried on by the International Art Centre in acquainting other countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America of the aspirations of America in the field of culture. This interchange has been carried on not only in the International Art Centre in New York, but the latter has co-operated with the museums, the public schools, the public libraries, even prisons, in these itinerant exhibitions. Hence, even the social misfit has not been overlooked in Roerich's plan for these exhibitions, because as he says: "Bring art to the prisons—and you will have no more prisons."

In his present work at Urusvati, Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum, in Naggar, Western Himalayas, this essential unity now of the arts and sciences and of the various branches of science—provides the eloquent

vehicle of his ideal. Urusvati, the Himalayan Research Institute is of course to be regarded as an essential and inevitable outgrowth of the Roerich Central Asiatic Expedition, made by Roerich through Ladak, Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia and Tibet. This Roerich expedition with its record of sacrifices is one of the most stupendous searches not only for the origins of human life and human culture, but especially for the unities of human origins. One of the most telling utterances in Roerich's record of the expedition, *Altai Himalaya* on discovering the megalithic monuments of Central Asia, so analogous to the Stone Henge and Carnac, are the lines: "It is a thrilling thing to hold the end of an enchanted cord in Great Britain and find the beginning of it in Central Asia." To him one of the greatest features of these remains together with the remarkable remnants of migratory evidences which he discovered, is their revelation of the interweaving of all nations and racial life. Everywhere in the result of his trip one is aware of his repeated



The Banner of Peace

Proposed by the Roerich Peace Pact for the Protection of Cultural Treasures of Art and Science.

and educational life. In doing so one would be immediately cognizant of the fact that Roerich never theorizes, he immediately makes practical application of his ideals, in measures which are aimed to transmute disintegrating forces into uniting ones.

In the Roerich Museum, with its multiple facets, there is a synthesis of this entire plan, which indicates the wide directions which Roerich's service to Peace touches and the conscious aim of reaching and permeating all factors of life.

Hence, it has always seemed to me profoundly logical and bearing significantly on this peace plan, that Roerich's first foundation in the Roerich Museum should have been the Master Institute for uniting the teaching of all the arts, aiming to fuse people through culture, who would themselves be cognizant of essential unity. In the Master Institute, he at once sought to dissolve the arbitrary barriers set up between the



emphasis and concern to find the threads which connect human traditions, whether they be of East or West, because in this way he is able to link the foundations and to indicate how arbitrary in truth are the barriers erected by prejudice and intolerance.

It is this same unity, which permeates the plan for Urusvati, Himalayan Research Institute in the Himalayas. There, Professor Roerich, deeply inspired by the endless possibilities of scientific research offered by Asia, founded the Himalayan Research Institute, donating its headquarters in the Kulu valley. Vital to its aims of advancing the outposts of knowledge, is the creation of an Institute where scientists of all nations, and in every branch of science, can in a common concern for the well-being of mankind, create and construct side by side. After three years of work, this Institute indicates its splendid growth. With Professor Roerich, its President-Founder and Dr. George Roerich eminent Harvard Orientalist as its Director, scientists are working there together to explore the fields of medicine, of cancer, of biology, astro-chemistry, archaeology. Already numerous American and European scientific bodies have profited from its collections of flora and other material; and national and cultural walls have been razed in a common work.

The Roerich Society, which completes the unit, forges an extended chain of unification. This Society, aimed to spread Professor Roerich's ideas for culture and peace, now has sixty-four branches in twenty-four countries—a true fraternity of culture.

These many facets of the Roerich Museum have their corollary in Nicholas Roerich's plan for the Banner of Peace. After several years since its first promulgation by Professor Roerich, the plan shows its dynamism and vitality of application. Since its inception, the Roerich Peace Pact and Banner of Peace have been unanimously endorsed by the International Museum's Committee of the League of Nations, by the General Federation of Women's Clubs of America, by His Holiness Pope Pius XI, by such members of the International Peace Court at the Hague as its President Dr. M. Adatci, Dr. A. Bustamente, Baron Michel de Taube and others, as well as by H. M. King Albert of Belgium, and the adherence of numerous cities of Belgium, France, Italy, Latvia as well as the Academie Francaise, and numerous other cultural bodies. Thus the project of international vigilance for culture has already made its appeal among widely different spheres.

One thing, however, should be emphasized in the Roerich plan for the Banner of Peace—it is not a project designed primarily as a protective measure for war, but as a measure against war. Writers, in expressing themselves concerning the Roerich Banner of Peace and Peace Pact, have emphasized it as a factor in preventing the

destruction of the world treasures of art in times of war. It is true that this constitutes one phase of the plan—one which is, of necessity, especially brought out in the Roerich Peace Pact and which concerns itself with the application of the project in war time—thus the Pact outlines that the Banner of Peace should wave over monuments, cathedrals, universities, museums, to signalize their inviolability during moments of peace, and as with the Red Cross, identify these monuments as neutral territory.



Madonna Oriflamma

After a Painting by Nicholas Roerich

This aspect of Nicholas Roerich's plan cannot be regarded apart from its great prophylactic aims. Roerich's plan is highly constructive. In addition to signalizing as neutral all monuments of the world's culture, it aims to catalogue, to preserve in descriptive and photographic record for posterity complete data regarding the world's cultural treasures, also to inaugurate peace education in the schools through greater international cultural appreciation. It aims to gather the forces of culture through the world in a common vigilance, against the destruction of the records of human genius—to unite men in a League of Culture. In other words, to make those forces who realize the



disaster to world culture, which war brings in its wake, a united force in a common cause of safe-guarding the steps of cultural evolution.

This plan has been a concern of Professor Roerich for years and the history of its roots is highly interesting. In an interview regarding the origin of the Banner of Peace, Professor Roerich says:

"The idea of protection of cultural treasures of humanity preoccupied me since the very beginning of my activities. Already in 1904 addressing the Society of Architects and Artists in St. Petersburg, I outlined this idea, calling attention to the tragic condition of many state architectural monuments. My extensive travels to ancient monasteries and historical cities, also the archaeological excavations in such important places as Novgorod and other regions linked with most ancient traditions gave me rich material to affirm the undeferrable necessity for urgent measures to protect cultural treasures. Afterwards in 1914, when many irreparable historical monuments perished, I made a similar report to the late Commander-in-Chief, the Grand-Duke Nicholas. Both reports met with great sympathy and only such extraordinary havoc as the war prevented its immediate development. Then as President of the Exhibition of Allied Nations where Flemish, French, British arts and those of other allied nations were beautifully represented, I again had the happy opportunity to propound this idea and was convinced that sooner or later the protection of cultural treasures would become a sacred reality in the world.

"With new ardour these thoughts preoccupied me when we were compelled to witness no longer the vandalism of warfare, but the vandalism in times of peace. For an untrained eye it is even impossible to imagine how many unrepeatable cultural treasures are exposed to danger and to perish without leaving a trace. One of our foremost duties is to apply all our efforts to direct the public attention to their real treasures. Each day brings news of some new destructions. We are already imbued with the idea that precious monuments must not be removed and should be safe-guarded in their own site, the more so because today possibilities of communications make even the remotest places accessible. I am deeply convinced that universal attention will be paid to the cultural treasures, and as its symbol, the

universally uniting Banner will offer a profound and absolute service to the cultural developments of peoples."

This plan is outlined in highly dramatic and powerful form in Prof. Roerich's work, *Realm of Light* in his sixty addresses to various Roerich Societies as well as to various other organizations. We see that his idea of "Peace through Culture" is by no means a nebulous phrase. It is a very definite credo of human construction. How definite it is, is beautifully touched on in an address to the Young Men's Buddhist Association of Colombo when he says of Peace that it signifies "an unceasing construction" and of culture, that it means "an eternal cognizance and betterment of life through the foundations of glorious progress."

Thus labouring in the current of evolution is the plan of Prof. Roerich for World Peace through Culture. These ten years have already seen a chain forming around the world. The League of Culture to which Roerich calls, is no longer a visionary body. It exists, it pursues its labour, its results must inevitably be witnessed. Because the contagion of peace can be spread in ardent and passionate enthusiasm for beauty. For America these ten years of tireless achievement by Nicholas Roerich once again signalize an invincible, a tireless leadership in this Peace quest for international culture. His call to its service sounds out again in his article "Banner of Peace," when he says, "Verily, the protection of treasures of culture belongs among those all-unifying foundations which permit us to gather in friendship without petty feelings of envy and malice."

"We are tired of destructions and negations. Positive creativeness is the fundamental quality of the human spirit. In our life everything that uplifts and ennobles our spirit must hold the dominant place. The mile-stones of the glorious path must from childhood impel our spirit to the beautiful future. Be assured it is not a truism to speak about the undeferrable and urgent strivings of culture."





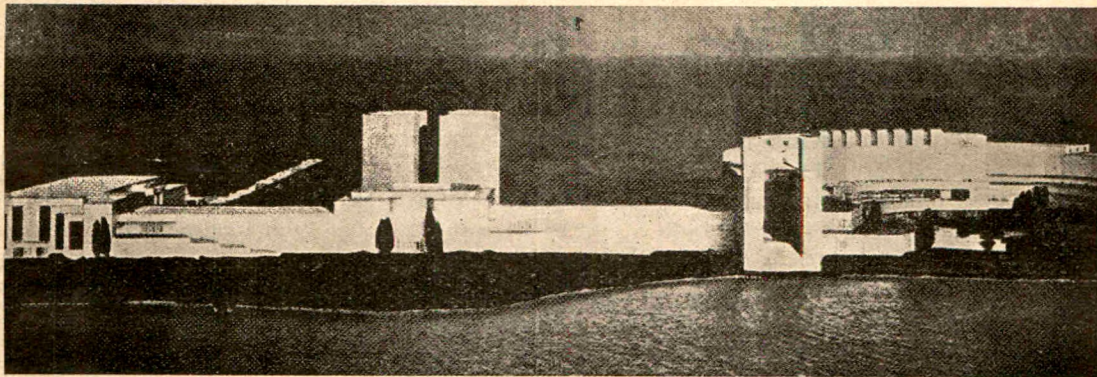
## CHICAGO'S WORLD FAIR

BY SUDHINDRA BOSE, Ph. D.

**C**HICAGO'S second international exposition, called "A Century of Progress," was opened a few days ago in the presence of vast throngs and with brilliant ceremonials. The miraculous moment in the opening ceremony came at night when a beam of light, which forty years ago started from the star Arcturus, was caught up by American astronomers and transmitted by them in vastly increased volume to the delicate lighting mechanism in the tower of the exposition's Hall of Science. Instantly upon that contact the exposition grounds, the pavilions and the waterways of the fair were drenched with light. Star had spoken unto star from the far reaches of infinity.

as the scientific invention and power and skill by which they are put at the service of man.

In 1893 when the Columbian Exposition was on, Chicago was a city of 1,000,000. Today Chicago is the fourth biggest city in the world, with substantially 4,000,000, sure to pass Berlin, and confidently challenging both London and New York. There are Americans who say that they have perhaps no more significant sign of what they call American progress than the growth of Chicago. This metropolis has grown to be one of the truly great cities of the world, not only in size but in its civic aspects as well. It has the greatest boulevard and park system



Chicago World Fair—Electrical Building

World's fairs are getting to be a sort of habit with Chicago. It is only forty years since Chicago had its last one, the Columbian Exposition. That one was supposed to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. The present fair marks one hundred years of Chicago history. It is intended to demonstrate the progress of science and industry in the hundred years since Chicago was a small frontier village of 350 people. Here the visitor is made to understand the tremendous natural resources of the United States as well

in the world, and provides more public recreational facilities free to the public than any other city. It has famous colleges and universities, the Art Institute, Field's Museum, Planetarium, an inspiring sky-line of buildings towering as high as fifty stories, and many other attractions too numerous to mention. No wonder the "Windy City" on the Lake Michigan is proud.

Unique among world's shows, "A Century of Progress" has been conceived and financed entirely without governmental subsidy. The 26 million dollars that has been poured into



the building of this gigantic project has come out of the pockets of private individuals. A prodigious outlay of 26 million dollars. A vast expenditure of money in the nation's worst depression. But Chicago has the courage to forget the depression, and confidently expects the fair to pay its own way. The management has laid out the plant on the basis of an expectation of 50 million attendance.

Mr. Rufus C. Dawes, President of the Century of Progress Exposition, says that there will be no "slump" after the fair. Instead, he believes, there will be increase in business, in manufactures, in bank deposits and in pay-rolls which will make themselves manifest first in Chicago and then throughout the nation. He is confident there will be a like increase in the cultural forces, immeasurable by statistical tables, but one none the less real. The physical sciences, the social sciences, and the fine arts will be fired with a new meaning and enthusiasm.

The centennial enterprise of Chicago is novel, romantic and dynamic. It visualizes to visiting millions the ministrations of science to human welfare. The general pattern of the exposition has been designed by the greatest body of scientists in America, if not in the entire world—the National Research Council. These distinguished leaders of scientific thought took over the job of dramatizing the story of scientific progress in the past century. The problem put to each member of the Advisory Council of this body was: "If you consider it possible to reduce your special branch of science—physics, biology, mathematics, astronomy, geology, chemistry, anthropology or engineering—to a physical exhibit capable of interesting the ordinary person wholly untrained in its mysteries, tell us how you would do it." The answers to this challenge constitute the pattern of the Century of Progress Exposition. In every branch of science which has qualified for this show, the order and continuity of the play are: Pure-science origins, invention, applied science, mass production, mass distribution.

The magnitude of the exposition may be judged from the fact that the fair grounds, built right out in the Lake Michigan, extend

for three-and-a-half miles along the Lake Shore. The dominating structure of the fair is the Tower of Water and Lights, 650 feet high. It is the highest and largest fountain in the world. The tower is a shell for housing the pipes carrying water to its tip, a setting for jewels of coloured lights which gleam through the veils of water cascading from slender shoulders of the architectural set-backs. Batteries of powerful coloured lights play upon this skyscraper fountain from a distance. The effects of having this cascade lighted from within and without are marvellous.

Here at Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition, the visitor sees wondrous mechanisms never before shown to the public. They are so arranged that he can push buttons and operate them himself and see what life will be like fifty years from now. This is one exposition where the "Hands Off" sign is missing.

In the colossal Hall of Science, the visitor may witness the amazing operations of science in huge physical and chemical laboratories. Even the working of the machine that he has in his body is revealed in the Transparent Man, with nerves, heart-beats, blood coursing through the veins and arteries all revealed in a steel robot ten feet high. This mechanical man, made to look like a human being, gives twenty-minute lectures on food chemistry and nutrition, pointing to raw material and cooked material on a table, telling of the vitamins and tracing the food through his own stomach and alimentary canal.

One of the most popular exhibits is the baby incubator station. It is classified as both entertainment and educational. Fifteen babies are shown in cribs in a semi-circular row in front of large plate glass windows set at an angle so visitors can walk through and see the youngsters practically from all sides. The room in which the babies are housed has ultra-violet ray glass to get the full benefit of sunshine. It has also a battery of lights to supply artificial sunlight for the babies on dark days. The management has planned to have lectures given by physicians standing in the exhibition room to the public on the other side of the glass, made possible by annunciators. Of course, the feeding and



care of the babies are all plainly visible through the plate glass. After seeing the babies through the glass walls, visitors who are interested may stop in a theatre where there are moving pictures showing how to care for babies. The present plans provide for the free passage of about 3,000 people an hour through the incubator exhibit.

Other amaze-ments come in the industrial exhibits. The latest thing in airplanes and the last word in tr ins are there in the transportation group. One may see the first "iron horse" built more than a century ago, and his great-great-great-grandson, 1933 Mogul locomotive with speed capacity of 100 miles an hour. Or he may stroll across the way to the motor car exhibits and see the actual manufacture of cars in glass-walled work-rooms.

In the Agricultural Building are found exhibits of leading food manufacturers, the livestock, and an agricultural implement display demonstrating man's progress during the last hundred years. Visitors see how the good things to eat in the American family market basket are manufactured, packed and marketed, in living, dramatic displays.

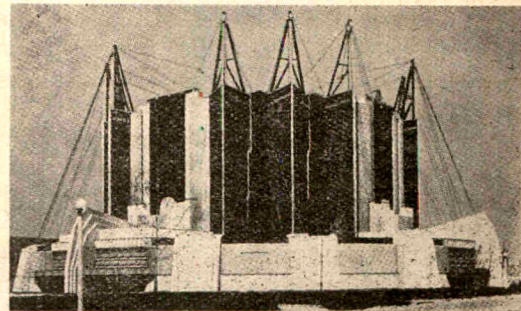
The present generation of America is science-minded; it thinks in technical and scientific terms. But in order to enjoy the Century of Progress Exposition, one will not need to be technically-minded. A survey of its programme shows that the tastes and interests of all sorts of people have been considered amply provided for. Any person, irrespective of education or individual background, can find captivating entertainment for every moment of attendance. The fair is crammed full of exciting spectacles and compelling attractions.

In the general exhibits are the magnificent Lama Temple of Jehol and the Maya temple. The latter is an exact copy of a building in far-away Yucatan, southern Mexico, a temple at least ten centuries old. It represents a bit of the 2,000 or more year old civilization of the Mayas. The walls of the Maya Temple at the exposition are covered with elaborate designs, huge mask heads, and great serpents carved in stone.

The Golden Temple of Jehol, shipped thousands of miles across the sea, is a

reproduction of China's finest Lama temple. Twenty-eight thousand pieces of wood, from cornices to columns make up this building coloured in red lacquer and gold, and crowned with a double-decked roof covered with copper shingles finished in pure gold leaf. Inside is exhibited a priceless collection of Chinese and Buddhist art treasures.

All Asia and Europe are on parade with exhibits of most of the European and Asian countries, including India. There is a replica of the Taj Mahal. There are also examples of medieval European architecture along with the ultra-modern.



The Travel and Transport Building  
—An Architectural Innovation

At the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, there was the Congress of Religions, where Swami Vivekananda unfurled the banner of Hinduism in the Western world. That Congress was perhaps the greatest of all of the lasting contributions to the Columbian Exposition. It centred its interest in a survey of the world's religions with emphasis on what each could contribute to the world's spiritual needs. It aroused great enthusiasm in comparative religion. But to many Christian theologues the Congress was "unhappy in its results," as it tended to show that even the "heathen" religions were not without some good. The consequence was that the Catholic Pope promptly put a ban on all future Congresses of Religions, and forbade all Roman Catholics participating in them.

There will be no Congress of Religions at the current World's Fair. But the Haskell Institute of Religions at the University of Chicago is being conducted this summer as an adjunct to the "Century of Progress." The



Institute programme is devoted to the study of six great faiths under the general title of "Modern Trends in World Religions." The exposition of Christianity in its various aspects naturally occupies the greater part of the programme, but Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Islam are not omitted. Mr. K. Natarajan, editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* (Bombay), is scheduled to deliver a series of lectures on "Social Movements in Modern India."

There will also be held in connection with "A Century of Progress" a convention of religions, officially known as World Fellowship of Faiths. The convention will last for three weeks. It is expected to be addressed by nearly 250 speakers, of which

about 30 are from India. The chairman of the World Fellowship of Faiths is a Methodist bishop.

It is not possible to tell all about the Chicago World's Fair in one article. Whether it will come up to one's larger expectation may depend on how many world's fairs one has seen in America. It may not be comparable, in some respects, to the San Francisco fair, nor the St. Louis fair, or the Columbian fair of 1893. But the visitor may well look with wonder and admiration upon the Century of Progress, its accomplishments and its achievements. It is all here in a long, stupendous, graphic story: a fascinating encyclopaedia come to life and spread out for all to see.

## THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR INDIA AT GENEVA

BY ELLEN HORUP

**D**OES India need foreign propaganda or has she to concentrate all her forces in the country itself?

This is a question that is becoming more and more important for Indians. Those who have never been out of India do not generally lay any stress upon foreign propaganda. Even Mahatma Gandhi upheld the idea that the fight for India's freedom should and could only be fought on Indian soil. But a greater part of intelligent India, including among others Mr. Subhas Bose, recognizes the necessity. The many thousands of students, who yearly go to the European universities, who live in the European capitals, read their newspapers, and mix with the population, learn what propaganda means. They feel the power of the Press and of the propaganda of the British Empire. Wherever they go they are met with opinions about their country based upon English views and English interests. It is through the English Press and English news-agencies that almost every bit of news from India has to pass. The Europeans know little,

and what they know has been "inspired" by English politicians and journalists. In almost every newspaper in Europe, India is described as a big continent with a small intellectual strata and a huge population of illiterate, dirty, half-starved, miserable peasants who are not aware of man's right to life and who don't even know the meaning of the word freedom.

Very few newspapers in Europe explain to their readers that one of the principal reasons why the Indian people are starving and illiterate is that they are taxed more heavily than any other people, and only 7 per cent of the Indian revenue is spent for their education; or that the Indian masses are dirty because they cannot afford to buy soap as their average income does not exceed two £ a year, out of which they have to pay 3s. 6d. in taxes.

All this is never explained in the English or in the continental Press. Nor is the fact mentioned that India once was the centre of Asiatic culture.

With these impressions the young Indian





The Executive and the Guests of the Third International Conference for India

*Front row from left*—Miss Harrison, Mrs. Hamid, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Subhas Bose, Mrs. K. Bose, Mlle. Baudouin, Dr. Privat.

*Back row from left*—Mrs. Ganguly, Mrs. Horup, Mlle. Rolland, Mr. De Ligt.

students go home. And they have felt the need for Indian foreign propaganda and they ask for it. When Mahatma Gandhi was in London, he felt it too.

The first small beginning was made by the European friends of India in Geneva on the sixth of October, 1932. The Irish Mrs. Cousins, the Swiss Dr. Privat, the French Miss Rolland, Romain Rolland's sister, and many others held the first International Conference for India. A permanent International Committee for India was established with Dr. Privat as president, Miss Rolland as vice-president and the Danish Mrs. Horup as honorary secretary.

After a Spring Conference on March 23, 1933, mostly for the Geneva people, the Third International Conference for India was held in Geneva on the 19th September. Delegates were present from England, France, Germany, Holland, Bulgaria, China, U. S. A., Denmark and all parts of Switzerland, while reports were sent from Belgium, Russia and Norway.

In a morning session the Committee met the delegates and the annual re-election of the Committee took place. In an afternoon meeting the Indian speakers explained the present situation in India to the members of the Committee and their friends and at night a big public meeting in Salle Centrale was held. The Committee had succeeded in getting all the leading newspapers interested. Every bill poster in Geneva announced the Conference, where Indians themselves would plead their cause before the Genevese public. The meeting began at 8:30 but at a quarter past eight the smaller hall had to be left, and the public moved over to the big hall and filled it.

The first speaker was Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, who is recognized as one of India's leading lawyers. The next was the former mayor of Calcutta Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Both of them have recently come out of jail. The third speaker was Mrs. Hamid Ali as a representative of Indian's womanhood.

Although these three speakers spoke in



English, the French audience listened with unabated attention to the advocates of the Indian cause.

Mr. Desai laid stress on the fact that non-violence was not a policy but a principle. Armaments as a means of settling international disputes have proved to be useless. India was giving the world an example of the substitute that had got to be found. He wanted the financial obligations between India and Great Britain to be subject to an impartial examination by an international committee and pointed out the unjust situation of India in the League of Nations, where India, although one of the original members of the League, is only used by England as an independent member for the purpose of securing an extra vote. The English gain from India amounted, if Lord Rothermere's estimate was accepted, to 4s. to the £ of England's total income. Mr. Subhas Bose spoke of the suppression of political activity in India, the economic exploitation by England, the excessive military expenditure that took away more than 50 per cent of the revenues of the Central Government. He condemned the air-bombing on the Frontier and spoke of the hard lot of the political prisoners especially in the Andaman Islands where recently two had died of hunger strike. He concluded by saying that Indians were struggling against the most powerful Empire in the world. They were prepared ungrudgingly to face the necessary suffering until they had won their freedom but they would welcome sympathy from other nations in their fight for freedom.

Mrs. Hamid Ali spoke about the influence of Gandhi on all the women in India, who believe in his message of love and friendship. And she claimed that there does not exist one single woman in India who wants the Indian people to be divided by a communal franchise.

The two other speakers were Prof. Baudouin, who read a beautiful poem about the child Krishna, and Miss Harrison, who spoke about a better understanding between India and England.

The resolutions adopted by this Conference were in a crystallized form, all the claims, which the two Indian speakers had put stress on. The Conference recognized India's right to full independence, urged the British authorities to give up the air-bombing, drew the attention of the Disarmament Conference on the injustice of India's maintaining on her soil an army of occupation and the abnormal situation thus created between members of the League of Nations, recognized India's right to nominate her own delegates to the League and to a settlement of the Indo-British financial obligations by an impartial international commission, the chairman of which must be a neutral member of the Hague Court. It condemned all discriminatory measures adopted against the Indian people on racial grounds in various countries, especially in South Africa, where the Government are contemplating to send out South-African-born Indians to British Guinea for the purpose of colonization. It deplored that ordinance rule should be embodied in law and condemned the policy of ill-treatment of political prisoners, particularly in the Andaman Islands. It sent the expression of its admiration to Mahatma Gandhi and all Indians who fight for the liberation of their country and for the abolition of untouchability without deviating from their condemnation of all recourse to violence.

The Conference asked the International Committee for India to continue its work of correcting false and inaccurate news and spreading the truth about India.

And the Indian speakers thanked the Committee for its work and recognized the utility of foreign propaganda.



## A CITY MAIDEN AND VILLAGE BRIDE

By SANTA DEVI

I

**H**ARIHAR Babu came from an orthodox family, but he turned modern suddenly and did it with a vengeance. He put his youngest daughter Lily—the English name itself showing his Anglicization—into an English school, to have her trained in everything modern. But he never expected to get such a son-in-law as Indubhusan from an orthodox family. As he was triumphantly marching onward towards the total Westernization of his family, Indubhusan suddenly loomed before his path and made him halt. Harihar saw that the boy was of his own caste, very handsome and very well bred and intelligent. Moreover, he was the scion of a rich family. So he had to recant and began preaching orthodoxy again. "Look here," he went about telling everybody, "our sages were not fools. They knew human nature far more deeply than we do. So we should not go against their mandates lightly and childishly. As a woman has to live in her husband's family all her life, so she must enter that family early and get trained by her husband's relatives. So you see, child marriage is inevitable."

Harihar had turned reformer in mature age, so it was no great strain for him to go back. But his children found themselves rather in a fix. Lily was the worst sufferer. She had learnt her lessons of being modern, sitting in her mother's lap and found it very hard to forget them at her father's word. She had heard before that it was a sin for a child of her age to utter the word marriage, now she heard with consternation that she would have to commit the far greater sin of actually marrying. She had learnt from her elders that it was insufferable bad manners for a young girl like her to put on anything but short frocks and lace stockings. She was shocked to see those very elders taking away those modern pieces of dress,

and giving her only *saris* to wear. She had once before tried surreptitiously to put up her hair and got a severe scolding from one of her big sisters. But now that very sister was busy tying up Lily's hair in a big knot on the back of her head!

Before, she used to be reprimanded severely if ever she was caught listening to the talk of her elders, but now those very elders talked on all kinds of subjects in her presence. She received the greatest shock of her young existence, when her mother scolded her for speaking in the mixed jargon of English and Bengali, which she had hitherto regarded as a great accomplishment. Poor Lily had been brought up to believe that to become a mock Englishwoman was the highest ideal of a girl of her class. She was nearly suffocated with dismay on hearing that the ideals had completely changed and she was to follow the path of orthodox Hindu women.

The marriage was fixed up, and a list of ornaments soon arrived from Lily's future husband's family. Everything mentioned was extremely old-fashioned, but the girl's family had no option but to obey. They, of course, did not like the ornaments at all, least of all did Lily. She could not hide her contempt and displeasure. She had been bribed with the offer of splendid jewellery to consent to the unwelcome marriage, and now look at the awful ornaments they had got for her! "How selfish and unkind of you," cried poor Lily. "You always get such beautiful jewels for yourselves from Hamilton's and now you get these rotten lumps of gold for me from a silly goldsmith's shop. These are fit for old Bami's mother, not for me. Take them away, I don't want them."

But poor Lily had to submit. She was obliged to put on those awful lumps of gold on her marriage night. She suffered all kinds of agony through this sudden change

to orthodoxy and wept in silence. The wedding was over. But all's well that ends well. The partner she got after wading through this sea of agony and humiliation, fascinated her beyond measure. He was so handsome, so sweet and kind. Though she had never seen him before, she accepted him as her nearest and dearest within a few hours and poured out all her tales of woe into his sympathetic ear. Strange to say, he did not laugh like her mother and her sisters, but tried to comfort Lily as best as he could. Lily had to admit to herself that he had compensated her for all her sorrows and humiliations. It was worth while giving up her English school, her modern dresses and her Western manners for such a jewel of a husband.

The bride and groom prepared to depart after the completion of the ceremony. Lily's sister Bibha dressed her up in right modern style, as the bridegroom and bride were both for it. Lily was a bride today, not a mere lay figure on which lumps of gold could be displayed, giving evidence of the wealth of her father and the bad taste of her husband's family.

She had received a few pieces of jewellery as wedding presents, which were really beautiful and to her taste. These included, amongst other things, a string of pearls, a pair of pearl ear-rings and a diamond brooch. These things adorned her fair young body today. The *sari* she wore was a rich one, but of a subdued grayish blue colour like that of the Ganges at midnight. The ground was plain, not overcrowded with gold flowers or leaves and it had only gold borders on both sides. As soon as she had finished dressing, she ran into her bedroom surreptitiously to grant Indubhusan a sight of her resplendent beauty. She had not yet forgotten the chagrin of appearing before her beloved in that horrible red Benarasi *sari* and those lumps of gold. She was eager to prove to him that she possessed good taste and aesthetic sense to the full.

Indubhusan was charmed. "I cannot express in words what I feel!" he said rapturously. "How wonderful you look! It seems as if Neptune's daughter has taken pity on me and has left her palace under the

Ocean to let me have a glimpse of her super-human beauty. Your ear-rings and tiara shimmer like translucent drops of sea water. Your dress seems to have stolen all its beauty. But my words fail."

Lily blushed rose-red at these words, but she had to escape for fear of being caught.

As she was starting, her mother gave her a parting injunction, "When you get down from the train, take out all your ornaments from the box and put them on. Else, your new relatives will make all kinds of remarks." Lily hardly paid any attention to these words.

As she got into the carriage, all the women present burst into tears. But Lily did not understand correctly what was happening. She had never been told the sad lot of a Hindu girl and so she did not weep. She did not know yet why it was a matter for tears. She was going away with Indubhusan, a person whose company she liked above that of all other persons.

## II

All the time she was in the train, Lily went over Indubhusan's words in his mind again and again. She was entirely engrossed in the thoughts evoked by these words. Indubhusan had already made her forget her past Anglicized life. It had fallen away from her as easily as old leaves fall off from trees. The last few days had become to her all her existence.

The train started from Howrah and rushed past many factories, many small tanks and innumerable garden-houses, and long stretches of fields, but Lily hardly took any notice of them. But gradually God's own country began to assert itself over the evidence of man-made civilization. Factories and garden-houses decreased, whilst open fields and huge forests of Sal increased. Lily had never seen such a beautiful sight. The Maidan in Calcutta, girt about with huge shops and tramway lines, was the only field she had hitherto seen and the Eden Gardens the only garden. Had Lily been in a normal state of mind, she could never have turned away her eyes from this wealth of nature's beauty. But being half in a trance, she could only afford to glance at it casually.

Small stations, with platforms strewn with red gravel, appeared now and then. Lily had totally forgotten that she was to get down at just such a station. The train stopped at last at a small station in the district of Midnapore, and all her party became awfully busy. Some one rushed up to the door of her compartment and tried to pull her out. Lily got up from her seat and advanced to get down. But she stood stock still, in dismay, on finding out that she had to jump down at least three feet, before she could touch the platform. It was not at all like Howrah station, where you have got only to put your foot out.

"What are you doing?" Somebody shouted in a strident voice. "The train will start in a moment, get down! People jumped down through the open doors of the carriages on both sides of the train and the luggage were flung down with amazing quickness and recklessness through doors and windows alike. The maidservant who had been accompanying Lily grasped her tightly in her arms and tumbled out somehow. The end of her *sari* rolled off from her shoulders and trailed on the ground. Lily's legs dangled in the air, encircling the waist of the woman. Lily nearly fainted with shame, at being forced to figure in such a ludicrous show. Was this the proper reception for one who had been called Neptune's daughter only recently? And all the while she was afraid of falling down and had to clasp the black scraggy neck of the old woman with her fair and smooth arms.

As soon as she had reached *terra firma* Lily's maidservant bowed down to the train with mock reverence and exclaimed, "I bow down to thee, Sire, you are a mighty one, to rob a woman of her shame."

The bride was a tall girl, and the poor thing had her neck nearly broken through this performance of the maidservant. She wanted to jump out of her arms, but the old woman was careful to keep Lily tightly clasped to her own person.

After the train had steamed off, the party collected all its members and luggages from the two sides of the railway line and prepared to proceed. The news of the coming of the bride had spread already through the village.

So nearly half the village, comprising old people and children, had gathered on the road that led to the village. Though it was winter Lily did not see warm clothing on many of the crowd. Most of them were dressed in a single *dhoti*, the end being tightly wrapped round the body and a very few had dirty pink and blue woollen wrappers round their shoulders. None had shoes or slippers. In fact, Lily had never seen such a scantily dressed crowd in the course of her young life.

The old maidservant drew down the blue *sari* over Lily's face with a jerk, as a bride cannot go about with face unveiled. The pretty ear-rings and tiara were completely hidden. The small brooches, with which her *sari* had been fastened to her hair, got loose at the violent jerk and fell on the road. Lily could hardly see anything through the thick silk, still she could feel the stare of a thousand eyes. A few over-curious children had approached as close to the bride as they could and were busy looking her over very thoroughly, paying no regard to etiquette. Suddenly, two or three clapped their hands in unison and shouted, "Look, how wonderful, she is a woman, yet she is wearing shoes." The crowd roared with laughter at this strange discovery. Lily wanted to slap the faces of the unmannerly urchins very hard, but how could she? She was a new bride. Next moment she remembered that her mother had cautioned her about this very thing. A village bride should never put on shoes.

Lily could never have believed that a lady could walk barefooted on a public road. So she had remonstrated with her mother, saying, "Good Lord! what do you mean? How shall I get down on the platform barefooted?"

After much discussion, it had been settled that she would take off her shoes, just before she reached the village station. But totally engrossed in happy dreams, she had forgotten all about it. And this was the result! Tears of rage and mortification filled Lily's eyes and as soon as her palanquin started, she took off the offending shoes and flung them far away on the road.

All the women of the bridegroom's family



stood ready to welcome the bride. The village women, too, had all gathered there. One of the young ladies, who was the wife of Indubhusan's cousin, had lived in Calcutta for a few years, and had even studied in a mission school. As she was regarded as an authority about everything pertaining to city life and townbred people, she stood foremost of all.

As the palanquin was put down, Lily's mother-in-law came forward and opening the door, took the bride in her arms and carried her inside. A murmur rose from the assembly. Nirupama's shrill voice rose high in protest, "You village people can fabricate such tales! Let Tinkari's mother come forward, I shall brand her lying mouth with hot iron. Did not she say that our bride was marching with shoes on like a police inspector? Look, how her pretty feet are painted red with lac."

Lily thanked God. It was a mercy that those boorish children had clapped their hands at the sight of her shoes. Otherwise, she would never have remembered to throw them off.

As the bride was made to stand on the painted wooden board, everyone began to utter various kinds of criticisms. Indubhusan's aunt shook her heavy nose-ring and said, "Well, I never! could not they give the bride two anklets even?"

Another aunt placed her palm on her cheek in dismay, "What is this? I have never seen such an ill-omened thing. Why is the bride dressed in black?"

Nirupama now stepped forward to regale the assembly with her knowledge. "Why, you don't call that black, do you? It is blue. It is nowadays the fashion in Calcutta to choose the blue colour for a wedding dress."

The maidservant who had come with Lily from her father's house now tried to correct the error of the assembly. "But Madam," she cried, "that is not her wedding sari. That one is safely locked in the box. This one was ordered for the parting ceremony, so the bride's sister dressed her in that."

"Good Heavens, what a thing to do!" cried two or three women together and collapsed.

"Three nights have not yet passed," one was beginning in protest, when the mother-in-law stepped into the arena, in real militant mood. "Now, where are the ornaments I ordered them to give? Are these tinsels, the only jewellery she has got?"

Even Nirupama was taken aback, but still she would not give up. She advanced to the rescue, taking her courage in both hands and said, "But aunt, what's the use of such discussion before the bride! Why don't you look and see what a lovely daughter-in-law you have got? They will give you the ornaments all right. Perhaps they were in a hurry. You don't get everything as soon as you ask for it in Calcutta."

But the old lady was not to be taken in by empty words. "Don't try to bluff me," she cried. "Even in this village you can get any gold ornament you want. Do you mean to say that in Calcutta where the Lat Sahib lives you cannot get them when you want them? What do I care, if the bride is lovely. You may gaze your fill at her and worship her."

Even in winter, Lily felt the perspiration of fear, trickling down her face. She was really afraid of these wild women. They might even strike her if they were not immediately satisfied. "They are in my box," she managed to whisper somehow.

"Good Heavens! What is the new bride saying?" exclaimed some of the women. "What a brazen girl!"

Lily's maidservant now raised her voice above everybody's and shouted with all her might, "Be calm, for goodness's sake. All the ornaments are there in that box. Nobody has stolen them."

Indubhusan's youngest aunt struck her heavily ornamented arm on her forehead, saying, "This is real Kali Yuga. How could they take off ornaments from the person of a newly-married bride? This beats all."

But the younger women were now busily looking for the bride's keys. They wanted to open her boxes and see everything.

The trunk containing her dresses was first opened. Indubhusan's sister Chhab opened the lid and burst into laughter. Everybody ran forward to see. "Look, look,"

cried the girl. "The box is full of books. Does the bride go to office?"

"Now shut up," scolded Nirupama. "You are a lot of silly girls. The bride is not an ignoramus like you. She knows how to read and write and must have received many books as wedding presents."

"But these are English books," cried Chhabhi in self-defence.

Indubhusan's youngest brother Nani, a boy of five, had been gazing at the bride steadily all this while and listening intently to all the discussions going on around. It seemed as if the boy had not been able to make up his mind about something. He stealthily approached Chhabhi as she was trying to draw out Lily's jewel case from under the load of her books and whispered in her ear, "Sister dear, is the bride a woman or a Mem Sahib?"

Before the girl could answer, Raju, a friend of Nani's, put in excitedly, "I told him, it was a woman, but he did not believe. Why else should she have her face veiled? Memsahibs always wear hats."

Nirupama burst into thrills of laughter. "How clever of Nani," she panted. "Are not the Memsahibs women too, you silly?"

"Then why has the bride got her *sari*, gathered in front like a man?" asked Nani, pouting.

"And she has got a skirt on too, I know," said Raju wisely. ✓✓

Nirupama collapsed against Chhabhi, who drove away the poor boys in anger. They left not knowing where they had erred. ✓

A maidservant of the family was looking at Nirupama with evident disapproval. "Why do you laugh so much, little mother?" She asked. "The boys were right. The bride is really wearing her *sari* over a skirt. How should they know that a gentlewoman dresses like that? We have seen only dancing-girls dressing like that." ✓

A woman of low caste was standing at a little distance, listening. She now came forward to give evidence. "Listen to me mother," she said. "Our Madhu told me that in Calcutta, he had seen big grown-up women wearing *chapkans* and shoes and marching to offices like men. And do you know, they actually use soap."

"Is that so?" asked Nirupama in mock surprise.

"I swear it to you mother, it is true," said the woman with befitting seriousness.

Lily was listening to all these amazing words and losing all her illusions and all her happy dreams. Fear and amazement held joint sway in her heart. She felt as if she were an accused criminal in the dock, and all these people were her judges. She would have laughed at these silly people, had they not been her own newly acquired relatives. But now laughter was out of the question.

How could she become like these people amongst whom Fate had thrown her! Indeed she was even ready to relinquish all her knowledge and culture to become ignorant and silly like these women, if thereby she could feel more at ease and less frightened. ✓

The day passed off somehow. At night when she met Indubhusan alone, her heavily burdened heart found relief in tears. Indubhusan gathered from her through her sobs and whispers that Lily was not at all willing to stay here.

He petted and caressed her, trying to soothe her by every means in his power. "But this is childish, my darling," he said. "They are uncultured village people and you should not mind them. After a few days you will get accustomed to them and train them up to your way of thinking. Why on earth should you go away?"

Lily had brought all her school books along, as she had been preparing for her Matriculation just before her marriage. But she hardly dared to take out her books amongst these people. But Indubhusan was equally firm. Lily must go on with her studies and sit for the examination. ✓

Poor Lily was in a fix. Whenever she sat down with a book, some guest would arrive for a sight of the new bride. She would have to hide the book at once, pull down the veil before her face and shut her eyes. But in spite of all her caution, they found her out. The new bride actually read and wrote English! The astonishing news spread far and wide.

When at last Lily returned to her father's house, she was no longer a silly school girl, ignorant of village society and manners.

She had acquired a great deal of knowledge. She knew thoroughly whom to see and whom not to see. She knew whose name she was to utter and whose not to. She knew that it was a great sin to touch or to let herself be seen by her husband's elder brother and his maternal uncle. She got all these by heart like the multiplication table and returned to Calcutta.

She was to live in her father's house for a year, then return to her husband. Indubhusan wanted her to continue her studies. Her father agreed. So Lily put on shoes, took up her neglected books and started off to school again.

### III

It was the day for the annual distribution of prizes at Lily's school. Lily was to get a few prizes, though she had not passed her examination as well as she had hoped to. But she had taken the leading rôle in a small piece in English, that was to be played that day. Lily had been chosen as her pronunciation was the best in the school. As there was to be a distinguished gathering, the teachers had taken great pains with the girls and there had been numerous rehearsals.

The girls who were to take part in the songs, recitals, etc., had been told to come much earlier than the other pupils. So Lily was preparing to go in good time. She knew that a girl, who had her husband living, could never go without the auspicious vermilion mark. But today she was to appear on the stage as Britannia, queen of the seas. So how could she have a vermilion mark on her forehead like a village bride of Midnapore district? Her alarming experience at that place was already growing faint. She had her hair carefully washed and dried and it floated round her head like a mass of dark clouds. Her mother was looking at her disapprovingly. "Shall I put a small red mark on the parting of your hair?" She asked. "No one would notice it."

"No, mother, no," protested Lily. "If the teachers see it, they will laugh at me."

The carriage was waiting. As Lily was about to descend the stairs, ready for departure, her elder sister rushed up saying,

"You must wait a bit, Memsahib. Some relatives of your husband have arrived. You cannot go down now."

"But I must go now," said Lily anxiously, "else everything will be spoiled."

"Must you, indeed?" said her sister angrily. "And what do you think these people will say, when they hear that a daughter-in-law of their house has gone to dance? Have you forgotten everything already? Did not I tell you not to take part in these things? But you did not listen."

Lily sat down on the floor in despair. She did not even want to know anything about the people who had come. Her head was full of thoughts of her angry teacher and her disappointed colleagues. She would be blamed for making the ceremony a failure. Poor Lily could only weep.

She sat on the stairs, weeping, while all the people of the house rushed about her, busy attending to the honoured guests. A servant ran with oil and towel, a maidservant followed him with small carpets for sitting. Next came the Brahmin cook, carrying plates full of an elaborate breakfast. Even Lily's mother stood ready with fan in hand, to whisk away offending flies from the food. But Lily felt too disheartened to enquire about the guests. She had no interest in them, though they were really her guests.

After about three hours, the honoured guests left. Lily was nearly dead with fright by that time. The teacher would kill her. She did not say a word to anybody, but ordered the servant to call a hackney carriage and started for the school. She did not have the family carriage as the honoured guests had departed in it.

A big red Durbar tent had been set up on the lawn that stood in front of the school building. The path leading from the gate and the walls were profusely decorated with gay flags. The road was full of cars and carriages and the noise was deafening. Two or three girls and two ladies had come out on the foot path and were looking at the road with strained and anxious faces. They paid no heed to the pushing crowd and the carriages which threatened to pass over them. As poor Lily got down in front of them, the whole batch hissed, "Lily!" They were too angry to say



anything more. But there was no time also for saying more. They hurried off with Lily inside at once. Plenty of time to listen to explanations afterwards.

The performance began almost at once. The distinguished guests were ushered up to the dais and sat on chairs with velvet cushions. The wife of the Governor was to give away the prizes. Two small girls went up to her. One garlanded her and one presented her a bouquet. She thanked them with a smile.

The first few items of the agenda were gone through satisfactorily. Now came the acting in which Lily was to take part.

The music-mistress struck the opening bars on the piano. A few gaily dressed girls marched up the stage and passed round with dancing steps and came to a stop in the middle. They were evidently looking for someone. The piano became louder and shriller like an insistent call. Then slowly there appeared on the stage a resplendent figure, with shining crown on head, and dressed in billowy blue robes that resembled the waves of the ocean. It was Britannia, queen of the seas.

The spectators all greeted her with smiles. But what had happened to the heroic dame? Why was she quaking with fear?

As she looked at the audience with a calm smile, her face suddenly turned pale. With a crash, she disappeared from the stage. Nobody knew whether she fainted or merely stumbled backward. Exclamations of pity rose from every side of the gathering. The irate music-mistress alone foamed with rage. Two or three girls rushed to Lily and tried to pull her up. But she remained prostrate on the ground, her face hidden in her hands. The teacher rushed down to her. "Get up at once, Lily!" she said in an enraged whisper. "You will spoil everything." Still Lily did not move. Many people rose to their feet

and tried to see what was happening behind the stage. The ladies actually gathered round the girl. What had happened to her? Had she fainted? Lily's friends asked again and again, "What has happened, dear Lily? Are you felling ill?" But no answer.

Smelling salts, rose water, hot milk, everything was brought. But Lily would not even look up. Then her friends tried to lift her up and carry her in. But she resisted all their attempts and clung to the place where she had fallen. The whole thing was a mystery.

But the Governor's wife could not waste any more of her precious time. She sympathized with Lily, but requested the school authorities to finish the distribution of prizes without waiting any more. The audience returned to their seats.

The mutilated performance was finished somehow. The gracious lady distributed the prizes and left. The audience, too, melted away slowly. The men left first. The ladies split up into small groups and began to converse. A few approached Lily and sympathized with her.

"Please send me home," said Lily at last. These were her first words after the calamity and she refused to say anything more. So she had to be sent home. As soon as Lily reached home she burst into tears. "I won't go to school again," she cried. Her family gazed at her in wonder.

She explained at last. Amongst the audience, the first person Lily had seen was Indubhusan's maternal uncle, Raicharan Roy, a retired Inspector of Schools. To be seen by him meant a great sin to Lily. Besides, he had his son with him, who was older than Indubhusan. He too could not look at Lily.

These two were the honoured guests who had appeared in the morning at their house and had then proceeded to Lily's school.

Lily never went to school again.

(Translated from the Bengali by Sita Devi.)

## A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE Master had sat down on a rock and we were sitting round him with the afterglow of the sunset crimsoning the horizon and the clouds that hung over it. All around was the silence of the dying day and the eternal silence of the hills. The Master ceased speaking and looked long and steadily towards the west where the light slowly faded and the twilight closed in with the deeper shadows of the night following it. The evening star shone bright and clear over the distant, low-lying hills.

The Master arose and turned his steps homewards. Looking at the star he said, 'A star has a stronger fascination for us than the other luminaries that loom so large before our eyes. To the traveller and voyager the stars are the guides. Our lives seem to be linked with the stars and we believe that they exercise a beneficent or malevolent influence on our lives. For a forecast of the course of our lives we consult the stars. We share this belief with you who come from another world. Is it a mere superstition? It seems at any rate to be part of our nature and we cannot shake off the belief that in spite of their great distance from the planet on which we live the stars play an important part in shaping our lives. A belief of this kind may be due to two causes: one may be the exaggerated notion we have of our own importance, the other may be a knowledge or faith that we had in a former life and which persists unknown to ourselves in our present lives. Either way, it suggests some connection between our lives and the existence of the heavenly bodies which are at such a great distance from the planet on which we happen to live. If our lives were merely ephemeral with nothing behind or before us why should such a belief have found a place at all among the notions that appear to be inborn in us? If life were a matter of only a few years as it would be so far as our own faith is concerned if we ceased to live in past and future lives why should the stars have anything to do with such a transient thing? On the other hand, if our present existence is only a single phase of an uninterrupted state of being which lasts through the ages it is not difficult to understand why the stars should watch over us and exercise an active influence on our successive incarnations. The stars themselves may be mere matter, gaseous and luminous, but there must be behind them that supreme and sovereign Intelligence that pervades all nature. There is a subtle

connection, not the less real because it is unseen, between all things, living or not living, and distance makes no difference to the existence of that connection. It is a further illustration of the truth of the unity of creation, the multiplicity of manifestation in no way disturbing that ultimate and final truth. As many sparks fly out of a single fire, so many worlds may emanate from a single cause and because of their common parentage, as it were, they retain their relationship. All beliefs cannot be lightly dismissed as mere delusions. Our senses concern themselves with phenomena; our minds are occupied with noumena. You can demonstrate that this planet or your own is round and not flat and that your planet or ours is not the centre of a system, but you cannot prove that the stars exercise no influence upon our lives, not only because it is difficult to prove a negative but because in such a matter the only evidence available is a habit of mind and when it is a question of faith argument is of no avail. The widely prevalent belief in what is called astrology is to me of such significance as it is an unconscious inheritance from our past lives. Why, else should we fancy that objects so remote as the stars should have any share in shaping the course of our lives and that one particular star should rise and fall in accordance with our own prosperity and adversity? Is it a mere baseless superstition or an association of ideas from past lives, a memory of a faith that haunts us through a series of lives thus proving that the identity of our real self is not entirely lost? Everything indicates that through all changes there is a changelessness that persists and which visibly or invisibly affects the whole creation. Death is a changing form of life and we pass from one life to another through the portals of death. Death is a plunge in the waters of Lethe and when we emerge from it the memory of the past is lost. It is only the very strong amongst us that can resist the forgetfulness induced by death. To most of us the notion of identity is associated with the physical form. People would believe in the second birth of Christ if he were to appear again as he did when he moved among men.

Just think for a moment what this desire means. The physical appearance of a man cannot be remembered very long. Pictures are not always real to life and even in his lifetime a man may change so much that he may not be recognized by his picture. Besides, as I

heard from you all the likenesses of the Buddha and the Christ are imaginary. Their greatness was only partially recognized in their lifetime. Christ was quite a young man when he was to put to death. Do you think, my friends, that if he were to reappear in your world he would be recognized and revered? He cannot come straight back into life as he left it with the crown of thorns on his head and the bleeding wounds on his hands and feet. Will there be another miraculous birth, and, if so, how many will believe it? I was just now telling you of the part of stars in the lives of men. The wise men from the east saw the star of the Christ and followed it to where the babe had been born. But to others that star was of no significance, nor did the pure and holy life of Jesus and his compassion and miracles of healing save him from the fury of the priests and the populace. If similar signs were to attend his next birth how many would believe them? And when he grows up to be a man and proclaims himself to be the son of God will not most people think him to be a madman and lock him up, even if they do not put him to a violent death? When the Buddha spoke of his previous lives did all his hearers believe him? Consider the strange contradictoriness in human nature. Many may believe that death is not the end of everything and they will eagerly ask for the miracle that can bring the dead back to life, but they will not believe that one who is dead can return to another life among men in the normal course of nature. No, the memory of previous births is a doctrine that is a matter of individual conviction, for no demonstration of it can carry conviction to a sceptical mind. Men will believe a miracle easily enough but they will not believe a truth unless it is as obvious as the nose on their face. It is only among certain nations and peoples that a belief exists in the incarnation of the deity in the flesh and they alone believe that different men who appeared at different times were incarnations of the same divinity and among them such a belief may still be found. In reality, however, the belief in previous births should have the effect of guiding our own conduct in life, for when we know the past we can understand how the future is to be shaped and what we have to do to become free. A single life does not fulfil the destiny of man. Life in the flesh is recurrent and each life is an opportunity for perpetual emancipation. When the scriptures are said to be revealed, when a teacher or prophet is said to be inspired it is the manifestation of wisdom acquired in former lives, the revelation of light that had been carefully garnered in previous incarnations.

By the time the Master finished speaking we arrived in front of our cave-dwelling and then the Master turned to us and quietly said, 'Tomorrow I go on a pilgrimage to Raba. I would have gone alone, but since you, Maruchi, and

your friends have come from another world and you are anxious to have a sight of Raba you may come with me.'

We were dumbfounded and overjoyed at the same time. During all these days Ashan had given no hint that he had any thought of visiting Raba and we knew we would have to undertake the journey on our own account. Even if the Master intended to go we could not dream that he would so far favour us as to ask us to bear him company. Maruchi stammered at first and was next profuse in his expressions of gratitude.

Urim ventured to inquire hesitatingly whether they could also follow the Master. 'No,' replied the Master, kindly but firmly, 'it is not yet time for you to go. You may, if you like, go as other people go, but not with me. You are still under probation and you are not yet prepared for the ordeal.'

We did not understand what ordeal was meant, but it was not our place to ask any questions. The Master said we would leave the next morning. Up to a certain distance we could proceed on our machine and the rest of the journey would have to be done on foot. He knew of a place where the machine could be left in perfect safety.

That night owing to our excitement we slept very little and it was scarcely daylight when we came out of the cave. But early as we were the Master had got up earlier and we found him with his pilgrim's staff in his hand contemplating peacefully the eastern sky.

#### XXXIV

##### RABA

As we took our seats in the machine Urim and the other disciples came out and prostrated themselves before the Master and Urim placed a basket of provisions in the hands of Ganimet for use on the journey. We took a cordial leave of them and waved our hands as the machine left the ground. The Master raised his hand in blessing, and then he directed Nabor to steer the airship towards the column of vapour, but not in a straight direction.

We were strangely agitated and excited, though we carefully repressed our feelings. Over the long line of mountains we flew, rising to a great altitude when we passed the high central peak. In silence we watched the landscape below us, the constantly shifting scene of heights and depressions, the belts and crowns of forest, lakes and mountain springs, and cascades glittering and flashing in the morning sun. As we went on the column of Raba took a clearer and more definite shape. We could see the vapour, now pink and again a deep red, twisting and curling, involuting and forming into serpentine coils, forming spirals and rolling in waves, spreading outward and again drawing in, perpetually in motion and at times displaying all the colours of the rainbow when the sunlight struck



it aslant on one side. We gazed, awed and fascinated, at this strange phenomenon, and we could easily understand that such a sight must inspire feelings of reverence and remind men of the Creator. Ashan had told us that the people looked upon Raba as a column of incense rising to the Creator and we could realize for ourselves how such a faith was justified.

The Master broke the silence. 'As a rule all eruptions from inside the earth are temporary. An active volcano creates great havoc, but it soon becomes quiescent or dies out. But Raba is unlike anything of which you have heard. All records and all traditions that we have mention the existence of Raba from a time beyond the memory of man. All our legends and myths declare that there never was a time when Raba did not exist. And people believe that it will exist for all time. That of course can only remain as a matter of belief for there is no obligation on any one to accept any assertion regarding the future as a fact. It is quite possible that Raba may disappear at any time and the column of vapour will no longer be seen. It is, after all, a phenomenon of nature, though not devoid of spiritual significance. Some few people have been able to approach Raba closer than most other people and what you saw at Opi was a little vapour of Raba gathered at great risk near the mouth of the hollow or crater. There is no doubt that the vapour changes its character as it comes into contact with the atmospheric air and rises higher into it. There are many remarkable features about the approaches to Raba, and some of these you will be able to see. You will, in fact, see more than you could ever have done without assistance, but you must be very careful in following my instructions, which must not be exceeded on any account. Any rashness would be fatal and you must not allow your curiosity, however strong, to overcome your better judgment.'

We promised implicit obedience to his instructions.

'At certain seasons of the year,' said the Master, 'great flashes of light rise from Raba and wave and move about in the sky. But there has been no danger up to the present.'

We understood that the astronomers on the Earth must have seen these flashes of light in the sky of Mars.

Although it seemed to be quite close Raba was still a long way off, but the nearer we approached it the more entrancing became the sight. The moving and rising mass of vapour appeared to be instinct with life. Sometimes the very heart of the immense, swaying, shadowy, glittering column would open revealing undulating, palpitating forms of trance-like beauty, ravishing the eyes and holding us breathless with amazement. It were as if the gates had been swung back to disclose a fairy scene inconceivable by the imagination. Then slowly the cloud-

portals would close on their silent hinges showing many fantastic shapes darting in and out with incredible swiftness. Undoubtedly it was all unreal, an optic illusion, but to our eyes it all appeared real with a vivid, life-like reality. We thought the visions would vanish as we approached close to the column of vapour; on the contrary, they became clearer and more definitely outlined the nearer we drew to Raba. Strange and beautiful faces seemed to be peering at us from the shadows of the rolling column of rosy, cloudy vapour. It was more wonderful than the fairylane of dreams. Ethereal shapes of transparent beauty formed themselves before our wondering eyes and then dissolved into the vapour out of which they had emerged. It was an endless kaleidoscopic view not only of colours and forms, but of living images of beauty that filled us with a strange longing in which the senses had no part. We longed to escape from the gross body that clogged and shackled us, and to mingle with that aerial throng resplendent in its vivacity and vitality.

The Master was watching us with a quiet smile and we turned to him for an explanation. 'That is one of the attractions of Raba,' he said, 'and people are both mystified and filled with a spirit of reverence by the visions they see in the moving vapour. You are in a position to realize for yourselves that some sort of magnetic or hypnotic influence emanates from the vapour and affects the mind and imagination of the beholder. There is no explanation for it so far as I am aware, and that is all the greater reason why the minds of pilgrims are so greatly moved and why Raba is held in such universal reverence. I dare say your scientist would attribute the visions to natural causes, but they would not be able to convince any one that what you have seen is not a divine manifestation. You feel as if you would like to enter the column of vapour and satisfy yourselves of the truth or otherwise of the visions you see. That is one of the dangers I mentioned to you. There were many cases of fatal accidents in the past and that is why the opening in the ground is now enclosed by a high wall which is guarded and no one is permitted to climb or cross it.'

Maruchi asked, 'What is the nature of the opening from which the vapour issues, and what is the character of the surrounding country?'

'No one has ever succeeded in approaching the opening very close, but it is evidently very large hollow with the ground on all sides sloping down to the centre where the crater is situated. No one knows the size of the opening, but it must be very large. The land around it is rocky and there are several hot springs in the vicinity. The water of these springs has very high medicinal properties. But although the opening on the surface of the ground is

unapproachable there is an underground passage which passes below the wall and leads right up to the interior of the opening itself. But the existence of this passage is known to only a few people, holy men who have jealously guarded the secret for centuries. That secret will never be known to others for it is both sacred and dangerous. Narga knows it, but the disciples you have met here do not as yet know of even its existence. But you are privileged since you have already accomplished a feat of unprecedented daring and you are all men of superior intellectual calibre. I will not even ask you for an assurance to keep your knowledge a secret for you can have no interest in disclosing it to any one.

We gave a ready and earnest assurance that we appreciated the great favour shown to us and the secret of the underground passage would be perfectly safe with us. Looking again in the direction of Raba we estimated that it was at about a distance of ten miles from us. Following Ashan's direction Nabor swung the machine to the left keeping Raba to our right. The ground below us was rocky and rugged, with fissures and depressions at intervals, and deep, wide furrows that ran along the hard, rocky surface. It seemed as if the face of the land had been torn up by some great upheaval or a commotion like an earthquake which had cracked and seamed all the surrounding country. After we had proceeded a short distance Ashan pointed downwards to a large hollow about a mile in length and half a mile across. It looked like a dried up bed of a lake with a smooth bottom without any rocks or boulders and covered with grass.

Nabor brought the Machine down without a jolt or a jar and as we got out and stood on the green sward, Ashan pointed out to us a huge cave at one end of the hollow and told Nabor that the machine could be left in the cave with perfect safety. As we entered the cave to reconnoitre it an old man, straight of figure and keen of eye, came out and bowed at the feet of Ashan.

The Master blessed him and asked, 'Is all well with you, Hamar, my friend?'

'I am in Raba's keeping, my Master, and in the shadow of your grace.'

'I am here on a pilgrimage and these are my friends, pilgrims like myself. You see the air-chariot on which we have come. It has to be kept safe in our absence.'

Hamar expressed no surprise. He merely said, 'Master, it is for you to command and for me to obey.'

The machine was taken inside the cave, which was of a great size with a high, vaulted roof. Hamar spread out some skins on the floor for us and brought out some food and clear spring water in gourds. We brought out the provisions supplied by Urim and Ashan invited Hamar to share our meal.

The Master asked Hamar, 'Have you recently seen the passage?'

'Yes, Master, I saw it a week ago. But I have no orders to proceed very far and I did not go beyond the second turning.'

'I wonder whether any one else suspects the existence of this passage?'

'Raba keeps his own secrets. The adepts and initiates who know of this passage are few, and I wait at the entrance until it will please Raba to call me and you appoint some one else in my place.'

Hamar, you are one of us, and your place can only be taken by another equally worthy of trust. I have some men in training and there may be a few others, but it is not easy to find another like you. To live here one must leave everything behind. Yours is a silent and solitary vigil through the years and how many are capable of it?'

'Master, men will always be found to undertake the work now entrusted to me. I am thankful that I have merited your confidence, but I have gained everything and lost nothing by accepting my present place. I have no regrets and I have much to be grateful for. The world that I have left behind never calls to me, and I never feel lonely for I hear many voices and when I go into the passage I hear the great voice of Raba and it is always full of meaning. Glimpses of past lives sometimes come to me though they are still somewhat shadowy and vague. Perhaps the mist will clear before my days in this life are ended and a clearer vision will be vouchsafed unto me.'

We much wondered to hear Hamar speak of the voice of Raba. We had seen some of the marvellous visions of Raba but what was its voice like?

The Master said, 'All things may become clear to you, Hamar, if you will continue to commune with yourself. All knowledge is within ourselves and not outside of us. The closer the application the larger the measure of reward. You have no distraction and no regrets. Consequently, there is nothing to deter you from the attainment of full knowledge. Raba has visions for the eye and messages for the ear. It is for those who see and hear to understand. The truth is everywhere, not only here in the proximity of Raba, not only in this world but in the many worlds of which we know nothing. Look well at my young friends, my fellow-pilgrims, and look at the airship in which they fly. They do not belong to our world, but are visitors from the sky, from a world different from our own.'

Hamar was greatly puzzled and looked at us and our machine in bewilderment. 'Whence come our visitors?' he asked hesitatingly.

'They come from Lamulo, the bright planet that you see at night. It is a bigger world than our own and the people there are like ourselves,

only they are wiser as you can judge by the ship which has brought them here. They are in quest of knowledge, of the wisdom stored in the great book of nature, but they are also seekers after the knowledge of the spirit as is apparent from their presence here.'

Hamar looked at Orlon, who was easily the most distinguished-looking man among us and asked, 'Have you also got a Raba?'

'No,' replied Orlon, 'not like the one you have. We have what we call volcanoes, which are active at times and throw up large quantities of molten matter which does great damage to towns and villages which happen to be near but at other times they are quiet and sometimes they are utterly extinguished.'

Hamar was again perplexed. 'That is not like Raba and without Raba how can knowledge come?'

'Nay,' interposed the Master, 'how can we say that? Raba is a manifestation, but there may be other manifestations of other kinds and there may be none at all. Why, as a matter of fact, the whole universe is a manifestation of the divinity behind it. You cannot locate it at a particular spot and assert that it cannot be found elsewhere. For us it is difficult to realize that there should be any world without something like Raba, but that merely shows how limited our knowledge is. Outside you may have clues, hints as to the mysteries of nature, but as I have told you, you must seek within yourselves for the knowledge of the truth. In the world from which our friends come there have been great masters and teachers and others may yet appear. The truth was revealed to them and they taught it and we can learn much from their teachings.'

Hamar became thoughtful and spoke again to Orlon. 'You have accomplished a feat which we here could have never believed to be practicable. You will again go back to your own world?'

'Of course,' replied Orlon, 'we shall return to our own world and tell our people of the wonderful things we have seen here.'

'You have yet to see Raba, and you will see it in a manner available only to the privileged few.'

'Yes, we are grateful to the master and wait upon his pleasure.'

'It is late,' said the Master, 'and we shall rest here for the night. Early tomorrow morning we shall undertake the journey to Raba.'

The day was nearly spent and as the shades of evening fell the Master came out of the cave and sat on the soft, thick grass, and we took our seats respectfully at a short distance.

The Master spoke. 'We are quite close to Raba, but you will see that we can see nothing from here. This hollow is so situated that it shuts off altogether the vision of Raba, which can usually be seen from a great distance. Unless one knows no one can suspect that the wall round Raba is only a few miles from the place

where we are sitting just now. It is really the only place in the vicinity of Raba from which the column of vapour is invisible.'

'And this underground passage,' asked Maruchi, 'who first discovered it?'

'Of that we have no precise knowledge. Some wise man in the remote past who first saw this cave in his wanderings and took up his abode here for meditation and communion must have discovered the secret passage and he must have also decided that the knowledge should be kept from the multitude. To him must have come in the course of years a few disciples whom he taught and to whom he communicated this information under a vow of secrecy. That vow and that secrecy have never been violated and some one of this Brotherhood is always found to stay here and guard the secret. Urin and the other young men you have seen have never been here. As they advance in knowledge and I find they can be trusted they will be permitted to see this passage. You wonder why this secret has not been imparted to outsiders and what is the object of this jealous exclusiveness?'

Maruchi replied, 'Master, we know nothing and we have no theory.'

'To one unacquainted with the dangers of this passage and how to avoid them it means almost certain death to attempt a journey along this subterranean path, and it is out of a consideration for the safety of others that this secret has been so carefully kept.'

This information was a whet to our curiosity already excited by our arrival at the cave which led to the secret passage, but we suppressed the desire to ask any questions about the nature of the dangers we were likely to meet. We felt we would be safe under the guidance of the Master and the dangers would be indicated when we faced them.

The Master proceeded. 'For the common people it is sufficient that they look at Raba from outside the wall raised round it. It is not necessary that they should approach nearer or expose themselves to danger. The secret of Raba cannot be known even by those who have access to the secret passage, but you will see and hear more than you can from outside. Pilgrims come to Raba at all seasons of the year, though during the rains the attendance is not very large on account of the scantiness of shelter and also because the column of vapour shrinks somewhat in that season and is not so impressive a sight as during the rest of the year. There are some devotees who stay near Raba all round the year, some of them absorbed in meditation and others chanting hymns to Raba.'

'Master,' I asked, 'why do not these holy men join your order?'

'A few of them do, but our Brotherhood is limited to a small number, and every new



member has to submit himself to a long novitiate. There are certain signs by which we can recognize a man or a woman who can be taken as a novice, and generally we select young people who can be better trained than older people and can better endure the hardships of the earlier stages of preparation. The men and women whom you will meet outside have their own creeds and their own observances and would find it difficult to conform to our discipline. We usually leave them to their own devices and beliefs and look for recruits elsewhere. Those who come to us are attracted to us by the unconscious influence of their past lives, and therefore we have rarely to regret our choice.

After some more conversation we re-entered the cave where we rested for the night.

### XXXV

It was yet dark when we left our beds and got ourselves ready for the momentous adventure of the journey before us. As usual, Ashan was up earlier and was waiting for us to join him. Hamar brought us lanterns and staffs like the one that the Master carried. The lanterns were lighted and we found they gave very good light. The one that the Master carried was very powerful and threw a bright white light in which everything could be very clearly seen up to a considerable distance. They were then put out, the Master remarking that we would light them later on when required. He next asked Hamar to stay behind as it was not necessary for him to accompany us. The Master then entered the passage that opened inwards from the cave, telling us to follow him close behind in single file.

The faint light of the early dawn was visible when we started on our journey, but after we had taken the first turning the light was wiped out and we were swallowed up in the impenetrable darkness. For some time there was no sound except the patter of our sandals on the rocky passage under our feet. After we had proceeded a considerable distance there came another turning and then we heard the Master's voice, speaking low and clear. 'This is the turning up to which Hamar comes as he has no orders to proceed beyond this point. For some distance yet the passage is quite safe for the rock wall is on either side and there is no danger even if any of us makes a false step. As we go on the turns will become more abrupt and more numerous, the character of the passage will change and we will have to pick our way carefully.'

In the silence the voice echoed before and behind us; and the darkness grew denser, but there was a current of air so that there was no damp smell and no feeling of discomfort or uneasiness in breathing. Maruchi was walking immediately behind the Master and after him

came Orlon, whom I followed. Next came Ganimet, whose awkwardness was audible in his shuffling gait. Nabor, nimble and sure-footed, brought up the rear. Our lamps were suspended from our girdles so that one of our hands was free. From time to time Ganimet would put out his hand to touch me, to assure himself that he was not falling too far behind. I had a shrewd suspicion that in spite of his great strength and undoubted courage Ganimet was feeling nervous. The intense darkness and the unbroken silence were evidently having a depressing effect upon him. There are no limits to the strange contradictoriness in human nature. A man who will face a lion without a tremor of his eyelids will jump out of his skin in alarm if he finds a cockroach crawling over his feet. Ganimet had braved the perils of air and space without turning a hair and I could not recall any occasion when his courage had failed him for a moment. I suspected that it was neither the darkness nor the silence, but the inability to see anything that was getting on his nerves.

As the Master had told us the turns became sharper and more frequent as we went on. We were constantly making half turns on our heels, twisting now to the right, now to the left, and feeling that the passage was rapidly becoming narrower. Once, while Ganimet was lumbering behind me he collided with the wall and I heard him cursing softly and rubbing his skin. We all carried chronometers with luminous dials. I pulled out mine and glancing at it found that we had been walking for about two hours. Suddenly the Master sharply tapped his staff on the rock and cried out, 'Halt!'

The silence was broken as if by a pistol shot and the echoes were awakened into a hundred repetitions all around us while some great vault above our heads rang with them. The word spoken by the Master was as curt as a military command at drill or the challenge of a sentry.

'Light your lamps,' commanded the Master. As we did so the Master lighted his own and as he turned it in front of us and on both sides of us we understood why he had spoken the single word of command so sharply and curtly. Right in front of us and almost at our feet opened a yawning chasm the bottom of which could not be seen by the light of our lamps. There was a sharp turn and a narrow passage not more than two feet in width with the wall on one side and the gaping abyss on the other. Several yards beyond this place was a cave in the wall with room for about ten people to stand with ease. If at the point where the Master had called for a halt we had taken a false step we would have been precipitated into the dark fissure and probably instant death. We never understood how the Master spotted this point of danger so unerringly, whether by counting the number

of turns, or by a sixth sense about which we knew nothing. The Master next held up his light and examined our faces and he noticed at once that the nerves of Ganimet were somewhat shaken. Holding his staff and lamp in one hand he took one of Ganimet's hands in the other and carefully guided him to the recess in the rock wall. We followed and stood near the Master who had halted again.

The Master said, 'Let us rest here a little for as we proceed the passage will become more difficult. Ganimet is as brave as the bravest of us but we all have our temperamental differences and a bold man will sometimes shrink from an ordeal which a less courageous man will face without any emotion. Almost every one who comes here for the first time is somewhat daunted, though the feeling of nervousness passes after some time.'

'I am not a bit afraid,' said Ganimet, 'but I had a queer feeling in the dark.'

Maruchi pulled out the instrument he had brought from Sipri and handed it to the Master.

'What is this?' asked Ashan.

'It is an instrument which the scientists of Sipri presented me and it enables one to see through walls and solid obstacles.'

'But not in the dark?' questioned the Master with a smile.

'No, Master, how can we see without light?'

The Master gave me his light and peered through the glass, following the line of the light.

'It is very good,' he remarked, 'and one sees better than with the naked eye.'

He then smiled and looked intently into the eyes of Maruchi for a moment after which he placed the palm of his right hand at the back of Maruchi's head and said, 'Now see.'

Maruchi saw. His eyes seemed to go right through the wall of solid rock and to vision great distances. Slowly his eyes widened and the look of wonder in them grew, and he cried out, 'I see what no instrument could ever enable me to see, for neither darkness nor distance is a bar to my vision. The rock is as transparent as a plate of glass and the darkness is dispelled by a beautiful, mellow light in which all things can be clearly seen. The path on which we are standing goes on twisting and turning, now up, now down, now sheer along crevasses whose great depth I see quite clearly and again touching the high roof of the immense vaulted dome overhead. My God! There are sudden gaps which I do not know how we are to cross, but there are other paths in various directions, leading to the vast central hollow which must be Raba. Yes, there are dense masses of vapour rising slowly with many shapes appearing and disappearing like shadows. Through the deep chasms run streams of water with many living things leaping and sporting in them. In some places there are huge caverns like cauldrons with the water foaming, seething, hissing in them and running out through numerous narrow channels.

So formidable are the obstacles at many places along the path that I cannot imagine how we are going to get over them. Besides these dreadful places I can see sights of great beauty, luxurious moss and lichen clinging to the rock walls, strange and beautiful flowers, long, slender stalactites of a dazzling whiteness hanging from the roof of the caverns.'

The Master drew back his hand from behind the head of Maruchi, and at once, as Maruchi explained to us afterwards, the light went out of his eyes. The Master handed back the instrument to Maruchi and said, 'Well?'

Maruchi looked at the Master with a new-born respect in his eyes and said, 'That was a miracle if ever there was one.'

'Yes,' observed the Master, 'you will call it by that name. But there are no miracles. There has been no violation of any law of nature. I have developed certain powers which are more or less latent in all of us but which are usually neglected. One of these powers I imparted to you for a brief space by my touch, that is all. Let us now resume our journey.'

'What about the insuperable obstacles on the way?' asked Maruchi in bewilderment.

'Obstacles exist to be overcome and those that you saw have been overcome and you also are going to get over them.'

The Master again led the way, Ganimet following him, the rest of us being in the same order as before. For a certain distance the going was easy and we walked rapidly until we came to a place where there was no passage beyond a narrow ledge on which we could just place our feet. We felt that if the rock could move it would not hesitate to push us into the abyss. The Master laid a firm hold of Ganimet's hand and led him beyond the ledge. Then he glanced back at us, 'If any of you feel giddy or need help tell me at once. This is no time for hesitation or a false courage. Trust yourselves like children to my hands.'

We crossed the ledge with caution but also with considerable trepidation. At every few steps there would be some fresh difficulty. Sometimes the rock roof over our heads was so low that we had to stoop until our hands touched the narrow path over which we were passing. At other places there were large pieces of rock blocking the passage and much too heavy to be removed. There was just a little space between them and the wall and we had to squeeze through with great difficulty. We had to negotiate steep ascents on which a single slip of the foot would have cost us our lives and immediately afterwards the path led down, down to a great depth. Fortunately, it was dry everywhere and there was no slippery ground. And all along the passage turned and curved and twisted at sharp angles. We were all brave men and we had to our credit a feat which had never before been attempted or accomplished, but we felt that every ounce of our courage and endurance was being spent in this

enterprise. If it had not been for the guidance of the Master, we would have been dead men at any stage of the passage. Besides the physical strain our nerves were getting frayed and ragged, though of course we never thought of giving in or confessing ourselves beaten.

Presently we came to what looked like an *impasse*. The Master came to a halt at a point where the passage came to an end revealing a pit beyond it. There was neither ledge nor a narrow passage to be seen. This was one of the gaps Maruchi had seen and it seemed obvious that we could proceed no further. Turning our lamps downwards we saw a gaping chasm with precipitous sides and a narrow rivulet at the bottom. We shivered at the prospect of having to descend into this pit and to clamber over on the other side. The Master, who was calm and unruffled as usual, said, 'Since you have come with me do not be dismayed by any difficulty. I am going to take you over to the other side, one by one, and all that you have to do is to trust me for your safety. Keep perfectly still and have faith.'

The next moment he stepped over the abyss holding Ganimet firmly by the hand. Ganimet trembled a little but he made no attempt to free himself or to shake off the hold of Ashan, who glided away with Ganimet and disappeared in the dark. We had ceased to wonder at anything that the Master did and there was no exclamation of dismay when he and Ganimet passed out of sight. We had seen Narga rising bodily into the air and Narga was only a pupil. This was the Master.

Presently the Master came back and taking Maruchi by the hand led him through the air to the other side. In this manner all of us were ferried over the airy channel and found ourselves standing at the entrance of another passage similar to the one we had left behind. It was fairly wide admitting of two or three persons walking abreast. The Master walked ahead as usual with Ganimet close at his side. The Master walked briskly and we had to quicken our pace to keep up with him. As we hurried forward we noticed for the first time a peculiar sound coming to our ears. It was not like any sound that we had ever heard before. Perhaps, it was slightly reminiscent of the sound

heard from a distance of the surf beating on the sea-shore. Its particular characteristic was its fullness. It was not loud and it did not assail the ear like the roar of breakers or the thunder of a cataract. There was nothing like a detonation or an abrupt, sharp sound that startles a man. There were no sharp or flat notes, nothing like a crescendo or diminuendo. As we went on the volume of sound became clearer but there was no appreciable rise in the scale. It seemed to fill us, the passage, the vaults and the caverns. There were no echoes, no reverberations, no resilience. It was a large sound, steady, constant and uniform, and profoundly impressive. It was like a symphony played on a single instrument without any variation in the notes. It was deep, sustained and moved the heart to its depths. At the same time, it was strangely unreal and impalpable. It reminded one of a phantom orchestra in which the ghostly players played the same tune on the same instrument. And yet this curious sound was wholly free from the tedium of monotony. It did not pall for an instant on the ear and was not in the least tiresome. It was a sound of strange power for it held us spell-bound and we found ourselves in the grip of a fascination that left us speechless. We asked no questions until the Master said in his calm, passionless voice, 'You have seen Raba; now you hear him.'

I said, 'We have never heard anything like this before.'

'Nor have you seen anything like Raba.'

Which was true. We again proceeded in silence as before. The spell of Raba was upon us. First, it was the eye that had shown us strange forms on the vapour screen of Raba like the dissolving views on the screen of the cinema; now the spell came through the ear and we seemed to be moving in a dream in which we saw nothing but only heard that sound that filled everything. On and on we went, oblivious of all our surroundings except that all-pervading sound. Obstacle after obstacle passed and we made our way forward with no other thought than a desire to know whence the sound proceeded and to what it was due. There were three or four other gaps on the way and we passed them all safely with the help of the Master.





# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

THE CONCEPTION OF GOD IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF AQUINAS. By Robert Leet Patterson, 21 S. Allen & Unwin, London.

The author has endeavoured to give an accurate account of the chief theses of Thomistic Natural Theology; he examines at length the arguments given by St. Thomas to prove the existence of God, as well as those he rejects, his theories on human knowledge of God, and on the relation between God and the created world. He makes a critical study of these theories and arguments, and gives freely his opinion on their value and logical connection. He raises indeed many objections, but one notes with pleasure that, there appears all through the work a genuine effort to understand and appreciate the point of view of St. Thomas. Thomist philosophers, however, cannot be expected to accept all the author's conclusions, and many of those who have a first-hand knowledge of scholastic philosophy will be surprised at some of his remarks, such as, for instance, that "the doctrine of the degrees of being ..... infects the entire universe of finite beings with some degree of unreality." A deeper preliminary study of the Metaphysics of St. Thomas, for instance, of his theory on the analogical nature of the concept of being, would have helped him to understand better the answers St. Thomas gives to some questions concerning God, and would at least have prevented him from finding too easily that lack of logical sequence which he discovers rather frequently in the theories he criticizes. A more extensive acquaintance with the works of ancient and modern exponents of Thomism might also have proved useful: the bibliography at the end of the volume and the references given in the course of the work, contain the mention of some standard works on the subject treated by the author, but we think that his study would have gained in solidity and authority if others, equally if not more important, had been consulted.

C. GILLET

CULTIVATION OF BULBOUS PLANTS IN INDIA. By K. S. Gopalaswamiengar. Published under the auspices of the Mysore Horticultural Society, pp. 108. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a very useful book by a practical

horticulturist for both amateur and professional horticulturists. The author's suggestions are practical, and seem to be equally well suited to the hot and damp climate of Bengal.

G. C. CHATTERJEE

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SHIVAJI II. (SHAHU) & THE LIFE OF MALHAR RAO HOLKAR. By the late Muntazim Bahadur M. W. Burwey, B.A.

With these two biographies the late Mr. Burwey brought to a close the series of lives of historical personages he began writing years ago. While appreciating the author's capacity for labour we regret it should not have been better utilized.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Burwey has cared more for quantity than for quality. He tries to treat a theme of which he has but a superficial knowledge. The main sources from which he draws his information for the two 'Lives' of 'Shahu' and 'Malhar Rao Holkar' are the Bakhars, Grant Duff, Rao Saheb Sardesai's Riyasats (vols. 2 and 3). History writing is no longer in that medieval stage when a writer with a slight acquaintance with the Bakhars and Grant Duff, could palm himself off as a historian. Thousands of original documents, letters and other papers have been published by Rajwade, Khare, Parasnis, Sardesai and the B. I. S. Mandal of Poona and unless they are studied, digested and properly used, it is not possible in these days to bring out even a readable book on Maratha history. A cursory glance through the book is sufficient to convince any one that the author has not taken the trouble to study the results of the latest research on which he claims to base his work.

The inaccuracies and mistakes that have crept are legion and mar both the productions. While a historian is allowed to have latitude for his view we expect him to spare no pains in placing facts in their true perspective and in giving a correct sequence of events. Mr. Burwey lacking the necessary preparation for the task, ventures to commit a sort of gross errors. To cite but a single instance the author in the *Life of Malhar Rao Holkar* would have his unwary reader believe that the fateful battle of Panipat was fought on 7th January 1761,

in complete disregard that this date has long been discredited.

Then in detailing the exploits of the Peshwas in his hyperbolic and at times almost hysterical style, the author appears to have forgotten that the subject-matter of his work is Shahu and Malhar Rao, and not the Peshwas. The author is not also familiar with the use of the vehicle in which he discusses the subject. Misuse of phrases is apparent throughout and it would be simply waste of time to dwell on such mistakes. Both the works require being done by more capable scholars. In their present form they cannot be recommended to readers as authoritative productions.

V. G. DIGBE

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR:  
edited by Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B. A. Published by  
Government Central Press, Bombay.

More than twenty-five years back the well-known oriental scholar, Mr. A.M.T. Jackson, I.C.S. advocated a complete publication of the Peshwa Daftar by means of calendars of documents prior to 1818, and requested the Government of Bombay to take the work in hand with an emphatic observation that no Government in India owes a collection of vernacular State papers that approaches in interest those of the Poona Daftar. At last the Government of Bombay backed by the patriotic zeal of Maharashtra have fulfilled a pledge. A great work has most worthily been carried to completion by Mr. Sardesai and his band of enthusiastic assistants to whom the whole country owes a debt of gratitude. As regards the importance and interest of the Selections edited by Mr. Sardesai it is enough to say that researches in the history of India in the eighteenth century have been made altogether impossible without enough knowledge of Marathi to read these documents. They not only form the backbone of the history of the Maratha confederacy during this period, but also constitute an important supplement to the history of North Indian principalities that arose on the ruins of the Mughal Empire.

What we admire most is the extraordinary promptitude of the editor in publishing these volumes. Within less than four years thirty-two volumes have already been placed before the public, and thirteen more threaten to take the dilatory reviewer by surprise. These valuable publications deserve much more than an advertisement and a few words of praise (or otherwise), which make up the usual book reviews in most of the journals of the present day. We indeed owe a word of apology to Mr. Sardesai as well as to our readers for unusual delay in reviewing nine volumes (Nos. 20-29) of these Selections. This has been partly due to an indiscretion on the part of the reviewer who being a student of this period of history felt tempted to write short notices on the more important volumes of this series. Circumstances compel us to be more moderate, we will within the limited space of a review notice the nature and extent of historical matter in each volume. In this number we propose to take up "The Bhonsles of Nagpur" (No. 20), and "Balajirao Peshwa and Events in the North," (No. 21).

The Bhonsles of Nagpur perhaps deserve the foremost place among the builders of the Greater Maharashtra outside the Maratha country proper. Because, nowhere except in the country under the direct rule of the Bhonsles did the Maratha government work as a civilizing force.

The volume under review, however, deals only with the military and diplomatic affairs of the Bhonsles, their relations with the Satara darbar, diplomatic tussle and brush of arms with the Peshwas, and a tripartite struggle between the Nizam, the Peshwa and the Bhonsles for the possession of Berar. The history of the Bhonsles has a particular interest for the people of Bengal. But unfortunately this volume does not throw enough light on the Maratha conquest of Orissa and the raids of Raghujii Bhonsle into Bengal. It is doubtful whether Maratha records will at all reveal horrors of loot and rapine that marked the track of Maratha armies in Northern India. Of their doings in Bengal we have a vivid picture in a Bengali epic, *Marashtrapuran*, which, along with the Persian history *Syar-ul-mutakhhharin* and the recently discovered *Tarikh-i-Mahabhat Jang* (Sir J. N. Sarkar's Collection) form an important source of history of this period. Some of the letters in this volume clearly prove that Peshwa Balajirao and his successors regarded the Bhonsles as a greater menace to their power than even the Nizam or the English. Among many misfortunes which Maharashtra owed to them, the destruction of the growing Bhonsle power in Eastern India was the most deplorable.

2. Selections No. 21. *Balajirao Peshwa and Events in the North*. pp. 221; Rs. 3-8.

This volume contains 209 letters which supplement in many important details the main thread of events described in No. 2, namely, "Letters and despatches relating to the Battle of Panipat, 1747-1761." Our Panipat literature has also lately been enriched by Sir Jadunath's fortunate discovery of a life of Nawab Najibuddaula by a Hindu official of the Nawab. It is difficult to form an estimate of the historical importance and accuracy of these letters till they are studied in the light of contemporary Persian histories of Northern India. Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his latest work, "Decline and Fall of the Mughal Empire" (Vol. I) has shown the way of extracting substance of these letters by subjecting them to critical scrutiny. Many obscure points of pre-Panipat affairs described in the letters of the volume under review have been cleared up in the recently published thesis of Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, M.A., Ph. D. on "The First two Nawabs of Oudh."

This volume of letters throw interesting sidelight on every historical personage who figures prominently during this period. Let us begin with the Peshwa Balajirao himself. Balajirao in a letter (No. 40) asks Sindia and Holkar to return to the south with their forces (12-2-1751 A.D.) as he had planned a campaign "to wipe out the Nizam and clear the country of Muhammadan rule."

This reminds us of a passage in Ghulam Ali's *Imad-us-sadat*. The Peshwa writes to Bhao Sahib: "Through the blessings of Shri Bhawaniji, I shall make Qandahar empty of living beings, and leave no seed of the Afghan race on earth...we shall keep them (Shuja-ud-daula and Mir Jafar Ali Khan like pigeons stripped of their feathers..." (*Imad*, 78). The much-maligned Bhao Sahib appears in a better light in these letters. He was not responsible for the abandonment of the traditional Maratha guerilla tactics in the Panipat campaign. Letters of Rajah Keshavrao prove that Malhar Rao Holkar's guerilla tactics having sadly failed against Abdali, Balajirao was advised by his agents in the North to send a large army with a heavy park of artillery organized

on the European model. Malhar Rao Holkar seems to be unworthy of the reputation he enjoyed with his contemporaries. On more than one occasion he sold himself and his national interest for vile lucre and took under his protecting wings the greatest enemy of the Marathas in the North, namely, Najibuddaula whom he made his *Dharmaputra*. His envy and mean jealousy sacrificed brave Dattaji Sindia in the battle of Badli. His rapacity alienated the Rajputs, and the licentious habits of his son Khande Rao Holkar\* made the Maratha name repugnant in Rajputana. Incidentally it may be remarked here that *Vamsabhaskar* (Annals of Rajputana in verse by the Bundi poet-historiographer Surajmal Charan) embodies a more detailed, if not more accurate, account of the Maratha activities in Rajputana during this period. Letter No. 31 of Selections No. 2 read along with pp. 3607-24 of the above-mentioned epic will substantially bear out the truth of this remark.

Nos. 2, 21, and 27 are more than useful supplements to the Court and provincial histories of the Mughal Empire from 1740-1761. They sometimes furnish the only source of information about many episodes of the life of Surajmal Jat and the activities of the Gujar chiefs, Seyda and Jaita, in the Doab. Their corroborative testimony places above doubt the historicity of Sudan Kavi's *Sujan-charitra* (a fragmentary biography of Surajmal Jat in Hindi verse). It is hardly necessary to add that every news-sheet does not contain equally authentic news, some of them being mere report of rumours or unauthenticated news. There are several news-letters in these Selections reporting details of Nawab Abul Mansur Khan Safdarjung's defeat at the hands of the Pathans under Ahmad Khan Bangash in the battle of Ram Chatauni (Sept. 23, 1750). But no authentic account of this battle can be based on these letters alone, as a critical narrative of this battle based on original Persian sources supplemented with *Sujan-charitra* clearly demonstrates.

Let us take up another episode, say, the siege of the Jat fort of Kuhmir by the Marathas (Jan. 1754-May 1754). A news-letter written by Purnashottam Mahadeo from Delhi (17th July, 1754) gives a summary of events of the siege of Kuhmir and subsequent developments at Delhi down to the dethronement of Ahmad Shah and the accession of Alamgir II (2nd June, 1754). But nowhere in this letter is the death of Malhar's son Khande Rao Holkar during the siege of Kuhmir mentioned. The Waka-i-Shah Alam II records Khande Rao's death under the date, Feb. 27, 1754. This is corroborated by several other Persian histories, and also by *Bhao Sahibchi Bakhar* (p. 4). This raises the question how and where did Khande Rao meet his death? Another letter (No. 59 of Selections No. 21, p. 68) written by Holkar's Diwan Gangadhar Yeshwant breathes mortal enmity towards the Jats, and for bombarding a fort

of theirs (apparently Kuhmir) he requisitions guns from Indore and Ghashara. His orders are, he writes, to extirpate the Jats (*Jatacha nisnabul karawa*). Was it due to Khande Rao's death? *Bhao Sahibchi Bakhar* tells us that Malhar took a mighty oath to commit suicide if he would not slay Surajmal and pull down the fort of Kuhmir. Problems like this, though of minor importance, may make fresh researches into the Peshwa Daftar quite necessary. Now that Mr. Sardesai has laboriously cut a path, it will not be difficult for those who care to study these records by following his method, scientific and thorough in every detail. We shall notice subsequent volumes of these Selections with further introductory remarks.

KALIKA-RANJAN QANUNGO

MY GUEST—H. P. BLAVATSKY: *By Francesca Arundale. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

In this booklet, Miss Arundale gives an account of her first acquaintance with H. P. Blavatsky, which subsequently deepened into a discipleship. The narration is quite interesting. The anecdotes about epistolary correspondence with the Masters and similar other incidents (Ch. III) are probably not meant for the lay reader.

THE BEARING OF RELIGIOUS IDEALS ON SOCIAL REORGANIZATION: *By Dr. Annie Besant. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This is a lecture by Dr. Annie Besant. Like her other writings and lectures, it is marked by a thorough grasp of the subject and an inimitable style and eloquence.

AJNANA (or Theory of Ignorance): *By Messrs. G. R. Malkani, R. Das and T. R. V. Murti. Published by Luxac & Co., London.*

This book contains three independently written essays on the same subject, *viz.*, the theory of ignorance in the Vedanta philosophy. Although all the writers draw practically upon the same fountain-head, *viz.*, the writers of the Advaita Vedanta school, yet their conclusions are not quite the same. That this is so ought not to cause any surprise. The subject of *Ajnana* or *Avidya* bristles with difficulties and the original writers themselves have not given us any one definite and uniform conclusion. Is *ajnana* an entity or a mere negation of being? Is it in Brahma or outside of Him? Is it purely subjective or has it any objective reality? If it is real, then how can it be reconciled with the absoluteness of Brahma? If it is not real, how can it account for the appearance of the world? These and many other questions have been raised both by the opponents of Advaitism as well as by its advocates. In the essays before us, we have an examination of these queries.

That a mere logical analysis of the concept *ajnana* will land us in empty subtleties, is perhaps proved by the first writer. The conclusion to which his analysis takes us is that "in the Absolute Reality, which is our true Self, the whole realm of the objective, and also that ignorance which may be said to be the cause of the appearance of the latter, are cancelled. Even this cancellation must be supposed to be cancelled" (p. 68). This is equivalent to asking a man to believe that not only is he not different from the Absolute but he

\* After the suicide of Maharajah Iswari Singh of Jaipur, Khande Rao thought of seizing the harem of Iswari Singh. Alarmed at this, eleven concubines of his entered fire, and all his Ranis were about to perform *jauhar*. They were saved only by the intervention of the brave chief of Bundi, Ummed Singh, who was at this time present in the Maratha camp. See *Vamsabhaskar*, pp. 3615-17.

† Dr. Ashirbadi Lal's *First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, pp. 157-163 (The Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow, 1933).



does not even think himself to be so different, and not only is there no world but he does not even seem to see one around him. The individuals' only bondage, we are told, is ignorance, but ignorance is not a fact. Does it not mean then that there is no bondage? And if there is no bondage, what then is the utility of *Moksa-sastra* or *Vedanta*? The barrenness of such a conclusion is obvious.

The crux of the whole problem is whether we can admit a category which is neither existence nor non-existence and regard *ajnana* as belonging to this third category of the Indescribable (*anirvacanīya*). If we cannot, then, *ajnana* and all that is deduced from it must be regarded as simply non-existent. And hence the world and the experience of the world must both be regarded as non-existent. This conclusion may satisfy the strict logic of contradiction,—a thing cannot both be and not be;—but it leaves the mind in a perfect intellectual vacuum. On the other hand, if we allow the possibility of a thing which is neither existent nor non-existent—neither real nor unreal—then obviously we allow the mind to travel beyond strict logic and take up a position akin to mysticism. This is the conclusion to which the second two writers incline.

The question has been approached by the three thinkers from somewhat different points of view. And by putting their views together they have given us a conspectus of all that might possibly be said on the subject. The book is thus an important addition to the growing literature on Vedanta Philosophy.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

ANGLO-CHINESE RELATIONS DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES: By Earl H. Pritchard, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XVII, Nos. 1-2.

RURAL COMMUNITY TYPES: By E. T. Hiller, Faye E. Corner, Wendell L. East. Vol. XVI, No. 4.

These two monographs form a contribution to the problem of cultural contact in social anthropology.

A detailed description has been given, in the first, of how the relations between the Chinese and the foreigners have been changing in the course of the last two or three centuries. At first the Chinese were perfectly friendly towards the latter; but their bullying nature and schemes of exploitation turned the attitude in their disfavour, until the Chinese have come to treat them with bitter animosity. Differences in cultural character, and temperament have also contributed towards this separation. From what the author describes, it appears that these differences in culture, *i. e.*, manners and customs, laws, habits of life, etc.—have not really been the cause of the original separatist tendencies.

It first came into being on account of the imperialistic undertakings of the European Powers. And when once the friendly feeling disappeared, the differences in culture came to occupy the focus of attention and further accentuated cultural hardening on both sides. Instead of friendly fusions taking place, the spirit of reactionary nationalism made that fusion still more impossible.

In the second monograph, a description is given of two rural communities; one of which is mobile, while the other is more sedate. Both of them have been lagged on to the fast flowing city life of the

United States. Changes have therefore come about in the two, and the present monograph is a study of the difference in the rates of these cultural changes. Our author comes to the conclusion that where the culture is non-mobile, where individualistic tendencies are not sufficiently developed and the community lives a more or less colourless, average and uniform life, changes due to contact are much less than where individualism is a creed and where social integration is consequently feeble.

And in this matter of difference in the character, the economic occupations of the people are the most important contributory factor. The rural non-mobile community in question live a hard life in a barren soil, where they have to put forth the best of their energies to raise a few bushels of crops. The nature of their economic occupation forces co-operation, a levelling down of culture and the development of a like mentality. But in the more mobile community described, the occupations are of a varied nature and so the growth of individual differences has taken place to a large extent. The latter live by occupations in the city, which offers an infinitely larger variety than life by agriculture on a barren soil.

The authors show us by detailed comparison how the rate of change in these two communities has been very different from one another. But the economic factor, with its resulting mental attitude, has not been the only factors concerned in cultural change. The life of the city dwellers has attractions of its own, and these have eaten their way into the mind of the sedate community, and, as a result, their economic occupations too have been changing. Thus, the occupations alone do not determine the mental character of a people, but their mental character also determines the choice of occupations, where such a choice is possible. This conclusion is of the utmost significance in Anthropology, as we know from its effects on the theory of Economic Determinism.

Between the two, the first monograph suffers from an inadequacy of theoretical discussion, but the second makes up for that deficiency by the depth of its observations. From the theoretical point of view, therefore, the latter will remain as an important contribution, of a basic nature, to Social Anthropology.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

CHATS BEHIND BARS: C. Rajagopalachar. S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras, 1931. Price 6 Annas only.

"Stone walls do not a prison make," this has been recently verified in the case of many Civil Disobedience prisoners who had been holding classes inside the jail or pursuing their favourite studies for which their busy life outside had hardly left them time. Bengali literature has also profited incidentally, as books on political science have thus been composed in the vernacular which are in the nature of a distinct gain to the literature. One feels tempted to think that such talks, by a well-known outsider or by a fellow-prisoner, should be made a principal item in any programme for prison reform.

Sjt. Rajagopalachar availed himself of his stay in prison during 1930 to talk to his young fellow-prisoners on different topics, and some of the "chats" taken down in shorthand by one who listened, are now published in the brochure under review. The scope of these talks is wide, embracing 'bolshevism' and 'stars', 'atoms' and 'Socrates,' and they show—

specially 'Bolshevism'—sense, moderation and judgment tempering the speaker's idealism. The book will serve as an excellent guide to popular lectures and will be found useful by those who want to take a hand in adult education.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

AMONG THE HINDUS—A STUDY OF HINDU FESTIVALS: By R. Manohar Lall. Minerva Press, The Mall, Calcutta. Crown 8vo: pages i-XXVI+1-238. Price Rs. 2-12 net.

The book under review gives a popular description of twenty-two festivals prevalent among the Hindus of different parts of India. The author has made an attempt to note a good many local variations frequently presented by one and the same festival. But the names of the localities in which particular variations are found to occur have not in all cases been indicated. Conflicting and in cases novel stories regarding the origin of many of the festivities have been narrated unfortunately without any reference to their sources.

The work apparently was not conceived on a scientific plan and it is found to share the defects of various other works of the type which are characterized by superficiality, lack of strict accuracy of details, hasty generalizations of individual cases, lamentable disregard of the inner spirit of the things and consequent undercurrent of unsympathetic attitude. A book of this class free from all these defects is almost a desideratum but is eagerly awaited not only by students of Anthropology but also by the general reader as well as the Hindu public as the practices are fast dying out and require to be faithfully noted. As instances of inaccurate statements in the work we may cite here at least two. It is stated (p. 193) that in Bengal the Durgapuja is not, though it should be, performed in the spring. Everyone having any familiarity with Bengal, however, knows that Vasanti Puja (Spring worship of Durga) is not at all unpopular there. Another peculiar statement is that on the Saraswati Puja day in Bengal one does no work—'one is not supposed to go even to bazaar' (p. 32). Curious spelling of Sanskrit words in this work by an Indian writer is really surprising. To give instances Ayodhya is spelt Ajudhiya (p. 56), Kausalya as Kausaliya (p. 63), Mahisasur as Maheshasur (p. 190), Duryodhana as Daryodhan, Kuru as Karu (p. 204).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

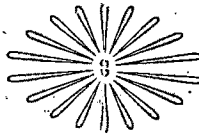
## SANSKRIT

PADMANANDA MAHAKAVYA: By Amara-candra. Suri. Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Volume No. LVIII. Critically edited with Introductions, Indices and Appendices by H. R. Kapadia, M.A., Post-Graduate Lecturer at Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, formerly Assistant Professor of Mathematics, Wilson College, Bombay. Royal 8vo. pp. 1-100+1-668. Price Rs. 14.

The Padmananda Mahakavya is one of the many works which have for their subject-matter the description of the life-stories of the twenty-four Jinas or Tirthankaras. The work, however, as generally known at present and as published in the present volume is incomplete and describes in 19 cantos the life-story of the first Jina alone, reserving two cantos—the first and the last—to benedictions, genealogical accounts of the author and account of the origin of the poem. The MSS. of the work do not appear to have been thoroughly searched and collated so that it cannot be definitely stated if any other portion of the work—if not the whole of it—exists anywhere. It cannot also be decided if some portions of it were the composition of another poet as would seem to be the case at least with the first and last canto. It is singularly unfortunate that one of the oldest MSS. in India and almost a contemporary MS. of the work, stated to have been copied in 1241 A. D. and deposited in Cambay does not also seem to have been consulted.

The name of the work is a bit curious as it does not refer to the subject-matter dealt within it. The work is so named as it was composed to please Padma, the minister of Visaladeva or Visvaladeva as he is called here (XIX, 49-50). The edition has two introductions—one in Sanskrit and one in English. In the first of four appendices is published another work of the present author dealing with the same theme, e.g., description of the life-story of the Tirthankaras. One appendix covering sixty-five pages gives the index of the first lines of the verses of the work. The analytical digest covers forty-five pages and the detailed table of contents runs to eight pages. The publication has considerably increased in volume to provide space for this variety of materials resulting in the raising up of its price for the general reader. Students of Jinalogy will, however, be pleased to find here an unpublished work along with a mass of useful matter.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI





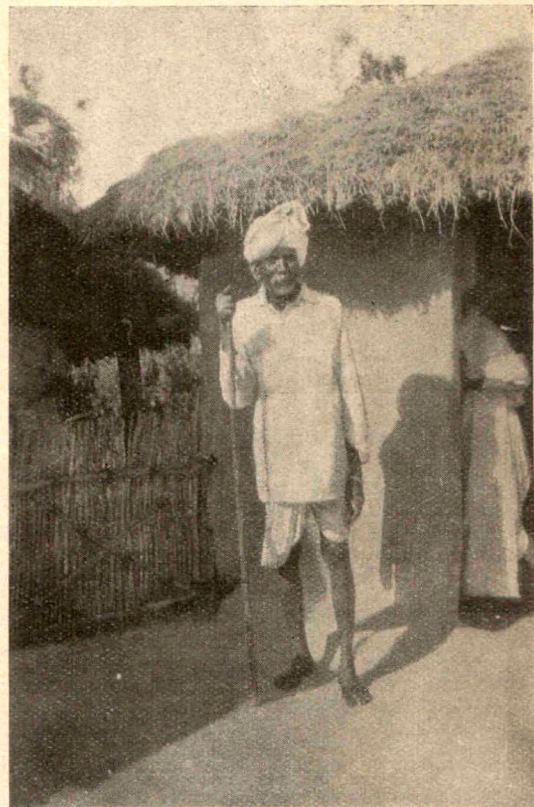
## GONDS

By VERRIER ELWIN

**C**OL. T. C. Hodson, now Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, has recently written to *The New Statesman* about the extraordinary neglect of the hill and forest tribes in the Prime Minister's Communal Award. In the Central Provinces, although on a population basis these tribes should have a representation of eighteen seats on the C. P. Council, they are actually given only one. For the whole of India, the census of 1921 gave a total of over sixteen million of the tribes folk, and competent judges estimate that this number must now have risen to eighteen million. Statistics in this field are very difficult owing to the fact that many of the tribesmen return themselves as Hindus at the time of census. For this reason the numbers adopted by the Lothian Committee are far too small. The Lothian Committee, on the other hand, has made reparation for this mistake by advocating representation by election on the Councils. The C. P. Franchise Committee declared that the "forest tribes are an extremely backward community and cannot expect any representation at all through the general constituencies. They should have a spokesman and as no method of electing him is possible, provision should be made by which the Governor can nominate a suitable person." But the Lothian Commission would not have this. "It is possible," they say, "that an electorate formed of the headmen of the tribes would be sufficiently intelligent to see that their representative, even if not an aboriginal himself, would be capable of looking after their interests in the legislatures." It appears to me that it will be a deplorable thing if the hill and forest tribes are still further isolated from the rest of India by being barred from the general electorates, and if they have to depend for the solution of their problems, which are as great as or greater than those of any other community, on a single nominated spokesman. In addition to their representation in the

provincial legislatures, Mr. N. M. Joshi has urged that the tribesmen should be allotted at least ten seats in the Federal Legislature.

I have prefaced my article with a brief discussion of the legislatures because this matter of the representation of the tribes is



A Gond Village-headman

symptomatic of the astonishing ignorance and neglect of them that exists in every corner of India. Here are some eighteen million of the most interesting and the most ancient people in India forgotten, despised and callously ignored. My own opinion is that the problem of the hill and forest tribes is as urgent as that of the untouchables: in certain districts it is even greater. In the





Gond women gleaning a scanty harvest after a cyclone

Mandla district, for example, there is hardly any problem of untouchability: everything centres round the Gonds. Society has sinned against the so-called primitive peoples just as iniquitously as it has sinned against the so-called untouchables. Yet the one has become a problem of all-India importance: the other remains buried in oblivion. Indian national workers and reformers—with the exception of the heroic little band associated with the Bhil Seva Mandal—have neglected the tribes shamefully. The Congress has neglected them. The Liberals have neglected them. Khadi workers have neglected them. Workers nowadays must be in the cities, in the centres of political excitement. In the very nature of things, the forest tribes can provide no stage for political heroics. Not the waving of flags and the shouting of “Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai,” but the broom, the quinine bottle and the *First Reader* are the uninspiring symbols of a work that can give no quick returns and will perhaps offer no

results for decades. Let the great movements go on; they will shake the world in their own fashion; I only ask for a handful of men who will be prepared to succour the children of poverty who starve and die in misery and ignorance. Yet out of the thousands of graduates produced by the universities of India every year, there is scarcely one in the year who comes forward to give himself to what is the hardest and yet the most beautiful of all labours.

One of the largest of the forest tribes are the Gonds, three million strong, who live all over the forest-clad Satpuras, in the distant and malaria-smitten *jagirs* of Chhindwara, by the wooded rivers of Betul, amongst the lovely hills of Seoni, where Kipling's Mowgli hunted with the wolf-pack, in the wild mountain strongholds of Bastar State, in Mandla, “the Ultima Thule of civilization, the dreaded home of the tiger, the Gond and the devil,” in Chanda, in Wardha, in Narsingpur, and in Assam.

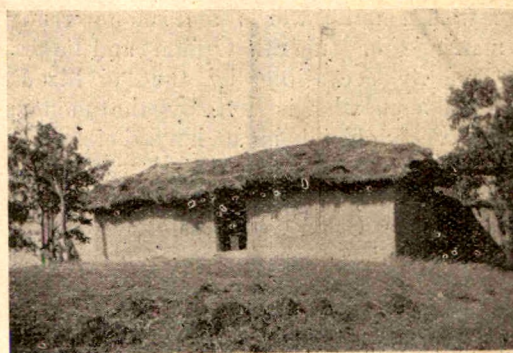
The Gonds, with their Dravidian tongue and nickname of Rawanwansi, seem to have invaded the Central Provinces from the south, but they themselves have no memory of this. In Gondi, there is a word for “to forget” but no word for “to remember.” Genuine traditions and legends are scanty and of very limited diffusion. In Betul there is a tradition of their genesis. The first boy and the first girl were hatched from eggs laid by the Singamali birds in the ancient ocean. The ocean mother gave them the forest for their dwelling and there they made a house whose cross-bars were of jay's feathers and the rafters a peacock's tail. Then the first girl was tempted as Eve was in Eden, and from the eating of the forbidden plant there sprang the Gonds and a whole world of woe. Later, but still in the shadow-land of myth, rises the noble legend of Rai Linga, hero and king of the forest, whose story has been told by Mr. Trench in the most romantic book of grammar to be published from an official press. Rai Linga is King Arthur, Rai Linga is Louis of France, the very perfect gentle knight, an incarnation born of a human queen miraculously, bursting from the crown of her head. But the Queen decides that a curse has been born to her,



and she asks two girls to take the child away, and bury him alive. But when they look at him he smiles at them, and they hide him under a banyan tree instead. The Queen of the Vultures rises from her mountain and goes out in search of food. She picks up Rai Linga and carries him high above the hills, but finding him alive, dares not eat him, and drops him instead into the lap of Queen Barren, the lonely consort of King Sterile. There is great joy in that sad court, but as the boy grows he wanders with bow and arrow in the forest, until at last he comes to his birthplace and his mother. She makes him king, setting him over his six elder brothers, who in jealousy try to kill him. Failing in this, they go out on a trading expedition, leaving Rai Linga with their wives. By them his purity is assailed night after night, but he never yields, and in despair they take him to the jungle to shoot green pigeon and strip him naked there, yet he speaks no word of shame. At last the women shut themselves up with an angry cat, and get fever from its bites and scratches. When their husbands return, they declare that Rai Linga has dishonoured them, and the brothers burn the boy to death in an iron grain-bin. But three days later, when they go to perform the funeral rites, they find him alive, for over the sinless death has no power. Then they realize the guilt of the women and raise Rai Linga to great honour, and despite his protests they tie bars to their wives legs and yoking bullocks to them drive them round and round the village until they die. Then Rai Linga sets out in search of fire. He finds fire in the forest, and new queens for his brothers. But he himself refuses to marry. "Do your royal and worldly business" he says,—"I may not stay." So he embraces them all and vanishes, returning to his own heavenly abode. There is another and different version of this story, current in other parts of the country.

It is not till the fourteenth century that the Gonds enter authentic history, when we find Gond kingdoms established in Betul, Chhindwara, Mandla and Chanda. The Gond rule lasted for two or three centuries, and under it the country prospered. It is no partisan upholder of the glories of India's

past, but a book published "Under the orders of the Central Provinces Administration" which says: "Under the easy eventless sway of the Gond princes the country prospered, its flocks and herds increased and the treasury filled. . . . An excellent rule of the Gond kings was to give to anyone who made a tank, a grant of land free of revenue of the land lying beneath it." A Settlement Officer of Chanda has written of the Gond rulers: "They left, if we forget the last few years, a well-governed and contented kingdom, adorned



Main building of the Gond Seva Mandal, Karanjia

with admirable works of engineering skill, and prosperous to a point which no after-time has reached." We need to remember such facts as these when we look at the present miserable lot of these one-time princes.

For today the romantic scenery of the Satpuras is but a lovely veil for a multitude of sorrows. Here if anywhere you will hear "the still, sad music of humanity." The Gond is one of the victim races of the earth. He is fair spoil for every comer. He lives on the frontiers of starvation; his average income is less than an anna a day: his children must go to work at the age of five: his food is the thin and scanty *pej* (rice boiled in water) almost unvaried; his clothes, such as they are, give no protection against the bitter mountain-cold of winter.

"The uniform 'e wore  
Was nothing much before,  
An' rather less than 'arf o' that be'ind."

Yet even this half-starved neglected skeleton is not forgotten by the liquor vendor, the money-lender and the tax-gatherer. He has to pay tax on his land, his ploughs,



his cattle, even the leaves on which he eats his food and the white earth which keeps his house neat and clean. He cannot supplement his diet as formerly by hunting for the game must be preserved for the pleasure of rich men. No one, nothing spares him. The harvest lies ripening in the sun—and in a few hours a cyclone will destroy it. The tiger, the bear and the panther rob the flocks; so sometimes they enter the huts at night and the children awake to a nightmare of eyes gleaming in the dark and sharp claws. More dangerous than the tiger, the bania comes with smooth words and money ready for marriage or funeral. Opium and liquor, made readily accessible by the "civilized" world, consume what is left by the money-lender. Petty officials must have their share of the spoil. Stripped of all recourses, utterly ignorant, with no friend at hand to help him, the Gond falls an easy prey to disease, and there are no public monies for his succour. So from generation to generation he weakens; malaria saps his energy; his sores and wounds rot undoctored; his little children die for lack of milk and food: the old king-ship and honour is less than a memory.

But with what courage and cheer this wonderful tribe face their sorrows! You will not find anywhere a people more humorous, more full of laughter, more utterly lovable. They still carry in their blood the dignity that they have forgotten. They have the carriage of princes. Their blood is very old.

It is almost impossible for us to understand the secret sources of this strength: we get a glimpse of it in the rhythm of the dance which is the real culture of the Gond: we can dimly guess at it as even our own unresponsive hearts are stirred by the great mystery of the forest. Mr. M. D. Patial, who for a time worked in our Mandal, writes about the influence of the forest: "With the Gond the soul seeks comfort and pours its sighs upon the bare bosom of the earth. It sobs and it finds audible echo and reiteration in the rustling of the leaves of the forest. It cries and distant birds and beasts fondle this cry of the soul within the torrent of sounds from their own wild songs: the sweet sounds

of unseen insects drown the tears the soul sheds in the flood of their incessant music. From his soul the fear of man disappears, and that is as much as heaven. The fear, for but a brief space of time, "of what ye shall eat, and what ye shall drink and wherewithal ye shall be clothed" also departs, and the soul wrapped in sadness (and nothing but sadness itself) through self-forgetfulness passes into a realm of pure delight and charm and gets a momentary vision of the delectable mountains. Freedom is restored and the fear of poverty is dispelled and converted into the joy of renunciation. The forest puts the Gond in touch with a life beyond the grinding monotony of an exacting and treacherous drudgery. Within the forest the pulse of his spirit begins to throb anew with a fresh and exalted blood that bursts forth in a momentary frolic in the presence of the Unknown, that One who is the Mother of Rest. It is a wild glamour that enthralls the Gond and beckons to him ceaselessly to enter the forest. And so it is that within the forest that the Gond experiences the highest of all mysteries, the mystery of the sympathy and love of the Unknown, One who caresses and soothes him with her calm patience and silent overtures. Within the forest he hears Nature sing with her multitudinous tongues the music in the soul of the Mysterious One, the lore of love breathing arduous rhapsodies. And there upon her bosom, like a babe, he utters his sigh, the infant's feeble gasp for destiny. He only feels it or has but a glimpse into these paths to the Unknown; it is not yet a vision, not yet even a dream; it is a moment's flash and the rest oblivion.

"Out of that moment's self-forgetfulness springs the life of the Gond. Religion, art, magic, music are all the children of the wild. The Gond seeks to reproduce at other places and seasons that first vague rapture in order to be always near those same realities; and in order also to ennoble his passions and senses to gain a meaning for these in terms of that pleasant Unknown. His endeavour is to test his life by that other One whose lullaby calmed him into a happy sleep and rest. His life, therefore, like that of all the other world, is founded upon dream



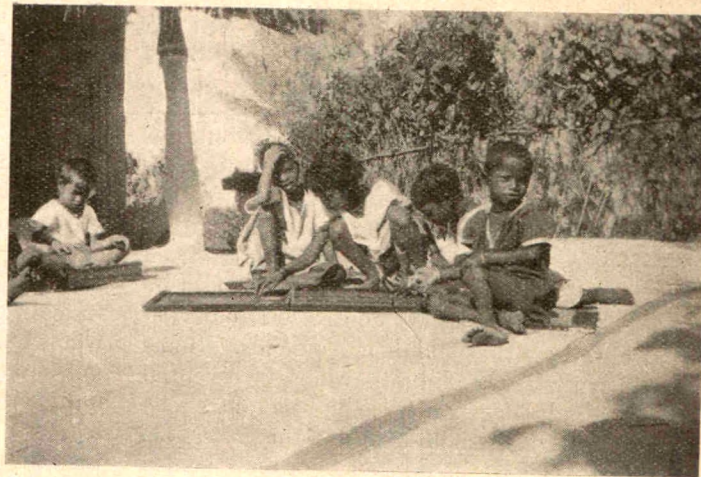
and ideals, and these visions are in turn founded upon a strange fondness for a soothing balm issuing from the heart of the Unknown."

This vivid picture, by one who has lived as a Gond and in intimate contact with them, should do something to dispel the idea so common in civilized circles that the "aboriginal" has a religion of pure fear. As far as my observation goes (but it does not go very far) it entirely supports Mr. Patial's picture. To this I shall return later.

There is no space here to give a complete account of Gond life and manners. They will be found very fairly described in Russell's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, though it must be remembered that this—like all books of the kind—give a largely external picture. The forest-dweller will not so easily render up his secrets. Such books are probably correct where they praise: inaccurate where they blame Indian customs and manners. But there is one other thing which I might describe—also elucidated for me by Mr. Patial—which I have not seen in any of the books. That is the Gond tradition of friendship. The Gonds have a high ideal of friendship and they have reduced it to a fine art. This is quite a different thing from sex relations, for these friendships are possible only between members of the same sex. There are in all five types of friend, arranged in an ascending scale of depth and intensity. The first is the *Bhajli*—the friendship of no very great depth, founded on mutual attraction. Second is the *Sakhi*, the "pal" who will always stand by you, with whom you wage a common war against your enemies. Third is the *Jawara*. We are now entering the realm of romance. David and Jonathon were *Jawaras*. At the very height of the scale come two types of friend—parallel to each other—the *Mahaprasad* and the *Gangajal*. Here the friends have entered into a depth of comradeship and affection that has passed beyond sentiment. You may have any number of friends of the first three

types, but you can only have one *Mahaprasad* and only one *Gangajal*. You never call your friend by his name but only by his title—*Sakhi* or *Jawara* or whatever it may be. There are ceremonies of initiation to each of these friendships. They very often, of course, are founded in childhood, and they often last for life.

Such is the charming, romantic, fascinating Gond. What are his needs? How can society make some reparation for centuries of exploitation and neglect? First and foremost I put education—provided it be of the right kind. The sort of thing at present served out by the District Boards is worse than useless for it simply gives a little civilization to the Gonds (and now whenever I use the word Gond it must be understood that I mean also his fifteen million fellow tribesmen whose needs are very similar) robs them of their fine spirit and brings them more into bondage than ever. The aim of education is the liberation of spirit: the effect of much village education at present seems to be simply to make people more willing victims



Gond Children using Montessori apparatus

of *begar*. Ruskin said that "All education is to make yourselves and your children capable of honesty and capable of delight." A simplified and economical Montessori education is what is needed, for this above all other forms of education possesses spiritual equality: it has the power of liberating the soul: and by quickening all the senses and



faculties of the child it makes him capable of delight. If the capacity for delight had been made the aim of all education—what different beings we would be. There is no point in taking any other education to the Gonds. But there is need also of adult education—geography, which is the mother of enlightenment; the knowledge of science and natural law to banish fear; the history not of kings and queens, of wars and rumours of wars, but of true greatness, of saint and prophet, and of humble folk who have dared and achieved great things; the knowledge of the laws of health; much music and many really good songs; gardening so that the diet can be varied, and the homes beautified with flowers; spinning for better clothes; carpentry for better houses. We want in short some such education as will banish fear and create delight.

The second need of the people is medicine. You cannot educate sick children. If you have ever seen a sick child, starving, racked by cough and fever, the bones projecting through the thin veil of flesh, tossing restlessly on the bare ground in a dark and dirty hut full of smoke, you will feel restless till India is adequately equipped with dispensaries and hospitals.

Taxation, especially the cattle tax which is much resented by the people, should be reduced. There should be efficient protection against the money-lender who fosters extravagance, and against the job-hunting lawyer who tries to fill his own pocket from the quarrels of the poor. There should be better supervision and control of outlying districts by the higher officials. Some restriction on the liquor traffic is essential for any advance among the people. The right of *shikar* should be restored to the villagers. There could not be a more selfish practice than that which deprives the starving peasant of the right to hunt for the sake of food, and gives it to the well-to-do town-dweller or official for the sake of pleasure. If there is to be hunting of animals at all, it must be because people are hungry, not because they want to enjoy one of the most degrading of human pleasures.

In conclusion, I want to make one or two minor points. Could we not all expunge

from our vocabulary the words "social uplift," "village uplift," etc. Who are we, to talk of the "uplift" of such as these? Is the thief to discuss the possibilities of the moral regeneration of his victim? We cannot uplift the poor. The most we can do is to offer them our penitence and love. Least of all can we uplift the forest tribes. Their blood is older than ours. They live closer to nature and know secrets to which our eyes are blind. They can work, on food that would kill you and me in a month, all day and then dance most of the night. They bear their unbelievable sufferings with a courage, the half of which we might well envy.

And then why should we use the word "jungly" as a term of reproach. The wild-looking Baiga or Korku may look uncouth beside the townsman in his neatly creased trousers, and the solar-toppee, which earns him a salaam from the baboo in the revenue office. But what is the real jungliness—to cramp and crush the feet (the most perfect, the loveliest of God's artistry) into a pair of leather cages; to confine the legs in unsightly cylinders of foreign cloth; to strangle the neck with collar and tie like an ass's halter—or to go in glorious freedom of limbs and body amid the tall trees of the forest?

This is how Lady Rhondda has recently described the modern girl. She is expected to treat her body as if it were a picture or a statue or so much butcher's meat to be dressed—lipstick on her lips, necklaces round her neck, rings on her ears, hair made all frizzy, eyebrows shaped to the mode. Her whole natural expression deliberately wiped out and painted in again by that and half a dozen other touches, so that it is no longer her own private expression at all, but only the expression agreed on as fashionable for all young females in 1933. And all such girls are exactly alike. "There is Doris, for instance. I don't believe that when young men kiss her at her dances they can really be sure whether they are kissing her or one of some other twenty young women in the room. Hair, eyebrows, expression, voice, figure, laugh, dress, conversation. How on earth do they manage to know her apart from the next girl?"



And this is how Tagore describes the Santal women. "Look at the aboriginal Santal women around our *asram*. In them the ideal of physical life finds perfect development only because they are ever active in giving it expression in work. Their figure and their movements attain their beautiful harmony because they are always being tuned by life's activities. The one thing which I am never tired of admiring is the vigorous cleanliness of their limbs, which never get soiled even by the constant contact with dirt. Our ladies with their soaps and scents, only give an artificial polish to the superficial body ; but the cleanliness which is induced by the body's own current of movement, coming from the completeness of physical health can never be theirs."

Which deserves to be called "jungly" ?

And finally will the missionaries think me impertinent if I beg them not to snuff out these wonderful, fascinating children of nature with the scornful terms of "animist," "aboriginal" or "primitive"—as if they were so many botanical specimens to be classified in a museum. We want a new word, parallel to *Harijan*. Forest and Hill Tribes is too much of a mouthful, and all the other words carry their connotation of superiority and scorn.\* Five years ago I was present at a meeting of the International Fellowship which was addressed by Mahatma Gandhi on the subject of Conversion. In the discussion that followed a very distinguished missionary declared that he could not abandon the duty of improving the animists religion, associated as it was with so much superstition and fear. There seemed to be the idea which was put to me again very recently by another missionary that it might conceivably be possible to leave the Brahmin or the Hindu and Moslem mystic alone, for his religion was, if not as good as Christianity, at least good

enough. But the untouchable and the animist must be converted as a sort of social duty. He was under the burden of fear and everyone must try to deliver him from it. The Hindu, the Buddhist, the Mussalman, equally with the Christian had a duty of putting an end to the religion of animism. The full text of the Mahatma's reply does not appear in the printed version of the proceedings, but so far as I can remember, his answer was something like this. "Before



Dispensary of the Gond Seva Mandal

you Western friends came to India we had no animists. We did not classify our brothers and sisters in that way. What right have we to do so ? Why should we give a contemptuous label to our brothers of the forest ? In thinking of them great humility is necessary. Sometimes arrogance may speak in the humblest language. It takes a man all his time to become a good Hindu or Christian or Musalman ; and I have no time left over for evangelizing the animist, for I cannot think he is my inferior." What the Mahatma resented was the tone of patronage which was present—and almost always is present—whenever anyone speaks of the "aboriginals." The Christian missionary is by no means the only offender in this respect. The Hindu and the Mussalman are equally guilty, and equally anxious to attach the aboriginal to his own fold.

I cannot agree that the religion of the Forest is primarily a religion of fear. Fear

\* A word has been suggested to me by Mr. R. G. Pande of Nagpur—आद्यजन *Adyajana*, the first or primitive men : it is a title of respect.



is present—as it is present in the loftiest religions of the world. The Gond and the Baiga fears evil spirits and witches, but this fear is not the major part of his religion. His whole life is a life of fear, fear of man, fear of officials, fear of his landlord, fear of wild animals, and his religious fears are only a small part of the whole. You could remove the fear element of his religion without doing it any very serious damage.



A Gond harvest festival

And indeed few people have the right to talk with scorn about a religion of fear. Have

we forgotten the appalling pictures in the Bible of the fate of the damned? "Wherefore is the sun red at even? Because it goeth toward hell." It is not only the Middle Ages that was dominated by the fear of hell and of evil spirits; the modern John Bunyan, Cowper and thousands of others have lived lives shadowed by this terror. When Jonathan Edwards preached, picturing God holding the soul as a loathsome spider over a vast pit of corruption and fire, men and women fell swooning to the ground. In Buddhist temples I have seen the most terrifying pictures of hell. By all means let us strive to rid every man of fear, but we have no right to look down on the "animist" as though he had a monopoly of that commodity.

There is no citizen of India who has the right to claim exemption from some concern for his brothers and sisters of the forest. Those eighteen million souls are a constant challenge to every one of us to give of money and sympathy and even of life itself in their service. For though they do not want and will not tolerate patrons and uplifters, they do want friends and lovers and servants. Those who will go to them in that spirit will earn love and friendship in return. They will not get any other reward.

India needs the old blood of the forest. She cannot be strong, she cannot be herself till this blood flows freely in the veins of her Renaissance. The Forest is the very heart of India. It has ever been the home and refuge of her saints. It is the birthplace of her noblest literature. It enshrines some of her most exquisite scenery. Let the new India then take the children of her ancient forest to her arms and bless them.

*Gond Seva Mandal, Karanjia P. O.,  
Mandla District. C. P.*





## AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

By KARUNA MITTER

**T**HE idea of an international language is not a new one. Indeed, we shall not be wrong in guessing that at the beginning of man's articulated thought lay a desire to convey meaning to everyone. But the independent development of languages, which failed to establish contact until a few centuries back, explain their difference.\*

Very recently this idea of a universal medium has been revived, though it is possible to collect a short history taking us as far back as the seventeenth century when Descartes interested himself in the matter. Other names which occur are those of Leibniz, Pascal and Comenius. In England, Bishop Wilkins in 1668 (*An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*) devised, amongst other things, a phonetic alphabet. But the first considerable step taken in this direction was when Schleyer invented his Volapuk in 1880, and thrust it on the attention of the world by advertisement and propaganda. Since then the interest in a so-called international language has not been allowed to die out by a continuous crop of newer languages but a 'general' interest has been lacking. The movement has had up till recent years a somewhat cliquish or esoteric air. But the advent of the League of Nations, the radio, and the talkies has demonstrated the urgent need of an international language and has produced a growing volume of public opinion in all civilized countries.

### A PRESSING NEED

In this connection a few facts may be cited here. In the decade 1840-49 there were only nine international conferences, that is, less than one a year; of recent years the number (including those called by the League of Nations) has been on an average about three hundred per annum. Further this increase has corresponded to an increase in the size of attendance and in the variety of linguistic habits of delegates. Consequently the difficulty

of conducting the business of these meetings has augmented enormously. The translation of every speech simultaneously it is delivered into a number of languages produces a dispersion of interest and general ineffectiveness. Sometimes a speech has to be repeated in a second language—this involves a loss of very valuable time and necessarily affects the business of the conference adversely. As regards the radio, language difficulties are perhaps the most formidable obstacle at the present moment to its development all over the world† and particularly in India where the cost of maintaining separate transmission units for different languages is prohibitive. As for the Talkies, the task of rendering a film in different languages has unnecessarily multiplied the cost of production. Nor are these the only embarrassments of Babel. The labours of the scientist in his research work are increased many times by the necessity to consult periodicals in as many as (say) ten languages. Add to these the difficulties of tourists, and the language situation appears well-nigh impossible. Eventually a radical change will have to be brought about to relieve the burden of learning modern languages. Incredible amount of time and money is wasted because of the language barriers which stand in the way of inter-communication. Mankind is still primitive-minded as regards language by being sentimentally disposed towards the national languages in spite of the fact that these have been proved beyond doubt cumbrous and out of date. The desirability, then, of having an international language, auxiliary (IAL) or primary (IPL), is unquestioned; but about the immediate feasibility of the idea we are not yet so sure.

### THE PROBLEM

First of all, it is necessary to clear up our ideas about the functions we like to see

\* The point I have sought to emphasize above is true, but the sentence will not bear a literal interpretation if we remember the history of the Indo-European group of languages.

† Perhaps an example might prove useful for forming an idea about the 'obstacle' referred above. Here is one: the broadcasting from the Vatican City is done in the following languages—Monday in Italian, Tuesday in English, Wednesday in Spanish, Thursday in French, Friday in German, Saturday in several languages, and probably still there are many who feel their language slighted being not on the programme.

the international language perform. That is to say, in the solution of the problem what factors should be allowed to weigh most heavily is to be considered, and here there is ample difference of opinion as to the choice of these factors. The easiest way out of the difficulty that naturally arises from this difference of opinion is to start with a catalogue of the so-called international languages (that is, artificial languages devised during the last fifty years with a view to their ultimate international adoption). But this lays oneself open to the charge of prejudicing the issue before entering the subject proper thoroughly; and a discussion of the international language problem is rendered futile by the premature question as to what language is to be chosen, for we necessarily limit the scope of our inquiry.

We proceed then to specify the problem as it must confront the universal language enthusiast. First, a survey of world conditions in its relation to the language problem, and the formulation of future social needs\* on the basis of the preliminary investigation, that is, a rough estimate of the possible scope of the new language (assuming it to be a new one); second, the task of evolving a language mechanism adequate enough to function not only when presented but for a considerable period in future, and fulfilling all the requirements; third, of encouraging the widest distribution of its services and of organizing every possible resource to that end.

#### SOME INTERESTING FACTS

Under the first head come certain interesting facts; for example, fifteen hundred languages are used all over the world serving a total population of eighteen hundred millions, and seven of these (namely, English, Chinese, Russian, German, Spanish, Japanese and Bengali) according to a French estimate do for half the total of eighteen hundred millions. The languages vary greatly in their usefulness—judging by the number using them—and in their structure and ability to serve as media of thought-expression. By way of illustration, the number of persons speaking Italian and Bengali is roughly the same, but the latter is undeveloped as regards scientific terminology compared to the former. Further,

Hindi claims a few ten-million more adherents than Bengali

#### SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

Our universal medium (which for the sake of brevity we will call 'Ideal' in this discussion) may be a primary or a secondary language. A man's primary language is that which he speaks instinctively and in which he thinks, a secondary language is one that he speaks with conscious effort, and into which he has to translate thoughts framed originally in his primary language. But the distinction is not always valid: the knowledge of a secondary language may be had in varying degrees ranging from an acquaintance with the rudiments to a complete familiarity hardly to be differentiated from that of the primary tongue. But the number of people who have any doubt whether they possess a language as primary or as secondary is so small that they may be left out of consideration. Generally, it is more usual to find two different languages to be primary to the same person for different purposes: thus immigrants acquire the language of their adopted country as primary for purposes of their trade or profession, while they retain their native language as primary in their homes. Sometimes a secondary language employed frequently usually becomes primary for some specific purpose; for instance, a Bengali must needs think out an economic problem in English because the literature he consumes is largely, if not exclusively, written in that language. But this fact, though important for part of our later discussion, does not invalidate the distinction between primary and secondary languages.

#### AUXILIARY OR PRIMARY?

In discussing the international language problem it is often taken for granted that an auxiliary language is to be added to the 1500 existent languages. For the present or for the immediate future this assumption seems justified, for a new language could not replace current languages within a short time. But there is the further consideration that at present only a small minority have any secondary language at all other than gesture—the primitive language. There is obviously a great difference between the mere substitution of *Ideal* for any secondary languages used at present and a wide extension of the knowledge and use of secondary

\* "It is customary to admit that language is a Social relation, a tool in the intercourse between men" (*vide*), Nikolai Bukharin in *Historical Materialism*, p. 203.



languages. It is important to bear the distinction in mind and make the choice, for it will determine whether *Ideal* is made IPL or IAL and both its utility and the chances of making it a reality will rest upon the alternative selected. Evidently in making our final choice, we shall have to weigh practicability against utility.

If our international language is to be promoted as a primary, existing primary languages (vernaculars) must be suppressed, for true bilingualism is seldom achieved even by those who have the best opportunities for acquiring it. Any suspicion that the introduction of *Ideal* involves an attack on cherished native languages, would arouse such bitter opposition that all chance of carrying out even the mildest proposals would disappear. On the other hand, it is possible—as the advocates of an interlanguage believe—that if only *Ideal* could properly be initiated as the standard secondary language, it would naturally grow in the fulness of time to be a universal primary. This point of view is reinforced by analogies from such replacements as are in progress at present or have occurred in the past. English, for instance, starting as the standard secondary language of non-British immigrants to America becomes their primary in a few generations' time. The underlying reason is, of course, that English gives access to a wider society than the original language. In the same way, it is conceivable, our interlanguage being universal as a secondary will give access to the widest society of all and must therefore tend to become universal primary. But the analogy is not quite complete. The second language that becomes a primary is already somebody's primary. If *Ideal* were to be an artificial language, it is very doubtful whether it could grow to be a primary unless there were some overwhelming considerations in its favour: for instance, a simple and logical structure approaching mathematical symbolism and its capacity to fulfil all linguistic requirements and not merely confine its province to trade and travel. (The failure of Volapuk which in 1889 counted 1,000,000 among its adherents and held three international Volapuk Congresses, and Esperanto, is due in a great measure to the lack of these essential qualities).

#### THE CHOICE BEFORE US

*Ideal* may have any one of the following four possible forms: (a) a living language,

preferably in a simplified form, e.g., *Anglic* or *Basic*; (b) a dead language, possibly in a modified form as in *Latin without Flexions*; (c) an artificial language: an *a posteriori* language based on one or more national languages, living or dead; (d) a completely artificial language or an *a priori* one, constructed to be an ideal language—at once phonetic, logical, simple, and scientific. At the very outset we may reject (b) as worthless. The fact that languages described as dead are so prove their inefficiency to serve language purposes, and are, therefore, better not revived. *Latin without Flexions* may be described as a new language altogether and come under the head (c) more properly. The advantage of adopting (a) would be that the living languages within which our choice must lie, if we decide in favour of a natural language, are all highly developed and, therefore, sufficiently expressive.\* Moreover, we shall have already a mass of literature covering every branch of knowledge in the language at our disposal which would obviate the necessity of undertaking the stupendous task of producing a new one. But the advantages are more than balanced by the attendant difficulties and disadvantages of preferring (a). To raise English, French or German to the status of a world language would give its native speakers such an advantage over other nationalities that international jealousies only will be sufficient to prevent any agreement to that effect. So, it has been suggested that a language like Norwegian spoken by a small community, and, at the same time, of simpler structure, should be preferred.

Conceding that an agreement were feasible, we are still faced with the difficulty that for the average man (or woman) it is next to impossible to acquire a thorough command of any foreign language. All the peculiarities of idiomatic expression which abound in natural languages defy mastering. The fact is, no natural language is really easy: all languages are equally difficult, although some are made more difficult than they need be by the ruggedly intricate character of their alphabet, or by their unscientific spelling. Natural languages are difficult because human speech as we know it represent imperfect expressions of thought: it is only partly rational. Should we, then, reject all natural languages as impracticable? The answer is, "Yes," but whether a simplified form would

\* Compared only to artificial languages projected so far.

do, is a question which is postponed to the very end of our discussion. Meanwhile, let us make a rapid survey of the work that has been accomplished towards evolving an artificial language either on an *a posteriori* or *a priori* basis or both.

#### TASK OF EVOLVING A LANGUAGE MECHANISM

The greatest difficulty of a language concerns its vocabulary, the foundation for them in all languages being practically arbitrary. Excepting in the case of a few isolated words, there is no connection between sound and meaning. And this is not all, that part of a language which can be classified under general rules is full of deviations, ambiguities and redundancies of expression, and unnecessary or irrational distinctions such as those of grammatical gender.

These considerations indicate a further step towards rationalization of an existing language or evolving a new one. Thus English or French could be shorn of its unphonetic spelling and grammatical irregularities, making them much easier. The English grammar could be modified to effect the following among other numerous changes: the obliteration of the distinction between *shall* and *will*, making, for instance, *better men* into *godder mans*; *saw*, *seen* into *seed*; *ate*, *eaten* into *eated* and so on. In the same way, the vocabulary could be simplified. The obvious course would be to select certain words as foundation: to use them as root-words, out of which all other words could be formed by derivation and composition. To avoid the derived words from running to inconvenient lengths the root-words should be monosyllabic.

It was on the above principles that the well-known Volapuk was constructed. Volapuk is mainly an *a posteriori* language as opposed to an *a priori* one, although it belongs to the latter class as well. Its vocabulary is adopted, having a forty per cent foundation of English, but the roots are so distorted by arbitrary rules as to make it almost unrecognizable and is further complicated by a profusion of terminations and variations. The failure of Volapuk not many years after its advent is mainly attributed to its founder who refused to permit innovations thought necessary.

After the collapse of Volapuk, another artificial language (Esperanto) was put up to

claim its place as the international auxiliary language. It differed from Volapuk in that the basis of its vocabulary was widened to include seven European languages (among them being Greek and Latin) instead of only English, and the words were retained in their original form except for a change of spelling. In its grammar, Esperanto is partly original, partly borrowed. The extensive use made of word-composition and of derivative prefixes and suffixes allows the author to reduce the number of his root-words to between two and three thousand. This does not comprise international, literary, scientific and technical words, such as professor, and telegraph, which are not translated into Esperanto compounds or derivatives, but are simply incorporated into the language with a minimum of change.

Though Volapuk had receded into the background, the Volapuk Academy, *Kaden Bevuretik Volapuka* originally founded by the two Volapuk Congresses in 1887 and 1889 directed by Dr. Rosenberger (*d.* 1918), continued its researches for evolving the best possible form of an IAL. In 1898, its successor, the *Akademie internasional de lingu universal*, published a language called Idiom Neutral that was a distinct improvement on its predecessors. The notable feature of Idiom Neutral is that its vocabulary is based, definitely and consistently, on the principle of the maximum internationality of roots. It was found on examination that a large number of roots and words were of common occurrence among the seven chief European languages, *viz.*, English, French, Greek, Italian, Latin, Russian and Spanish. This fact precluded the necessity of choosing root-words occurring in less than four languages—it being a distinct advantage over Esperanto. For whereas Esperanto is a mixture of Romance elements with words taken arbitrarily from English and Greek, which makes a greater part of the vocabulary of Esperanto unintelligible to learners who know only one language, Idiom Neutral consists of a vocabulary which is practically Romance-Latin.

In its grammar, Idiom Neutral is nearly entirely *a posteriori* on a Romance basis, generally following French often too closely at the expense of efficiency. On the whole, Idiom Neutral is much simpler than Esperanto. It is said, an educated European who would take several days to learn to read Esperanto should be able to read Idiom Neutral in as many minutes. The simple character of the language will be apparent from the following

extract from a letter written by a Norwegian doctor to a colleague :

Idiom Neutral es usabl no. sole pro skribasion, ma et pro perlasion ; sikause in kongrès sekaunt internasional de medisinisti mi av intension usar ist idiom pro mie raport di maladitet "lupus," e mi esper esar komprended per omni medisinisti present.

Among other languages that has been devised, the following may be mentioned : *Latinesce*, by Henderson ; *Nov-Latin*, by Rosa ; *Monario*, by Lavagnini ; *Occidental* by de Wahl ; *Europian*, by Weisbart ; *Opter*, by S. Bond ; *Romanal*, by Michaux ; *Nov-Esperanto*, by de Saussure ; *Novial*, by Jespersen. The list is by no means exhaustive, hundreds of others have been produced which have not crossed the threshold of the study, and research in various directions for evolving an IAL is as active today as ever. The fact that co-operation and co-ordination of efforts between the various groups of research scholars concerned with the task were initiated in a meeting at Geneva in 1930 affords the hope that in the next twenty-five or thirty years such immense progress will have been made that we shall know for certain the true character of *Ideal*—our future language. This Meeting of Linguistic Research was convened by Professor Otto Jespersen on behalf of the International Auxiliary Language Association which was founded in 1924 at the instance of the Committee on International Auxiliary Language of the International Research Council. Six languages were discussed at this conference besides all matters connected with the science of linguistics. These were : *Esperanto*, invented by Dr. L. Zamenhof in 1887, *Ido*, elaborated by an Academy on a basis due to de Beaufront and Couturat in 1907, *Nov-Esperanto*, by Rene de Saussure, which after various changes received its final shape in 1929, *Latino sine flexione* or *Interlingua*, begun by Professor G. Peano in 1903, *Occidental* elaborated by Edgar Wahl in 1922, and *Novial* published in 1928 by Otto Jespersen. Of these Esperanto has the greatest number of admirers though it is by no means the best. The following list was drawn up of the chief points on which all the International Languages represented at Geneva agree :

POINTS OF AGREEMENT IN ESPERANTO, IDO, NOV-  
ESPERANTO, LATIN WITHOUT FLEXIONS,  
OCCIDENTAL, NOVIAL

1. *Alphabet*.—All ILs use Latin characters.
2. *Pronunciation*.—All ILs agree in principle in

the pronunciation of the following letters : a, e, i, o, u ('continental' values, u as in Italian, not as in French) ; b, d, f, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, t, v.

3. *Substantial roots*.—The substantial roots (expressing things, actions, qualities) of ILs represented are, as a matter of fact, drawn chiefly from the Indo-European languages.

4. *No vowel changes*.—None of the ILs represented at the conference permit vowel change within the root itself.

5. *Plural*.—All ILs represented form the plural by an ending. In each IL there is but a single method of forming the plural to which all substantives conform. No IL has a separate form for a dual number.

6. *Expression of 'dative'*.—In all ILs represented the normal way of rendering the 'dative' of inflected languages is by using a preposition of direction (Lat. *Ad*.)

7. *No gender in substantives or adjectives*.—Substantives have no grammatical gender, but can be made to show distinction of natural sex. Adjectives have no gender and normally show no distinction of natural sex.

8. *Conjugation*.—In every IL represented, one single paradigm of conjugation is provided to which all verbs conform.

9. *Tenses*.—There is no distinction of person or number within the finite tenses of the verb.

10. *Prepositions*.—Prepositions as such do not govern any particular case of the noun.

The foregoing points of agreement are again referred to in the following declaration by those assembled which was unanimously accepted at the final meeting and "which is sure to be remembered as a landmark in the history of the International Language movement."

DECLARATION BY THE MEETING OF LINGUISTIC  
RESEARCH

1. They agree that the six systems of international language represented among them have a great many points in common, of such a nature that their adherents can understand one another without much difficulty, orally as well as in writing, each one using his own system.

2. They unanimously recognize the need for a universal auxiliary language, simple in form, politically neutral and destined to facilitate relations between peoples.

3. They agree that each system presents certain advantages peculiar to itself, but that no one of them can claim to be perfect, and therefore that any decision tending to determine definitely the international language of the future is still premature. (*Italics mine*).

4. They hope to see the collaboration between linguists (comparative philologists and philosophers of language) and interlinguists continue to grow, and they hope for important results from this co-operation and from the extensive work planned IALA.

5. They consider extremely desirable the best possible understanding among all interlinguists, regardless of any particular system, as well as their co-operation in the study of certain problems common to them all. If such co-operation could



contribute to the creation of a united front, the cause of international language would greatly benefit thereby and its definite adoption would be hastened.

Geneva, April 8, 1930.

Regarding linguistic research, the meeting accepted 'in principle' a plan, submitted to it by Professor K. Asakawa of Yale University, according to which the work should be undertaken in concentric circles of study, viz.:

1. A more philosophical study of the "Foundations of Language" (according to a scheme drawn up by Professor Edward Sapir of Chicago University and Professor William Collinson of Liverpool University).

2. A scientific comparison of Languages: an objective examination of the structure of selected languages, national and international, both with regard to details and to the languages as wholes.

3. Preparation for synthesis: a comprehensive survey and criticism of the results of the first two circles with a view to finding data for a synthetic scheme of a definite language for international use.

It is a matter for congratulation that instead of frittering away a vast amount of energy in separate and often fruitless labour, interlinguists have at last agreed to pool their efforts and direct them towards a common end. Such a course was extremely necessary. The vast number of *a posteriori* languages\* that have already made their appearance give the impression that the projection of a language is not at all a difficult job; on the other hand, what is required is a readiness in men to accept one of these (here, of course, the champions disagree between themselves, for not all subscribe to the same language). This is the attitude of the Esperantists or other enthusiasts, who though they admit the imperfections of their pet language (whatever that be) yet insist that it is better than the natural languages in use and should therefore be adopted. But they forget an important fact, that languages cannot be adopted and rejected with that readiness with which one buys a new or rejects an old model automobile (the purse permitting). An international language to be a success to be accepted by everyone, must be liable to no criticism. This attitude may seem Utopian but it is a perfectly reasonable attitude. For example, it would be easy to improve Esperanto in various directions: one of the first would be to replace its out-of-date and unpractical orthography by re-writing it in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Associa-

tion. So, why accept Esperanto or for that matter any other new language? The vast strides made in our knowledge of the structure and growth of languages make it imperative that the language of the future should be built up from the fundamentals, that is, it should be mainly an *a priori* language. Experience has shown that all *a posteriori* systems are liable to various defects. Not unoften the defects in the parent systems are reproduced in the offspring. It is a remarkable fact that the earliest attempts at evolving a universal language were all on an *a priori* basis. But all these attempts beginning with Dalgarno's *Ars signorum* (1661) and Wilkins' well-known *Real Character* have been failures. They were failures because the available knowledge at the time was quite insufficient.

The *a priori* language is the ideal towards which we must all strive, but meanwhile the language problem daily grows more involved and the need for a solution more urgent. So let us turn towards a direction which offers an immediate solution. I have already mentioned earlier a form of English which is known as *Anglic*. It is English as we know it only with the necessary phonetic modifications effected by Professor Zachrisson of Uppsala in 1930. As it had a very good Press throughout the whole world, a passage adopted from Prof. Max Muller is given below to give an idea of the modifications:

"It is shuurly a nashonal disgraes to us, to fiend", sed Prof. Skeat, as urly as 1880, 'that the wieldest arguement, konsuwing English speling and etimolojy ar konstently being uest eevn by wel eduekaeted pursnz, whose ignorens of Urly English pronunsiaeshon and of modern English fonetiks is soe komplet that they hav noe suspishon whatever of the amaezing wurthlesnes of their ludikrus uterensez'. If these peepl do not understand what is lost to themselvz and what wood be gaend by adopting a simplified speling it is not to be expekted that they shood graasp the difkultiz enkounterd by forinerz, wishing to lurn English...

Vizits to Elementery Skuulz in England hav fuly konvinst the prezent rieter that a simplified speling wood be the graetest buun to English children, who evidently sufr from the intrikasiz of the prezent speling. With a simplified speling milyonz of children "miet lurn in wun yeer, and with advaantij to themselvz, what they now requer for or fiev yearz to lurn, and seldom suksheed in lurning aaftr aul"

Mr C. K. Ogden, now the famous author of *Basic*, has taken a different line and after years of attempt have evolved a form of simplified English by choosing 850 words which comprise a very limited vocabulary of nouns (600), sixteen or seventeen verbs,

\* Nearly all of these are partly *a priori*.

including come, get, give, go, keep, let, make, put, seem, and a few others, 150 adjectives and a number of prepositions, adverbs, pronouns, and conjunctions but no interjections. Further nouns can be created by adding the suffixes—er, ed, and ing to 300 of the 'primary' nouns. Word order is essentially the same as in good English, only the adverb is relegated to the end of the sentence. Pronunciation is to be standardized by means of gramophone records, but spelling is not to be modified or made phonetic. The scope of the language is quite limited and though scientific passages have been re-written in Basic it is quite un-suited to that purpose.\* However, it should serve excellently the purpose of those who learn English as an introduction to the wider field of English vocabulary. Particular, it should prove useful in solving the language problem in India and as the language for study in all primary schools throughout the country. Below is a quotation from Mr. Ogden in *Basic* and the parallel passage of Mussolini's speech:

*Basic*—"Before saying anything about some of the more important questions of the day, I will make a statement about the number of stories that get about with the idea that Facism is a danger and may be the cause of another war. Such stories are not supported by fact. I, and my government, and the Italian nation, have no desire to get a war started.

"I was in the war, not as one in authority, but as a common man. That gave me a knowledge

\* For a criticism of Basic see *Nature*, July 23, 1932.

of the effects of war. Sad memories of those years when the young men of all countries went down in such numbers under the rain of lead are even now in my mind. I myself did not come through untouched. In the after years, and at the present time, as a man and as head of the Government, I have had before me a picture of the effects of the War, on political developments, on trade, and on the behaviour of men and of nations; and not only in Italy."

*Original*.—"Before referring to some of the more urgent questions of the day, I should like to contradict the many rumours spread abroad about Facism and the danger it is supposed to represent for the peace of the world. Such accusations are groundless. Neither I, nor my Government, nor the Italian people, desire to bring about a war.

"I fought in the War as a soldier in the ranks. I know what war means. Terrible memories of those years when whole generations of the youth of so many countries were laid low by the hail of lead, have not been cancelled from my mind. I myself was seriously wounded. In the years that have since elapsed, and at the present time, both as a man and as head of the government, I have had before me a panorama of political, economic and moral consequences of the War and not in Italy alone."

It is possible that big financial interests, such as the cinematograph industry of America will find it advisable to push Basic, but the solution which Mr. Ogden offers, though welcome in the present state of affairs, cannot be permanent. The ultimate solution of this harassing problem must lie in the direction I have already indicated. To bring about an early remedy it is imperative that public opinion in all civilized countries should take an active interest in the matter.

## A WEEK AT DARJEELING

BY JNAN CHANDRA BANERJI

THE immortal Kalidasa, in his *Kumar-sambhavam*, speaks of the Himalays as the King of Mountains, extending east and west from sea to sea as the measuring rod of the earth, with the clouds, tinged with the evening sun, settling in its middle zone, its intense cold, its snow-clad heights, its deer, elephants and peacocks, its pines and deodars, its mineral wealth and medicinal plants, its aboriginal population and mighty hunters, and sings of its nymphs and dryads, and calls it the seat of the gods. Uma Haimavati, the daughter of the mountain god whose abode is the region of

perpetual snow, comes with her children from Mount Kailas, the seat of her husband and lord Shiva, on a visit to her pining mother for three days in the year in the month of Asvin. *Agamani* songs, as they are called, anticipating the joy of her coming are sung in the cottages of rural Bengal, and for three days every Bengali household forgets its sorrows in the mother's reunion with her daughter, and on the fourth day, when the all too brief visit is over, and the daughter emigrates once more to her own mountain home, pathetic songs are sung, symbolizing the tragic parting of the Bengali mother from

her married daughter, whose lot at her husband's place used to be none of the happiest, after a short but sweet family gathering. The Bengali is nothing if not tender and sentimental, and domestic joy is the chief glory of his cheerless and poverty-stricken existence, and so, though these sylvan deities have vanished from the sacred Himalayas, they love to celebrate this annual migration by worshipping the goddess Umā under the name of Durga, and not to be behindhand their kinsmen in the plains, the Bengali colony at Darjeeling, which is so near the paternal home of the goddess, also procures a full-sized image of the Deity from the plains below and worships it with great *eclat*, after which it is carried in procession for immersion in one of the springs which is dammed up for the nonce. A visit to the classical mountain, hallowed by such tender memories, at this season of the year therefore deserves more than a passing notice.

Darjeeling, described in the railway guide as the queen of Indian hill stations, justifies the description by the fact that it is not only the highest among them (6,800 ft.), the elevation being just half as much again as that of Parshanath, the highest hill in the plains of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and about 2,000 ft. higher than either Kurseong or Shillong, but also because of the clear view it affords of the snow-clad summit of the Kanchanjungha (28,200 ft.) which is the second loftiest peak of the range, lying at a distance of 45 miles. Gaurisankar (Mount Everest), the highest peak in the world, is only about 800 ft. higher, while Dhavalagiri is about 1,500 ft. lower, and all the three are situated in Nepal territory. A glimpse of the former may be had at early dawn from the Tiger Hill (Sinchol) where visitors go to see the sunrise—a magnificent and world-famous sight. Nor is there anything to compare with the green verdure and flora around. The dull grey rocks, bare of all traces of vegetation, that oppress the eye at other hill-stations are conspicuous by their absence here:

"Its uplands sloping deck the mountain's side,  
Woods over woods in gay theatric pride."

The Darjeeling-Himalayan railway, again, is 'a masterpiece of engineering skill,' with its numerous 'loops' and 'reverses,' and the spiral

journey upwards commences rather abruptly at Sukna, the station next to Siliguri, through a dense forest, and before you are well out of it, the plains and valleys below, with the river Mahanadi like a streak of silver thread, are visible through the deep gorges and ravines on the brink of which the small hill-train toils slowly upwards in a zig-zag course. Parallel to it runs the motor track which is preferred by many travellers as the journey takes a shorter time. The slopes are studded with tea-gardens, and the terraced plantations, with neat little bungalows for the managers, add a new element of beauty to the scene.

The town of Darjeeling is spread over the slopes in a horse-shoe pattern, at the southern end of which is the highest peak, the Jalapahar Cantonment, and at the northern end is the next highest peak, the Observatory Hill, below which is the extensive park of the Government House called The Shrubbery, the Birch Hill road, and the Mall, the fashionable walk for visitors. When the sun is down, the slopes burst forth into myriads of electric lights and vie with the star-bespangled sky in grandeur. The mountains and valleys, the clouds below and above, and the bracing fog enveloping the town, the well-kept and well-lighted streets carved across the terraced slopes in gradually ascending strata, all combine to give a weird picturesqueness to the landscape. The natural history museum contains a most fascinating collection of stuffed birds and butterflies of local origin. The pines and conifers, mosses and ferns, flowering shrubs and orchids, creepers and grasses covering the hill-sides are well represented in the Botanical gardens and the Mayavati garden of Sir J. C. Bose. The Gymkhana on the Observatory Hill, the Planter's Club (where the European officials of the district, I was told, love to congregate), Mount Everest Hotel, the Eden Sanatorium for Europeans and the Louis Jubilee Sanatorium for Indians, the palatial residences of the Maharajas of Cooch Bihar, Burdwan and Dighapatiya, the race-course at Lebong, are among the sights of Darjeeling. The Louis Sanatorium is an imposing structure just below the railway station, with family cottages, up-to-date sanitary and other conveniences, and well-laid-out grounds and a club and a



library. On the Dusserah day there was a very pleasant gathering at the club, where the poet Kalidās Roy read an essay, songs were sung, and little girls gave an exhibition of the Santiniketan dance which was very much appreciated. But the munificent donations on which this institution depends so largely for its upkeep having been considerably reduced, other hotels and boarding establishments have been set up which, being cheaper, are more attractive. The Marwaris have built a big Dharma-sala for the use of vegetarians. The Municipality is rich, and has built several big flats which are let out to permanent boarders at a comparatively cheap rate. Curio shops abound and all the big European firms have opened branches on the road leading to the Mall. The Indian merchants are mostly Marwaris and Mahomedans, but on Sunday, which is the weekly market day, the picturesque Bhutia girls drive a brisk trade in vegetables and cheap European manufactures, and also in coarse but very warm home-spun sweaters, mufflers and socks. Those who can afford to do so, go in for costly furs, waxcloth screens of artistic design manufactured by Kashmiri Mahomedans, Thibetan bronzes and coloured photographs of local sights and scenes.

The Botanical gardens, for the first time under the charge of an Indian curator, Mr. Basu, are particularly well looked after, and have repeatedly earned the appreciation of distinguished visitors for their present able management. Mr. Basu has obtained plants from an altitude of 15,000 ft. and acclimatized them in his garden where they have been made to yield successive crops which bloom there just as well as in their natural habitat on the snowline, and he has further planted a branch garden at a higher elevation than Darjeeling in order to grow alpine flora in less exotic surroundings. In fact, in many ways Mr. Basu has effected improvements and done pioneer work both of a scientific and aesthetic nature which amply demonstrate the fitness of Indians to supplant more highly paid Europeans in scientific departments requiring a high degree of specialized knowledge and technical skill.

The hillmen, Paharis or Bhutias, are a

mixed Mongolian race. Like all semi-civilized peoples, they are a happy-go-lucky lot, who drink and make merry on every conceivable occasion, and delight in the amusements of children. When the blood is up reason goes down, and they have the reputation of being perfect free-thinkers in sexual matters. The women do nearly all the outdoor work, and the men are usually drones. The women, owing partly to overwork and partly, it is said, to laxity of morals, lose their bloom early in their teens, but their fondness for gay colours and tinsel and cheap but gaudy dresses of foreign make continues till old age. Those among them of both sexes who frequent Darjeeling speak broken Hindustani, wear European clothing including the male hat and the feminine high-heeled shoes. Most of them, I was told, call themselves Hindus, though they feed impartially on ham, beef, fowl, mutton and goats. A few call themselves Buddhists and here and there yellow-robed monks remind us that we are on the border of the land of the Lamas. The Bhutias observe the main Hindu festivals, particularly the Dusserah. The Ramkrishna Mission and the Arva Samaj have both branches here, and probably do some proselytizing work. The Buddhists have a temple on Observatory Hill, the Moslems, though few in numbers boast of some mosques, one of which is a fairly imposing structure, while the Hindus have no temples worthy of mention.

Though communalism as we have recently come to know it in the plains is not to be found here, yet the complaint was general that it had begun to show its ugly fangs in the relation between the hillmen on the one hand and the dwellers of the plains on the other, the former considering the country as their own, and treating the latter as interlopers, and beginning to hate them in consequence. Education is slowly making headway, and the lower grade clerkships and the constabulary are recruited from among their ranks, and in so far as it is a healthy development of local talent it deserves encouragement. There is also nothing objectionable in the fostering of local patriotism so long as it is a power for good. But it is said that it has become too

aggressive and instead of keeping it in check, the feeling is fostered by treating them as the favoured section and denying fair play to the plainsmen. Left to themselves, the hill tribes would, in the usual course of things, have been merged in the great mass of Hinduism, but evidently influences are at

work preventing such amalgamation by encouraging the growth of an artificial race-consciousness, the evil effects of which are bound to reveal themselves in course of time.

The water-works of Darjeeling, where the spring water is distilled in vats, are near Sincal.

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS BHRAMAR GHOSH has passed the M. A. examination of Calcutta University standing first in the first class in Ancient Indian History.

Bose has been doing valuable work in studying the educational institutions in various culture-centres of Europe. The September number of



Miss Rajaniprova Das

MISS RAJANIPROVA DAS is the first Assamese girl to graduate from the Calcutta Medical College. She is now undergoing a course of three months' training at the Shillong Pasteur Institute.

### -An Indian Lady Worker at Geneva

MRS. KIRANMAYI BOSE, a sister of Mr. A. P. Sen of Lucknow and niece of Sir J. C. Bose, has been doing useful work in Geneva in connection with the International Committee for India. In Calcutta she was one of the chief workers of the Women's Co-operative Society and Store started by Lady Abala Bose and others. Dr. Taraknath Das informs us that Mrs. Kiran



Miss Bhramar Ghosh

*Indiens Venner* ("Friends of India") of Denmark publishes a portrait of Mrs. Bose and introduces the report of a lecture by her with words to the following effect:

"On the 7th July the summer class began at the Women's Citizen College near Fogelstad in Sweden. Among the guests was Mrs. Kiran Bose of Calcutta. Mrs. Bose, who is a social worker in the women's movement in India, wanted to find out the possibilities of young Indian women taking part in the summer-class at Fogelstad. She gave a lecture about the situation in India and her charming personality, her clear intelligence and her smiling, dignified grace made a strong impression on the audience." (Translation.)

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### How the Safe-guards Are Working in Ceylon

In *The Indian Review* Mr. Orion De Zylva gives an account of the difficulties the Ceylonese have already faced in working the Donoughmore constitution in their country. He writes:

The King's Order-in-Council embodying the present system of Government is dated March 1931, and the State Council and its appurtenant machinery have been functioning only since July of that year.

The trouble with the present Constitution is that it is overweighted with checks and balances. It was the outcome of the Report of the Special Commission presided over by the Earl of Donoughmore which spent the cold weather of 1927-30 touring the country and collecting evidence. But the Commissioners, while suggesting the provision of what are known as Safe-guards, were shrewd enough to point out that too many of them would probably make the politicians chafe. This advice was ignored by those who framed the Constitution and although it came from a Labour Government which professed democratic impulses, it contained too many reservations to the Governor and the Secretary of State. Its authors claimed that it was an advance on the system it superseded. So it is on the broad lines. But the reserve powers of the Governor were *pari passu* widened to such an extent that the outward trappings of a liberal Constitution concealed what has proved to be a reactionary machine. The same subterfuges are to be attempted with India and you can take a lesson from this country's vicissitudes.

It could hardly have surprised the Governor or the Secretary of State when early notice was given of a series of motions that sought the removal of obvious defects in the Constitution.

While these motions still adorned the Order Paper, Sir Graeme Thomson's elastic interpretation of the term "paramount importance" in order to justify his use of the veto shook the faith of even the champions of the Constitution, who had fondly believed in the promise that the Governor's resort to his special powers would be a very rare departure. In actual practice, however, it was found that whenever a question arose affecting in the minutest degree the pay, pensions or passages of Public Servants, the Council was powerless to do anything which the Governor and his advisers—the three Officers of State—considered detrimental to the interests of the Service.

It was quite blatantly and blandly a case of putting the flash-pots of the public servants recruited from abroad before the benefit of the country as a whole. And there was no attempt at conciliation. The fact that the Governor himself was a sick man, grappling with the canker of an insidious and remorseless disease, may explain the lack of humour with which the battering-ram of certification was brought into play to defend the tiniest microbe. As an instance I may cite the case of a European employee at the Government Printing Office. He

was on contract and when the contract expired, the Governor's advisers worked for its renewal. The Council opposed this on the ground that a Ceylonese of better qualifications being available, there was no rhyme or reason in continuing to employ the imported man. The vote for the man's salary was refused after a full discussion, whereupon the Governor certified the salary on the ground that this printer's continuance was essential to the good government of the country! And on one single day of disillusionment in March 1932, Sir Graeme performed three acts of Certification!

There have been at least a dozen such interventions by the Governor, who made a rule of consulting the Secretary of State beforehand and getting his consent. Thus the Council was deprived of its Court of Appeal. It had to grin and bear the consequences.

### Re-conversion to Hinduism

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar discusses in *The Calcutta Review* whether re-conversion to Hinduism is permissible in the law-books of the Hindus. He says:

The phenomenon of a Hindu becoming a Mlechchha arose for the first time when the Muhammadans began to penetrate into this country. That this is the plausible view may be seen also from the fact that the Smriti speaks of Mlechchha-sabha in one place and enjoins expiation on Hindus who have touched or remained together for a long time with the Mlechchhas in such an assembly. With this may be coupled the fact that in another place the Smriti lays down an atonement for a Hindu who has been snatched away by the Mlechchhas but has thereafter returned to his country. These facts lead to the inference that the Muhammadans had at that time come right down to the frontiers of India or at the most conquered and occupied some of the frontier-districts, without being able to push their conquests further into the interior. This receives confirmation from a passage of our Smriti which makes mention of such frontier provinces as were tabooed for a Hindu. Two of these are Sindhu and Sauvira, which a Hindu can visit on pain of performing a *suddhi* on his return. Now, we know that in the time of Al-Masudi (A. D. 943) the Muslim power was confined to the two tiny principalities of Mansuhra and Multan which regularly correspond to Sindhu and Sauvira. We shall not therefore be far from right if we assign the Devala-Smriti to the beginning of the 10th century A. D. We have seen, above that when the ascetics and the saints approached the sage Devala for enlightenment on the subject of *suddhi*, he was then living on the banks of the Sindhu which could not have been the Indus of Sind as it was already a Mlechchha country but must stand for Indus of the Panjab, just the place where the proselytizing activities of the Muhammadans must have assumed a most aggressive form both from the south, i.e.,



Multan, and from the west, i.e., Afghanistan, which had then been subjected to the Islamic power. Then again we have to note that Devala, the author of our Smriti, cannot be the Devala whose Smriti has been frequently adverted to by the commentators on law-books. To take one instance, Vijnanesvara (A. D. 1076-1126) who wrote a commentary on Yajñavalkya-Smriti has quoted many verses from Devala, none of which however is traceable in our Smriti. This indicates that there were two Devala-Smritis, one which was known to Vijnanesvara and which was a full-fledged Smriti, and the other the work which is here engaging our attention and which deals only with one subject, viz., *suddhi* of the Hindus that had been defiled through contact with the Mlechchhas. This latter surely was composed to meet a special situation, created by the advent of the Muslim power, whose over-ardent proselytizing zeal began to affect Hindu society very seriously.

It will thus be seen that the Devala-Smriti which we are here considering deals solely with the question of reclaiming the Hindus who are defiled by contact with the Mlechchhas or the Muhammadans. And it is expressly laid down that everybody, male or female, healthy or diseased, shall perform a purificatory rite, if he or she is from eleven to eighty years old. That this picture of mass *suddhi* depicted in our Smriti is real and not imaginary may be seen from what the Muhammadan historians themselves have written about this matter, as has been recently pointed out by Prof. A. S. Altekar. To take one instance, during the Caliphate of Hisham (A. D. 724-43) Junaid, was governor of Sind. It was he who sent expeditions into the interior of India and spread terror in Rajputana and Gujrat. Junaid was succeeded by Tamim, and the latter by Hakim. While Hakim was the governor, says Baladhuri, the people of Al-Hind apostatized and returned to idolatry, with the exception of the inhabitants of Kassah. This means that all the Hindus, who had become Muslims in the parts of India subjected to the Islam power, again became Hindus as soon as this power crumbled up. This state of things, continued till the time of Al-Beruni (circa 1024 A. D.). "I have repeatedly been told," says he, "that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation, then they bury them in the dung, stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag them out of the dirt and give them similar dirt to eat, and more of the like." It is true that Al-Beruni asked the Brahmins if this was true, but they denied it. This is intelligible enough, because that was a point on which the Muslims were then very touchy and a reply in the affirmative might probably have made them victims to their fanaticism. But there can be no doubt that *suddhi* was in unabated vigour even in the time of Al-Beruni. How else could he be told, not once but repeatedly, that Hindu slaves became Hindus again on return to their country? How again could the mode of expiation referred to by him practically agree with that specified by Devala? There is therefore nothing surprising if the Christians or Muhammadans who were originally Hindus are taken back into the Hindu fold, provided they have still preserved their original Hindu customs and ceremonies.

### Social Insurance in 1932

The International Labour Office details in the third chapter of its latest year-book the progress of the social insurance during the year 1932. *Insurance World* reviews this portion of the book as follows:

The countries passed in review range in geographical situation from Argentina to Japan and in political faith from Fascist Italy to Communist Russia. But in spite of this diversity of latitude and longitude—both geographically and politically—the countries surveyed revealed two very important common features, namely, a genuine concern for the welfare and protection of the workers and an increasing recognition of the efficacy of social insurance for securing these. Coming to National Social Insurance laws, one cannot help noticing the differences occasioned by the different situations in each country, one is struck by the similarity that the national schemes reveal in their broad features. The natural conclusion is that where the fundamental principles of social insurance are concerned there is today a fairly wide agreement among different nations and this fact again is an unmistakable sign of the gradual evolution of a world public opinion through the effort of bodies like the I. L. O.

Among the various schemes—(i) National Health Insurance and (ii) Unemployment Insurance and (iii) Workmen's Compensation, have been the most useful and popular and they have helped to create a definite bond between the Government and the Workers. These schemes can be enumerated as follows:

(1) National Health Insurance which helps to provide monetary benefit or medical aid during illness which leads to absence from the work.

(2) Unemployment scheme is probably the best of these schemes and the workers benefit out of it most as they receive maintenance allowance during the time they are out of work.

(3) Workmen's Compensation covers the risks attendant upon labours in mills and factories and in case of any accident suitable compensation is paid to the workers or their dependants.

One however notices with regret the absence of India in the list of the countries discussed. The omission is not due to any negligence on the part of the compiler of this survey but to the fact that beyond a Government scheme of Workmen's Compensation Act no progress worth recording has been achieved in the direction of Social Insurance, of late. There have been a great many changes in India, and it is an open secret that in years to come, the people of India will take more to insurance and as insurance becomes popular, it can be expected that social insurance in all its branches will be more widely introduced. It is a great pity that such a heavily populated country like India has no such definite schemes of national social insurance and unless and until efforts are made to introduce these schemes of social insurance India will not be able to take her place amongst the other nations of the world.

### Physical Education in India

Dr. J. Henry Gray, M. D., M. P. E., tells us the story of the development of Physical Education in India in an article in *The Young Men of*

*India, Burma and Ceylon.* He says in course of the article :

But we must pass on to more recent times, when the practice of even Yogic exercises dwindled into almost extinction and few were those who made any serious effort to profit thereby. Perhaps it was the coming of the Moguls that threw the emphasis otherwise, when physical exercises shifted from the spiritual to the military expressions of the art, and practice and preparation for war and personal combat came to comprise the main expression of what was once a religious duty. It is at this stage that we see the development that took place in the times of Sivaji and the Marathas. The use of the *lathi*, chain, sword, akali pole and other such exercises developed. The revival of these things in present times is perhaps a similar expression.

But with the loss of political prestige and the warring of the various factions within India, even this type of physical activity degenerated and was used only by the coolie or the simple villager as a form of recreation. As a practical war measure it of course was useless when pitted against the modern inventions. Apparently, however, one form of recreation which has persisted all the way through is wrestling. In almost any part of India today one can find the devotees of this sport practising and contesting. The eagerness of the onlooker—often whole villages going to watch and back the hero of their village as he competes with a rival from another village—is an indication that this sport has a deeply-rooted place in the lives of the common people. It undoubtedly has its roots in very far off times. It is also the sport of Rujas, who have unfortunately tended to professionalize it to its detriment. One needs only to mention one of the modern developments of this sport, the well-equipped wrestling ring, with accommodation for several thousands of spectators and a well-trained corps of wrestlers, of all weights and sizes, that is maintained by the Maharaja of Kolhapore.

With the passing away of the Yogi exercises, the abandoning of the Sivaji type of work, we come into what is perhaps the darkest spot in the story, the almost collapse of any spirited or aggressive work in the period just preceding the early contacts with the West. The causes were possibly to be found in famine, poverty, disease, internecine wars, defective diet, early marriage, purdah, ascetic ideals for the body, and associated social and religious customs. At any rate there appears to be a period in which the physical condition of the people was such that they are said to have been the poorest race physically of any peoples on the earth. And for proof one need only turn to the vitality statistics of those and subsequent days which have been compiled by the Government of India.

With the increasing contacts with the West a change has slowly but steadily come about. India might almost be said to have passed through another incarnation. Observation gradually aroused interest, participation has revived the natural instincts for play found in every race or nation, improved skill from participation and success in competition have set new standards and encouraged wider participation. The nationalistic ambition of India to put herself alongside the other nations of the world in all phases of life has led to a nation-wide awakening and the development of a great national movement for physical activity.

### Industrial Development of India

*Scientific Indian* makes some extracts from an address of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, of which we quote the following :

To obtain a clear idea of the true position of industries in this country, an industrial survey is a necessary preliminary and the first step towards it is to collect statistics of existing industries. A reliable survey should be made of all the industries pursued, the quantities and values of products manufactured, raw materials utilized, number of persons employed, wages paid, motive power used and other particulars usually collected in advanced countries and the results placed at the disposal of the public.

There has been no attempt at a systematic survey of the natural resources, such as has been carried out under the policy of 'Conservation of Resources' by the Governments of the United States of America and Canada. The natural resources there have been very carefully surveyed and mapped. The surveys embrace resources under agriculture, irrigation, water power, forests, fisheries, mining areas, and they will serve as a model to us when similar systematic surveys are undertaken in India. Correct information is needed as regards the supply of raw materials, coal, water power, labour and other facilities available in each province and State for helping existing industries or starting new ones.

A third class of investigations required is an analysis of imports and exports, the imports to show the class of articles for which there is a home market, and the exports mainly to determine what materials, which might provide occupations to indigenous labour and increase its purchasing power, are being sent out of the country in a raw or semi-finished state.

Many of the articles in common use for the manufacture of which raw materials are available in the country, or which were being manufactured here at one time or another, are being obtained from abroad, showing that the country has been following policies which have made her dependent on foreign countries for some of her barest necessities. In recent years, there has been some improvement in the manufacture, particularly of cotton piecegoods and yarn, and there is a general determination on the part of the people to promote Swadeshi enterprise.

Dependence on foreign manufactures for staple products, such as clothing, steel, sugar and salt which the people of this country were at one time not only manufacturing for themselves but also exporting to foreign lands, would in any part of the world be regarded as a sign of grave national decay. If purchases of clothing and such other necessities have to be paid for from the meagre earnings from agriculture as is done here, no country can escape impoverishment. The result of past neglect of industries has been deplorable. There are too many people dependent on agriculture and too few on industries. The balance between agriculture and industries is dislocated.

Industrialization has to be organized, planned and worked for. If left to the chances of natural growth under the existing unnatural limitations, it is impossible to expect any real progress. Not only can there be no progress, but there is a very real danger of a further set-back, a further drift towards ruralization, with consequences which one dreads to contemplate. It is for those in authority,

to consider whether by timely and effective measures such a drift should not be checked and checked at once.

### Polygyny in British West Africa

Mr. W. Addison has contributed an interesting paper on polygyny in British West Africa in *The African Path*. We make the following extracts from the paper.

One of the problems facing the advance of Christianity in British West Africa is that of the prevailing marriage custom, namely, polygyny; the beneficent system of several wives sharing one husband, the work of one household, the farm, and the production of raw products for export.

Native law does not prescribe the number of wives a man may have, but it does definitely provide against marriages within the blood. For example, a man may not marry his wife's sister, his own sister, his mother, daughter, aunt, cousin, niece, and so forth. Away from civilization, there are few illegitimate children, no prostitutes as we know them, no homes for "fallen women", and "rescue" societies are unnecessary.

If a man and a woman within the prohibited degrees of kinship are intimate both commit the crime of "Simongama", a very serious breach of native law and custom involving heavy punishment for the delinquents and their respective families. Unfaithfulness in a wife is considered an offence, but it is not a disgrace. In certain circumstances, unfaithful conduct in the husband is allowable.

The first wife to be married is, as a rule, the head wife, and she is sometimes older than the husband. She controls the household, and by virtue of that good sense which is born in the blood manages to do so without undue friction. Jealousy among the wives is not obvious to a stranger, and any untoward inquisitiveness would be strongly resented.

A humane and wise arrangement safe-guards the health of an expectant mother and her baby until the child is weaned and, at the same time, acts as a natural, non-mechanical, non-chemical form of family limitation.

His wives help one another to keep the house clean, prepare and cook the meals, weed the farm, manufacture palm oil from the pericarp of the fruit the husband has gathered, and crack the nuts to obtain the palm kernel. They co-operate in harvesting the crops grown on their farm, clean, spin, and dye their own cotton with the most wonderful shades of blue, the husband, if he is a weaver, weaving the spun cotton into long strips which he sews together forming the "country cloth" for which the Protectorate of Sierra Leone is noted. There is no machinery; all the operations are done by hand. From this home-made cloth are made roomy and picturesque gowns for men, wraps for women, and bed coverings. What is known as the "Gallinas Cloth" is a work of art in colour, design, and lasting quality. It is a curious fact that the men are the seamsters, and not the women.

The men share with their wives every penny they receive as the result of the joint efforts of the family. The houses are their own property, the land is their own; the land houses, clothes, and feeds them; they pay one direct tax, namely, five shillings per dwelling-house per annum; there are no "rates and taxes," and the income tax is still unknown;

every woman can have a child if she wants one, and the child will not be a bastard to carry the brand of shame through all its innocent young days; there is no unemployment, the "dole" is still a stranger, and women do not compete with men for men's work; in truth, in well-administered chiefdoms the drawbacks and hindrances of the vaunted civilization of the countries of the modern white man and woman are difficult to find.

On dark nights, early to bed is the rule. In fine weather, when the moon shines with all the beautiful splendour of the tropics, the family joins in the village dance to the tune of segbulis, drums, and song; the pipe and palm wine creating in a very happy and pleasant scene an urbane, frictionless sociability difficult to imagine, and which must be seen through unprejudiced eyes to be believed.

For many years, the white missionary of various nationalities, foreign as well as our own, has tried to convince the African woman I know that she is a slave and a mere chattel, "living in sin." In the Protectorate of Sierra Leone there were women Paramount Chiefs, Sub-chiefs, and heads of villages long before the women of Britain obtained the vote. With such a vigorous mentality the people on whose behalf this is written will, one day, if led aright, realize which kind of life is best for them; that of the industrialized white man and woman, or their own.

### Science in Ancient India

Mr. E. S. Parameswara writes in an article in *The Scholar*:

The development of Geometry was linked with religion, and it arose out of mathematical applications to the religious rituals, such as *Homa*, *Yoga*, etc. Many of the theorems in Euclid, such as that of Pythagoras, were well known to the Hindus. Aryabhata, in the fifth century A. D., knew that the area of a circle could be written as  $11r^2$ . He found the value of  $\pi$  to be 3.1416. Many difficult constructions in Geometry could be easily performed by him. Bhaskaracharya in the twelfth century gave a correlated account of his predecessors, such as Sredhara, Varahamihira, Bhramagupta, etc.

Bhaskaracharya knew that bodies fell to the ground because the earth attracted them. Gravity was known, but not the law of gravitation. The accelerated motion of bodies, as they fell freely, was known. Bhaskara attributed the persistent tendency for motion of a body to 'Vega', an expression similar to our notions of Inertia. Kanada, the founder of the Vaisheshika philosophy, gave out the theory of atomic and molecular combinations. The Jains held that the different classes of elementary substances were evolved out of a primordial atom. This reminds us of the modern hydrogen theory. The size of the atom was known to be  $11.35 \times 10^{-23}$  of a cubic inch. This is a remarkable coincidence with the latest value attributed to the hydrogen atom. The phenomenon of reflection and refraction was known to Udayotkara; heat and light were ascribed to motion.

### Economics of Indian Salesmanship

Mr. Erailil A. Varghese contrasts Indian salesmanship with American in a useful paper in *The Mysore Economic Journal*. He writes:

The profit-making motive ingrained in man which



sees in money the lever of material comforts, may, like any other motive, be carried to an extreme or reduced to an absurdity. Hence the ridicule attached to the "Get rich quick" and "Devil take the hindmost" philosophy which is after all the economic interpretation of the biological struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. All exaggerations aside, the money-making motive which incarnates in salesmanship works differently in America and India. If America errs on the wrong side with high pressure salesmanship, India is frozen into stolidity except for the bevy of insurance agents who have cropped up like mushrooms recently. It may be that the needs of the consuming public are few, that their purchasing power is low, that there are few goods to sell in our India. Other excuses may come in handy. Educated Indians are mostly content to importunate for jobs in government departments; they are salesmen in the larger sense that they want to sell, rent or mortgage their services for a money consideration. But they reveal, from an American point of view, poor salesmanship. Our graduates know too little of business English and too much of literary English and the sins of Shakespeare and Milton that they never write to the point. Their "Most respected and honourable Sir, Salutations," the recitals in the body of the application about their miseries, the sisters to marry and the brothers to educate and the abject prayer at the conclusion assure that it is food for the W. P. B. The American employers prefer to hear of the job-seeker's abilities, achievements in the field and in the class, his self-confidence and self-respect. Nothing gives you a better chance to a job there than a personal interview and a frank, bold, fact-to-face talk with the boss unaccompanied by in-laws or letters, though it looks as though America too is in these depression days falling down into line with India.

Returning to India after an absence of four years, I may reminisce about our department stores, hotels, railway ticket offices, and similar public places and the methods of salesmanship. From the first it struck me that the turnover of goods in Indian business firms is frightfully slow which in America would have served the manager with notice at the end of the week. This slow turnover is, I believe, through inefficient and inexperienced salesmanship. To take the familiar instance of the department store. There is a general air of indifference in the management. I have noted extreme examples of salesboys playing cards or reading newspapers and in Bombay many of the bazaar shops are equipped with couches and pillows behind the "desk" with their irresistible temptations. In all these places the customer has usually to go about searching for the salesman and then enquire the price of this or that article for there are no signs or divisions of the floor and invariably the prices are not only unmarked but are also subject to the devastating ordeal of bargaining which has made the East proverbial in the West. The attitude of the average shopkeeper seems to be that the customer must wait on him instead of the other way. He thinks that he is doing you a favour. Take the hotels, for a change. There is neither menu nor a price list on the tables or the walls as in the American cafeterias and unless one is careful more often than not, he will pay through the nose for the guilt of wearing a sunhat. It seems to be on the economic principle of what the traffic can bear as in taxation or railway rate making! Successively baited and beaten by

these tactics, I am careful to ascertain the prices before I order; but how embarrassing, one doesn't feel like ordering more, thus reducing turnover and profits. The American idea is small profit per unit with a large income through rapid turnover of goods as shown by their mass production and sale schemes. In India the percentage of profit seems to be larger and the turnover smaller. If only the net result were the same! The importance of turnover is illustrated from the dividend sheets of the Woolworth, Grant, Kress and other 5 and 10 cent stores in New York who carry nothing over these values (about 2 and 4 annas). Almost every need is supplied by them from thimble and thread to frying pan and hot chocolate. And their floors are crowded out by elbow-jostlers any part of the day.

### Discovery of the Vitamins

*The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* gives the story of the discovery of the vitamins as follows:

In 1866 a disease called "beriberi" was raging in the Dutch East Indies. Its toll among the white soldiers and sailors of the Dutch army and navy was proportionately as great as among the native population. Claude Lillingston, in *Hygeia* is responsible for the statement that "beriberi" the name that has attached itself to this disease, is from a Sinhalese word meaning "cannot," first used in Ceylon to describe the condition of the patient, who cannot do anything because his heart is weak and his limbs are often dropsical and paralysed.

The Dutch Government in 1866 sent Dr. Eykman out to Java as a member of a Commission to investigate and locate if possible "the germ responsible for beriberi." It had been only a few years since Pasteur had made his revolutionary discovery of "germs." More recently Koch of Germany had electrified the medical world by the discovery of the germ of tuberculosis. The entire medical profession had become "germ conscious," believing that every disease that afflicted the human family must arise from some germ.

So Dr. Eykman and his colleagues spent many weary months vainly searching for the "beriberi" germ. In the end the other members of the Commission returned to Holland, but Dr. Eykman stayed on as director of the new Research Laboratory in Batavia. This laboratory happened to be next door to a military hospital from whose wards Dr. Eykman received the waste scraps for feeding the laboratory animals on which he was experimenting. These scraps consisted mainly of white or unpolished rice. The doctor was puzzled by a singular illness that overtook his fowls, the lot of them suffering from a peculiar form of paralysis.

### THE RIDDLE SOLVED

Mr. Lillingston gives the following account of the solving of the riddle: "Germs were, of course, at once suspected, but no micro-organism could be incriminated. Had he been allowed at this stage to continue his search for germs at his own sweet will and without any interference from man or beast, Eykman might well have landed himself in a blind alley. But a newly appointed superintendent of the military hospital now came on the scene and played the part as villain of the piece with artless but signal success.

"Here," we can imagine him saying to himself, "is a doctor feeding his fowls on hospital food for which he has not paid?"

It is time I asserted myself and put a stop to this dishonest practice. To be sure, he is using only scraps of waste food, but if I overlook this petty larceny, it will prove the thin edge of the wedge, and those that take their cue from Dr. Eykman will steal something belonging to the hospital more valuable than the contents of the dustbins. So I will be firm, very firm.

An outcome of these cogitations was the decree that Eykman was no longer to feed his fowls scraps from the wards. Instead, he had to feed them on rice still in the husk, a commodity known as *gaba*. His fowls recovered. Had they suddenly and wholesale acquired immunity to the germs from whose ravages they were supposed to be suffering? The facts did not altogether fit in with this hypothesis, and Eykman, straightway set himself to the task of finding the answer for this interesting riddle.

#### WHITE RICE THE VILLAIN *yes. ✓*

"The fowls were separated, one lot given whole rice, another but half peeled rice and yet another lot polished white rice. Only the birds in this last lot developed the disease which he called 'polyneuritis gallinarum' and which appeared after the fowls had been on this diet for three or four weeks. They recovered when given whole rice, half peeled rice or rice bran. He identified this disease in fowls with the beriberi of human beings and concluded that in both cases the trouble was due principally to a diet of overmilled rice.

"Eykman and his fellow workers found they could provoke polyneuritis gallinarum in fowls by feeding them on any sort of rice, raw or cooked, home-grown or imported, fresh or old, provided it was polished. Sago, tapioca and barley had the same effect as polished rice, provided their outer coatings were removed and the fowl's menu was not supplemented by any other food. About 1896 Eykman and his colleagues, Grijns and Vorderman, were pretty sure that the solution of the riddle both for human beings and in fowls was found in the milling processes that separated the constituent elements of the grain, whether it was rice or other grains. These conclusions were confirmed by experiments on inmates of the several prisons in Java.

"The foods tested for their protective action against beriberi were rice bran, half peeled rice, potatoes, whole barley, dried beans, rye flour, milk and yeast, all of which are capable of preventing what Eykman called 'partial hunger.' But white rice, tapioca, sago, peeled or pearl barley, sterilized food and white flour were found not to contain the protective substances. We now know that the foods in the former group contain vitamin B while those in the latter group lack it. The word 'vitamin,' by the way, was coined by Funk from the Latin *vita*—life."

#### A French Savant on Dr. Bhagavan Das

Dr. Chandra Datta Pande gives in *Twentieth Century* M. Andre Chevrillon's estimate of Dr. Bhagavan Das:

"The Pandit to whom I listened, has deeply penetrated into modern European thought as well as in the ancient wisdom of the East. His familiarity with Hegel and Fichte, Stuart Mill and Spencer, and all the scientific ideas of the West, is as astounding as his vast knowledge of the Oriental sciences distilled by the ancient Rishis. With remarkable dexterity he has interpreted the profound intuition of the Oriental Seers in the scientific language of the Occident.

"In that little snug apartment of the Central Hindu College, furnished with tasteful austerity, Bhagavan Das—*Serviteur of God*—received me with a graceful greeting in the Hindu style. With what patience, modest serenity, and lucid simplicity he replied to my questions! I wonder if he realized my growing respect for him and also my regret at the thought that such a vast treasure of science—knowledge—was hidden in him, and that he could never belong to that legion of scholars in Europe whose names are on the lips of the crowd. He spoke on most difficult problems. There was a singular dignity in his countenance and accent which is characteristic of a soul which has enjoyed the blissful peace of a higher plane. He was dressed in a very simple, rather severe European costume; his bright visage so dominated me that I could not possibly observe anything but the face. It charmed me. Young and handsome, a complexion of very clear bronze with a deep nuance of gravity indicating, perhaps, a little melancholy, often brightened by a radiating smile, yet always in contemplative mood.

"Indeed, there was no laughter to break the calmness of his physiognomy; it slowly changed from gravity to smile, and from smile again to sweet gravity. His eyes were fixed on mine and the dark bright *lueur* of his eyes captivated me. Brahmanic love—love that does not make distinction between oneself and others—radiated from his eyes; admirable and tranquil light, clarified by asceticism and meditation, purged of the passions and egoist will, like a man who has attained two superior stages: *Vairagya*—the death of desire, and *Kritabuddhi* in the self, and real intelligence which does not see things but only in the terms of eternity.

"With that sweet and firm peace of his looks, that benevolent austerity of his visage, that expression of high and modest dignity, that studied and discreet *tenue*, that supple form of the body which nature has not bestowed anything which is not necessary and decent—the body which recedes into distance before and radiant spirituality of his forehead—with that unflinching vigilance practised on the self—I felt myself in the presence of a Lucius Verus or a Marcus Aurelius, the great Stoic masters.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### The Lady Who Financed the Everest Flight

Everybody in India has heard the name of Lady Houston who financed the great aeroplane flight over Everest. But very few perhaps know why she did so. The whole story is given in *The Living Age*:

Her name is Lady Houston—Lucy Houston—or, as she modestly signs herself, 'Truthsayer.' The *Week-end Review*, in its department entitled 'This England,' which corresponds to Mencken's 'Americana' in the *American Mercury*, recently quoted Lady Houston as offering this solution for the Indian problem:

'If there is anyone who knows anything about India—that person is Mr. Rudyard Kipling, but has his advice been asked about this most momentous question? I trow not—and yet Rudyard Kipling was born in India—brought up in India—mixed with the peoples of India and knows their character from A to Z. In him we have a man to whom the whole world bows down as a genius of wisdom on Indian affairs and not one of the several Viceroy's the Government are so fond of trotting out as White Paper men could hesitate to acknowledge him as their Master on anything to do with India, and remember, Mr. Kipling is Mr. Baldwin's cousin.'

But the Government's failure to make use of Mr. Kipling's talents as a moderator did not discourage the noble Lady. Already, perhaps suspecting un-Imperial conduct on the part of a Cabinet that contains such friends of Indian independence as Neville Chamberlain, Lady Houston had financed an aeroplane flight over Mount Everest and was therefore invited to a luncheon in honour of the fliers given by Major J. J. Astor, proprietor of the *London Times*, which had exclusive rights to the photographs of the trip. But Lady Houston was prevented by illness from attending and therefore said she would be glad to send a message to be read, to which Major Astor replied, 'You were good enough to say that you would like to send a message for me to read at the luncheon.' The message, entitled 'Why I Financed the Houston Mount Everest Expedition,' opened with this friendly passage:

'My reason was this—a relation of mine had just come from India and three days after she left—her nearest neighbour was murdered. This sort of thing I was told is—alas—not unusual now in India. I asked "Why?"—and the answer I got was—that since agitators had been permitted to preach treason it has made the people of India think that we Britons have lost our courage—and that they had better therefore stand in with these others. This made me feel that some great deed of heroism might rouse India and make them remember that though they are of a different Race—they are British Subjects—under the King of England—Who is Emperor of India and what more can they want?'

Now Major Astor, being a different kind of Imperialist from Lady Houston, evidently did not

believe that these words would add to the prestige of Great Britain in India and therefore did not read them, but wrote her this note:

Dear Lady Houston,

It gives me the greatest pleasure to send you *The Times* commemorative medal of the Houston Mount Everest Flight Expedition. I feel sure that you will be pleased to hear that my references to your generosity and your message, as well as the tributes paid you by Air Commodore Fellowes and Lord Clydesdale, were very warmly received.

Yours sincerely,

John. J. Astor

As Lady Houston said, 'This letter was an insult'—and the fire-works began. The next day her statement appeared complete in the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Sketch*, and the *Morning Post*—having been hastily dispatched to all of them by its authoress. But *The Times* still kept silent, and Lady Houston wrote to the Major again:

'I am sometimes very simple for I foolishly imagined that you—the Proprietor of *The Times* newspaper—would be a gentleman—and a man of honour—but had I known you better—I could have given my message to one of my friends to read out—several of whom were at the Luncheon—for naturally everybody at the Luncheon would have liked to hear why I financed this Great Adventure—instead of being told by you an entirely different reason from the one I gave.'

The dispute is too long and boring to follow in all its intricacies, but after Major Astor had been called a cad and told—by this lover of truth—that the circulation of his newspaper had doubled and trebled because of its news of the expedition, he ceased firing and left Lady Houston in sole possession of the field. The wonder is that he held out as long as he did—for, as his opponent wrote to him, 'I am really rather sorry for you—for men much cleverer than you—have failed to prove me wrong—simply because my text is always THE TRUTH and therefore unassailable.'

The dashes, the capital letters, and the italics in all the passages are the Lady's own.

### The Leipzig Trial

*The New Republic* has the following note on the Leipzig trial:

Minister Goring has announced that the trial of the five men accused of incendiarism in connection with the Reichstag fire will begin on September 21 in Leipzig and will last six weeks. During that time all aeroplane flights over Leipzig have been forbidden by him. Thus anxiously the German government is providing for the undisturbed progress of a trial in which, were there a semblance of justice left in Germany, they themselves would occupy the prisoner's bench. That much the evidence obtained from credible witnesses by the international commission of leading jurists sitting in London has already proved.



beyond a doubt. The commission has heard evidence to establish the following facts:

The mass of inflammable material required to lay the fire could not possibly have been brought into the building without knowledge of the management. The fire department of Berlin was not called until after the police appeared, and a company of twenty Storm Troopers was already in charge when the fire engines came. Director Gempp of the very efficient Berlin Fire Department complained that Minister Goring would not permit him to send out further alarms to prevent unnecessary destruction. Mr. Gempp noticed, in those parts of the building which were not destroyed by flames, piles of incendiary material, "sufficient to have filled a large truck."

The caretakers of the Reichstag, on February 27, the day of the fire, were dismissed from duty by the Nazi house inspector, at 1 p. m. in spite of their protest, "as there would be nothing more to do that day."

Although the raid on the Karl Liebknecht Haus—where, it is alleged, plans for the destruction of the Reichstag and other public buildings were found—took place on February 24 and the Nazi President of Police reported verbally to Minister Goring on February 26, no steps were taken to ensure the safety of the Reichstag.

The incendiary van der Lubbe, who, when arrested had a Dutch passport and a membership card of the Communist party of Holland in his pocket, knew neither Torgler nor any of his Communist codefendants; on the contrary, he had known leading National Socialists for more than two years and had been repeatedly used by them.

A number of Nazis knew of the plan to set fire to the Reichstag and spoke of it before the act was perpetrated.

Add to these facts that the government appointed well-known National Socialist lawyers to represent the defendants at the trial, that attorneys chosen by the accused were prevented by terroristic threats from taking over the defence and that the German State Attorney declined to guarantee to Romain Rolland the safety of witnesses for the defence who are at present outside of Germany but are willing to testify. The case is prejudged, for to admit the innocence of the accused would prove the guilt of the present rulers of Germany.

#### Early Days of Hitler

A writer who signs himself W. W. C. has given an account of Hitler's early days in *The New Statesman and Nation*. We are quoting this article in full for its unusual interest:

The first time I heard the name of Adolf Hitler mentioned was shortly after the end of the War, when a man named Franz Xavier Huber, a war veteran who had had a leg shot away before Verdun in 1917, told me stories of a curious fellow who had been in his regiment at the front. He was a garrulous chap, and, sitting in that same Burgerbrau Keller in Munich where in 1923 Hitler took his first plunge into revolutionary activities by firing off his army revolver at the ceiling and declaring the morrow would see him victor or dead, although it saw him neither the one nor the other, but unscathed, a helter-skelter fugitive in the Bavarian hills, he used to tell tales tragic and humorous of his campaign experiences.

The thing that had struck him about 'Private

Hitler' was his grandiloquence. He was neither popular nor the reverse with his fellows; they just smiled at him and his vague, rambling speeches on everything in the world and out of it. He acquired very swiftly the reputation of being what in the British Army is called 'an old soldier.' That is, he showed distinct talent in avoiding disagreeable tasks, but he knew on which side his bread was buttered. He interested himself particularly in the important question of seeing that the officers' washing was done or doing it himself. This secured for him the good graces of the colonel, who removed him from the more constant dangers of the trenches and appointed him runner between regimental headquarters and the front line.

These duties brought him frequently in contact with the men and he would sit for hours in a dug-out and hold forth on socialism, of which it was evident he had only very hazy notions. Old Social Democrats used to laugh at him, but no one debated seriously with him. He could not brook contradiction and used to fly into terrible rages if anyone ventured a word of dissent. Though he got the Iron Cross of the second class, no one in the regiment ever looked upon Hitler as any sort of a hero; indeed, they rather admired him for the skill with which he avoided hot corners. The regimental records contain not a line concerning an award of the Iron Cross of the first class to Hitler, though in latter years he has taken to wearing it prominently on his self-constructed uniform.

In those days in Munich I lived in the Thiersh Strasse, where nowadays the Hitlerite organ, *Volksischer Beobachter*, has its office in a sumptuous building, and I frequently noticed in the street a man who vaguely reminded me of a militant edition of Charlie Chaplin, owing to his characteristic moustache and his bouncing way of walking. He never wore a hat, but always carried a riding whip in his hand, with which he used incessantly to chop off imaginary heads as he walked. He was so funny that I inquired from neighbours who he might be; most of them, owing to his Slav type, took him to be one of those Russian emigres who abounded in Germany at that time, and they freely talked of his being probably a trifle mentally deranged. But my grocer told me it was a Herr Adolf Hitler from Braunau in Austria, and that he was leader of a tiny political group which called itself the 'German National Socialist Workers' Party.' He lived quietly enough as a boarder in the apartment of a small artisan, wrote articles for an obscure paper called the *Volksischer Beobachter*, and orated in hole-and-corner meetings before audiences of a dozen or two. His closest friend was a Russian emigre from the Baltic provinces, a certain Herr Rosenberg, who was joint owner of the paper. Out of curiosity I bought the paper once or twice, and found it a scatter-brained collection of wild anti-Jewish stories and articles interlarded with panegyrics on the Germanic race. My obliging grocer closed his information on Hitler by remarking that he frequently purchased things in his shop and was, despite his eccentric appearance, quite a pleasant fellow, though inclined to talk sixteen to the dozen about anything and everything.

Some time later I became a frequent customer of a little wine saloon in the Schelling Strasse, called the 'Osteria Bavaria.' It was an historic place in its way, for it had been the haunt of the philosopher, Schelling. The Public in this inn was mostly composed of Bohemians, artists, art students, and members of the staff of *Simplicissimus*, the famous



satirical weekly. Musicians and poetasters sat around of an evening and listened to Gulbransson or Thony giving forth their views on art, politics, and the price of a pound of meat. Discussions ensued that lasted far into the night, over tankards of beer and bottles of an excellent Chianti. Hitler was an almost daily visitor; he had, I learned, been a house painter in his early days in Vienna, but he was rather sore on the subject, and posed as an artist. He was very fond of airing his views on art and architecture, which, however, were not taken seriously by any of the artists who frequented the place.

Hitler was often accompanied by one or two friends who, I was told, were members of his little political group. The most sensible of the band was a chemist named Gregor Strasser, a very sound fellow with whom I often spoke. Hitler's closest friend at that time, however, seemed to be an ex-army-captain named Roehm, who later became chief of the Storm Troops, while his friend, Baldur von Schirach, was entrusted with leadership of the 'Hitler Youth,' the boy-scout organization of the National Socialist movement.

One thing that struck me about Hitler was his extreme abstemiousness. He ate every night a dish of vegetables, and mineral water was his only drink. He never smoked. This reminds me of an amusing incident when Hitler became Chancellor. The German vegetarians have a central organ of their league, and this paper came out with flaming headlines:

#### FIRST GREAT VICTORY OF GERMAN VEGETARIANS HITLER BECOMES CHANCELLOR

Sometimes instead of regaling us with chaotic speeches, Hitler would sit for hours on end in front of his mineral water, staring into space, not uttering a word, and apparently quite oblivious of his surroundings. If on these occasions someone suddenly addressed him, he would stare as if out of sleep, and stroke his forehead with his hand several times before coming back to reality.

Apart from politics and art, Hitler's chief topics of conversation were Italy and clairvoyance. He had never visited Italy, but had apparently read a great deal about it, and he would sometimes talk for half an hour on end about the glories of ancient Rome and the greatness of the Caesars. There was something about his talk that made one think of the prophets of the Old Testament; he spoke as if he believed himself to be inspired. The only thing that dispelled the illusion was his frequent use of words that are not found in the dictionary of a cultivated German.

One day I remember that a man came in who, for the price of a plate of soup, read hands and told fortunes. Hitler retired with the soothsayer into a corner and spent a whole hour with him in earnest conference. When he got back among us, he turned with anger upon a student who had made a slighting remark about clairvoyance, and launched out upon an eloquent defence of occultism of every kind, and especially of astrology. He made a confidant, too, of a Jewish charlatan named Steinschneider who had taken to himself the name of Hanussen, and consulted him frequently. Hanussen, who subsequently founded and ran a weekly newspaper on astrology, devoted to indirect propaganda for Hitler, became for a few weeks after Hitler's accession to power almost as important a factor in Germany as Rasputin had been in Russia. But his end was a tragic one. He

was found murdered in a field in the environs of Berlin. Accounts vary regarding his death. Some say he knew too much; others that he had warned Hitler that the stars were unfavourable to him and that in the beginning of the winter of 1933 he would collapse. Others again ascribe his death to the jealousy of professional colleagues. However that may be, the incident does not appear to have shaken Hitler's faith in astrology, and one of Hanussen's chief rivals, a man named Mucke, has been appointed by Hitler 'Federal Commissary for Occultism.' This, I believe, is the first time in modern ages that a state has officially recognized soothsaying and turned it into a government department.

But there is one extraordinary feature about Hitler's faith in the occult which gives rise to intriguing speculation. As everyone knows, he has adopted the swastika as the emblem not only of his party but of the state. But curiously enough this swastika is reversed, and anyone acquainted with Eastern beliefs and superstitions knows that this is to be regarded with positive horror. An inverted swastika is indicative not of endless life but of the flood and flame of life leading to a violent destruction. Did Hitler know this when he foisted it upon the German nation? Is the reversed swastika just another sign of the man's half-baked conception of things, even his beloved mysticism? Or is this a last vestige of the irony of his political faith?

Hitler was not without devoted adherents in the 'Osteria Bavaria.' Some students after a while became seized with a sort of hero worship regarding him, and hung on to every word he said with wrapt attention. But there is no doubt that his chief admirers were the two waitresses, buxom Bavarian wenches who listened open-mouthed to him and danced attendance on him in a way that formed the subject of many jokes among the habitués of the place. Hitler's relations with women indeed are a strange and obscure chapter. I saw a great deal of him at that time, and I can certify that he was in these matters as abstemious as in regard to food and drink. The only woman he seemed to care for at all was the lady to whose villa in the hills he fled after his inglorious collapse in November 1923. He used to correspond with her a great deal and spent frequent week-ends at her place. Latterly he is said to have fallen in love with Winifred Wagner, but I can hardly imagine the Hitler of 1921 in love. Another thing that struck me was the man's utter incapacity to deal with important details. When he spoke of Italy, or the German race, or occultism, or the Jews, his talk was a succession of vague generalities, couched in attractive if flowery language, but showing in every case either complete ignorance or at least complete contempt for detail.

Though he insisted in season and out of season on the greatness of 'pure Germanism,' I never met a German who was so entirely un-German. His speech, his outlook upon men and things were far more Slav than Teutonic. He loved everything foreign while he denounced it. His race theories came from the Frenchman, Gobineau, and the English renegade, Houston Chamberlain. His famous phrase, 'the Third Reich,' was the invention of the Dutchman, Moeller van den Bruck. The party salute was an Elizabethan stage convention—a subterfuge adopted by actors to give a Roman effect. His regimental standards were a pale imitation of Roman eagles. His uniforms are anything but Germanic. They are a sort of cocktail of French,



Austrian, and English uniforms with most of the bad and probably still is, passionately, almost ferociously, points to all three. But I will say this, as the sincere in all he says and does, even when it appears result of these long evenings spent with him he was hypocritical and insincere.



The Sculptor's Wife  
(Front View)  
By Deviprasad Ray-Chaudhuri



## INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee on the Indian Colonization Enquiry in South Africa

We have already expressed our opinion on the question of the co-operation of our countrymen in South Africa with the Colonization Enquiry Committee and we are glad to note that responsible workers of the South African Congress like Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee and Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi have taken up a commonsense attitude of the whole situation. We give below a few extracts from an article of Mr. Sorabjee on this subject.

"After the emergency Conference of the South African Indian Congress overwhelmingly endorsed the action of its Executive in the appointment of a representative to sit on the Government's Committee of enquiry into the possibilities of colonization for Indians, the opposition continues to hold meetings—the object of which is to stir up opposition to the Congress. Whatever our faults, individually, may have been—and who is without blame—there can be no justification for keeping up an agitation which can only create suspicion and doubt among ignorant people...

### ARE WE INCONSISTENT ?

The Congress is accused of being inconsistent in agreeing to co-operate in the enquiry whilst at the same time stating that it is not in favour of any colonization scheme. This apparent contradiction is in reality nothing of the kind...The present enquiry is intended to find out whether any suitable area exists where Indians, including South African Indians, if they so desire, may emigrate with good prospects. We are not interested in the alleged motives of the Anti-Asiatic element in the Union Parliament, who no doubt would be glad to see the last of us. We can afford to ignore an attitude which is based on colour prejudice and racial animosity. We were well aware of the attitude when we agreed to support the Indian delegation at the Cape Town Round Table Conference—and so were the present leaders of the Indian opposition who were signatories to the agreement arrived at. There is therefore no change in that respect.

### OUR PLEDGED WORD

It has been stated that we should be justified in withdrawing our promise to co-operate because of the passing of legislation detrimental to our interests, such as the Transvaal Land Tenure Bill, but we decided that such action on our part, even if justifiable, would be retaliatory. We decided therefore

to stand by our pledged word, and not confuse one thing with another. If the Government have not kept their part of the bargain we desire to keep ours.

### THE RIGHT TO CONSULTATION

We accepted the Government's invitation... for one very good reason, and that is the right to be consulted on all matters affecting our interests. Behind all the intense feeling that actuated Mr. Gandhi and the Indian leaders who suffered imprisonment in the Passive Resistance movement was the principle of consultation...Most of us regard the present enquiry with toleration and nothing further, for we have little faith in its success, but we feel that we can assist the Government in their enquiry without giving away any principle.

This statement of Mr. Sorabjee makes the whole situation very clear and we wonder why there should be any misunderstanding about it.

### A Circular Letter of the South African Indian Congress

Since the agitation against the Congress decision on this subject by those who were opposed to it continues unabated the Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress have been compelled to issue some circular letters on this subject. Here is one that puts the whole thing in a nutshell.

### CONGRESS AND COLONIZATION WHY WE SHOULD CO-OPERATE

1. Because our Leaders gave a solemn and honourable undertaking to the Government of India Delegation in 1932 on which the basis of the second Capetown Agreement was arrived at between the Union and Indian Governments.

2. Because we re-affirmed the undertaking at our Conference in Johannesburg in August 1932, and reiterated it again at the South African Indian Congress at an Emergency Conference on the 19th and 20th August, 1933.

3. Because we have always cried for and welcomed Commissions and Committees of Enquiry into any phase of our question...

4. Because we asked for representation on these Commissions and Committees and this is the first occasion we are being granted representation.

5. Because this enquiry is only an enquiry—we are not committed to colonization or any colonization scheme.



6. Because this enquiry is an occasion to prove our right to be in this country—that we are assets in this land—that we are not a burden nor are we undesirables, nor that our numbers need reduction.

7. Because we can, through this enquiry, prove that the Union has ample and vast unoccupied spaces that can and should be opened up to the Indian...

8. Because to refrain to participate will mean allowing our case to go by default.

9. Because, above all, we can trust Mr. S. R. Naidoo, the South African Congress nominee, on the Enquiry Committee.

NOTE WELL:

*The Congress does not advocate any one leaving the country under any scheme.*

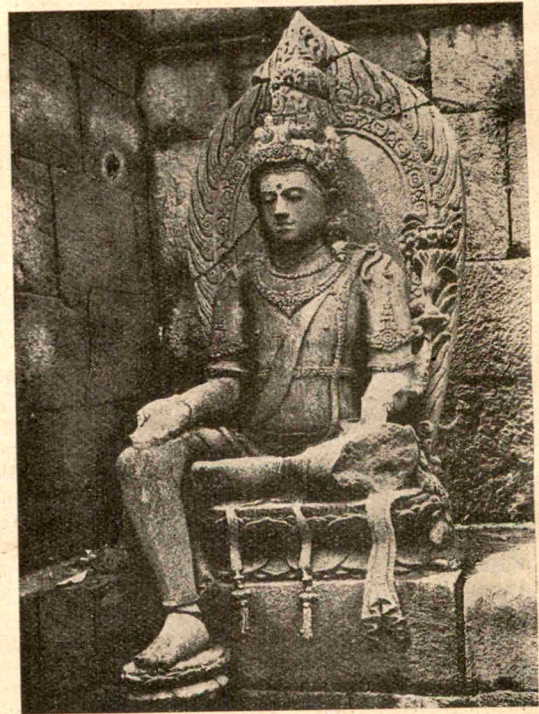
### A Suicidal Policy

Some of our countrymen in South Africa have taken up a very wrong line of action. They have formed a Colonial Born and Settler's Association. To divide the Indian

Community of South Africa into two parts, the colonial born and the Indian born will be nothing short of a criminal folly at this stage and we wonder if the promoters of this sectional feeling among our countrymen in the Union realize the reactions that their attitude will have in other colonies. Our countrymen abroad have always looked up to South African Indians. Indeed, some of them have modelled their organizations on the South African Congress constitution and they have undoubtedly received considerable inspiration from the *Satyagraha* movement there. It will be a real tragedy if this sectional feeling spreads far and wide as it will do irreparable harm to the cause of Indians abroad. We shall request Mr. Christopher and his friends with all earnestness to desist from this suicidal policy. Mr. Christopher has been one of our finest workers and it pains us a great deal that he of all people should have lent his support to such a line of action.



The Sculptor's Wife  
(Side View)  
By Deviprasad Ray-Chaudhuri



Bodhisattva from Chandi Plasan, Java  
See p. 504



## LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

### DISARMAMENT OR WORLD WAR

**T**HE Bureau of the Disarmament Conference opens this week at Geneva, and it is not too much to say that upon the decisions come to—or not come to—during the next few weeks hangs the issue of world peace or world war. War in Europe between France and Germany: war in the Pacific between Japan, Russia and the United States.

There can be very little doubt that the vast majority of people in this country want peace. But unfortunately it is also the case that political power is at present in the hands of a party, the Conservative Party, which is headed straight for war.

### OUR "NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT

The National Government has never been national in anything but name. If it had really been a National Government, as Mr. Lansbury has recently pointed out, it would have included the Official Opposition from the beginning. But from the first it had the support neither of the Opposition nor of Mr. Lloyd George and his Liberal following. Moreover, since its formation, and as a result of its Conservative policy in tariffs and foreign affairs, the other Liberal leader, Sir Herbert Samuel, has defected with his following. Any poor remains of Liberals or Labour still left in it will never rejoin their former Parties. Time, therefore, has revealed the National Government to be in fact, what it was in essence, a Conservative Government.

### CONSERVATIVES HEADING FOR WAR

In these circumstances it is important to realize what the Conservative Party has to say on this urgent and vital matter of Disarmament. And last Thursday they told the world. Their annual Party Conference opened that day at Birmingham and a discussion took place on international affairs. Two very important Resolutions were on the paper, one of war and the other of peace. The one of war was carried unanimously and the one of peace was withdrawn to avoid its certain defeat!

The Resolution concerned with war was moved (one might add of course) by Lord Lloyd. It deplored "the inadequacy of the provisions made for imperial defence." It was enthusiastically supported by Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Amery. *And it was carried unanimously!*

It may be objected that its chiefest supporters were the old guard—the same men whose evil policy it is to make bad blood between England

and India—but the fact remains that the Resolution was carried unanimously. And when one delegate, more a realist than the rest, warned the Conference that "it will go forth from here that we are a war Party," he was shouted down.

As for the Resolution which was withdrawn, and which was concerned with peace, it has even more significance at the present time when the Disarmament Conference is resuming at Geneva. It was a resolution congratulating the Government on its plans submitted to Geneva... So that is all the Conservatives care for the British Draft Convention.

### LABOUR'S EFFORTS FOR PEACE

Mr. Amery, in his speech advocating an increase in armaments, urged the Conservative Conference to "send out a counter-blast to the anti-war motion passed by Labour at Hastings." The Labour Party has been meeting in Conference at Hastings. It is in dramatic and ironic contrast that while the Conservative Conference will be remembered for its unanimous approval of a Resolution calling for more armaments, the Hastings Conference will be remembered as the scene of the most eloquent speech ever made by Mr. Arthur Henderson, the President of the Disarmament Conference.

Mr. Henderson's speech was so remarkable that a reprint of it was at once called for. Perhaps future generations will read it and reflect that if it had been acted upon, the world might have discovered in time the things that belonged unto its peace. It ranged over the whole field, psychological and practical, in which the work for peace must be organized.

### THE CAUSES OF WAR

The psychological background of war is, of course, a sense of insecurity—of fear. Even wars of aggression are wars of fear, fear that nothing but force will get you your place in the sun. And the armament firms have grown fat by playing upon this fear. "We must destroy," said Mr. Henderson, "the narrow loyalties and fanatacisms that make men ready for war." And "to have peace we must not only sign treaties removing the right to resort to war, but we must abolish the national equipment and institutions that make war possible and the private interests that live by war."

The private interests that live by war! Every-day there is new evidence of the boom that is going on in armament making. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence pointed out last week, in a speech at



Oxford, that armament firms in every country of Europe are working full time. "In the case of the firm of Skoda, the Czecho-Slovakian firm, which already has trade links all over the world, the dividends for the last ten years have gone up from 5 per cent to 28½ per cent."

#### THE MENACE OF PRIVATE ARMAMENT MAKING

This menace cannot be over-emphasized. And if anyone is still sceptical, let him ponder a speech just made in the League Assembly by the Spanish delegate, Senor Madariaga. Denouncing this traffic in arms he revealed that in 1932, when the League was trying to settle a conflict between two nations, one single exporting country supplied both combatants with four times the amount of munitions that it had sold to the whole world during 1930.

That the armament firms, moreover, have ways and means of smuggling their devilish wares across frontiers seems clear when we consider some further figures adduced by Senor Madariaga. The total export of arms for the years 1920 to 1930 was over £123,000,000. But during that same period the total imports controlled were only £95,600. There is thus a discrepancy of over £27,000,000. How can this be accounted for and where have those £27,000,000 worth of armaments gone to?

#### THE LINES OF ADVANCE TO PEACE

To return to Mr. Arthur Henderson. In the political field he marked out three important lines of advance. The first and most urgent need, he said, was to bring the two great Powers still outside the League, the United States and Russia, into partnership in the task of organizing peace. Next he reiterated his now famous suggestion for a Peace Act. This Act would be framed so as to bring our national legislation into line with our international obligations. In other words our obligation under the Peace Pact to refrain from the use of war as an instrument of national policy, and our obligation under the Optional Clause to submit our disputes to arbitration, would be brought down to earth (and home to the man in the street!) in an ordinary and accessible Act of Parliament. Mr. Henderson's last point brought him to the present Disarmament Conference and the all-important issue of control. "We must fix," he said, "the amount of every country's armaments in an international Treaty. And the execution of that Treaty must be placed under the supervision of an international commission."

The Bureau of the Disarmament Conference meets today and the General Commission on October 16th. What hope is there of such an international Treaty?

#### INTERNATIONAL SCARES

During the past fortnight, while preliminary conversations have been in progress, Disarmament news has been conflicting and mostly alarmist.

On the French side "Pertinax", a formidable journalist of the Right, has tried to work up a scare. In a telegram from Geneva he accused M. Paul-Boncour, the French Foreign Minister, of agreeing to reduce the French Army by two-thirds, from 600,000 to 200,000. The only foundation for such a rumour, of course, is that this is the figure proposed in the British Draft Convention. But "Pertinax" made it appear as if M. Paul-Boncour had agreed to an immediate reduction—even before the end of a trial period. (As the figure 200,000 is important, it should be noted that it does not include France's colonial troops which, also are put at 200,000). M. Paul-Boncour, it might be added, was only to agree to this if, for their part, the Germans would agree to the proposals for armament control.

On the German side there has been scant encouragement for this project of control. The Nazi paper, *Völkischer Beobachter*, cynically remarked:—

"Do the French really believe that a foreign control commission could travel about Germany so freely as to be able to discover the secret armaments which we are alleged to have—unless, indeed, this commission is assisted by the German authorities? No control commission in the world will be able to find anything except what it is allowed to find. To discover secret armaments is not the 'business of official commissions, but, as before, it will be the business of spies.'"

Germany, it has to be admitted, is in no very helpful mood. A week ago it seemed otherwise. Then everyone was commenting with relief, for instance, on the dispassionately legal atmosphere in which the Reichstag Trial had opened. It looked as if the Nazis wished to rehabilitate themselves in world opinion. But that atmosphere was soon dissipated and the presiding judge has become the chief instrument of the prosecution. Fiercer (and more ludicrous) too has grown the persecution of the Jews, who may not be journalists now or even jockeys! Germany still sees herself in an heroic role, revealing to the world "the historic mission of National Socialism."

#### GERMANY'S PROPOSALS

The one encouraging feature of the present difficult time is the way in which France is keeping her head. On Friday Germany communicated to the British and Italian Governments the proposals which she will put forward at the Disarmament Conference. The information was communicated verbally and only to Britain and Italy—a slight, of course to France and America. The reason given for this most unusual and undiplomatic course was that in the recent conversations Italy has been acting in "a more or less arbitral capacity;" while the proposals themselves were in the nature of replies to questions put forward by Sir John Simon and so were communicated to Britain.



If the manner of communicating these proposals was distasteful to France, the matter of them must have been still more so. For they were uncompromising in the extreme. Yet France has lost no time in getting into touch at Geneva with Italy and the United States. And the result is that scarcely twenty-four hours after the delivery of the verbal German "Note," France is reported to be willing to concede a number of Germany's points, to be prepared to go as far as she can, in other words, to make possible the conclusion of a Disarmament Convention.

Such reports seem almost too good to be true, except that adopting a conciliatory attitude to Nazi Germany may be one way of calling its bluff. Indeed it is already hinted that if Germany cannot wreck the Conference one way she will try another.

Still it is early days to be cynical, and it may be more profitable to consider the rights and the wrongs of the German position. The key to the German attitude is, as always, equality of status. The time has gone by when there was one law for the Allies and another for Germany, when the Allies might have certain types of weapons which Germany might not. But the difficulty which arises is this: Is Germany secretly re-arming or not? If she is, there can be no question of putting these dangerous weapons into her hands. Equally, or so thinks France, there can be no question of France depriving herself of the protection of these particular types of weapons. (These include aircraft, tanks and heavy guns).

#### INTERNATIONAL CONTROL NECESSARY

The only way of establishing whether Germany or any other Power is re-arming (and remember that leakage of over £27,000,000) is to set up a form of international control. And Germany has in fact, even if with her tongue in her cheek, agreed to such control provided it is universal in its application. But here again another difficulty arises. France wants a probationary period of control and only after the control has been found to be working satisfactorily would she consider allowing Germany to acquire any of the forbidden weapons. And Germany, in her latest demands, wants during the probationary period "token" specimens of such weapons.

But if the Disarmament Convention is to be a reality, all these aggressive weapons will be reduced progressively—and eventually scrapped. Why then, as M. Daladier, the French Prime Minister has pertinently asked, should Germany demand the right to build today costly material of war which, if the Convention should be signed, would have to be destroyed soon after?

Germany is on stronger ground when she urges that a beginning should be made in the reduction of armaments before the end of the probationary period. It has been France's wish

to maintain armaments at their present level during this period. But there can be little doubt that this is one of the points she will concede. For as the *Economist* points out this week, "inspection, plus a definite programme of automatic reduction by stages, scheduled in advance" may be the means of saving the day.

#### GREAT BRITAIN'S POSITION

The great concession made by France appears to be in the matter of effectives. She has suggested that she will after all reduce her Army to 200,000 men (and 200,000 men in her colonies), and that at the end of a shortened probationary period, on condition that penalties are provided for any breach of the Disarmament Convention. To this, it is said, Germany has also agreed. But will Great Britain agree to penalties, or "sanctions" as they are usually called? One of the great stumbling blocks in the way of building up international security is that although every child is taught that there can be no law where there is no sanction, Britain always fights shy of any international sanction—which she always regards as an "entanglement."

The heart of the present situation, however, is this: What does Germany really want? In many quarters, and especially in the United States, she is credited with wanting one thing only—to break up the Conference. It is even stated that if she cannot break up the Conference, she will walk out of it in any case.

#### IF THE CONFERENCE FAILS

If Germany walks out of the Conference, two courses will be open to the rest of the Powers. The first is to continue without her and to conclude a Disarmament Convention amongst themselves. The effect of this, of course, would be that Germany would be completely isolated and, in the matter of her armaments, still bound by the Treaty of Versailles. And should she re-arm, she would violate not only that Treaty but the Treaty of Locarno. Moreover, the United States has intimated that she would consider Germany's re-armament as a breach of the American-German Peace Treaty of 1921. She is even suggesting the feasibility of joining other Powers in an economic boycott of Germany.

The second course might be a meeting of the signatories of the Four Power Pact, summoned by Signor Mussolini to Stresa or Rome. Such a course seems at first sight to be preferable to the terrible isolation of Germany, which would result from continuing the Disarmament Conference without her. But it might prove equally dangerous to the peace of the world, in that it would probably mean the postponement of the Disarmament Conference for the time being—and perhaps indefinitely. Besides, it is high time the Great Powers in Europe realized that the rest of the world is as interested themselves in disarmament, Geneva, and the organization of world security.



## AND JAPAN?

America and Soviet Russia are as vitally concerned, particularly in view of the imperialist wars which Japan is waging—and preparing.

Indeed, as one critic points out, Japan may be a very disturbing element in the Disarmament

Conference. Everybody, he says, seems to have forgotten Japan, but "she may well prove the last hard obstacle. The world is only just beginning to realize the grave consequences of its feeble acceptance of Japan's conduct during the last two years."

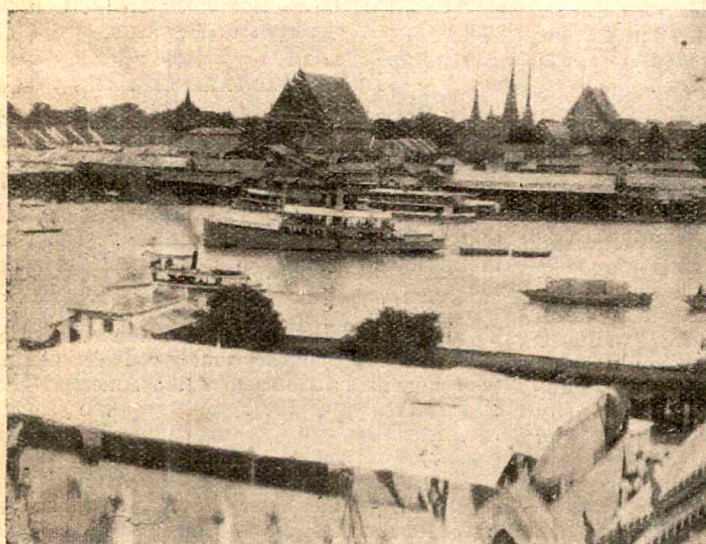
October 9, 1933.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SIAM

BY NILKAN A. PERUMAL

THE three successive revolutions in Siam during the past one year had been carried out without bloodshed or fighting. The secret of that lies in the fact that the revolutionaries had to face no opposition in any form to their schemes. King Prajadhipok, the ruler, had never created a rival party in order to suppress the revolutionaries and he has refrained from doing so mainly with the object of preventing internal conflicts and thus preserving the peace of Siam. Further His Majesty loves his own people,

concession on the part of the King greatly disturbed a class of people in Siam known as the "princes." And it is one of these "Princes" who is said to be leading an attack on Bangkok today with a view to overthrowing the military government established a few months ago by Col. Phya Bahol Bolabayuha Sena, the President of the State Council and the Commander-in-Chief of the Siamese fighting forces. The colonel himself is stated to have been educated in a military academy in Holland and possesses a sound knowledge of governments in Europe. Since he came to power everything became calm in Siam although behind the scenes there did exist intrigues against his regime—a feature in the administrations of many Oriental countries.



View of Bangkok with the Royal palace in the background

taking more share in the administration of the country in an orderly way, and therefore, when the first revolution took place on July 25, 1932, he agreed to become a ruler under a constitution from an absolute monarch, even without a word of protest. But this

to tell me that at any time a revolution might break out in Siam again, since there was disaffection among the members of the army, navy and air force against the present regime. I was also told that the British and French Consul-Generals in Bangkok had

Exactly one year after the first revolution had taken place in Siam, I found myself alighting from the international express train at Bangkok, the capital. I think it was on the 25th July this year. "The city is in a revolution-fever today," said one of those who came to receive me at the station. I thought that would be nice, since I could then enjoy a real thrill. My host proceeded



approached the government asking for protection for their people and the authorities have assured their safety, in case fighting broke out. But, my informant never told me a word about a Prince silently planning for a march on Bangkok.

Immediately I reached my residence, I tried to get Col. Bahol, the Military Dictator, for an interview but he was not in Bangkok at that time, having gone to Hua Hin to seek an audience with His Majesty the King on important state affairs. But, as I went around the city, I did not even notice any enthusiasm among the people in anticipation of a revolution. I drove around the localities where the garrisons and other government offices were situated but here also I failed to observe anything that could point to a possible outbreak. My friend, who is by no means a layman, continued to assure me that everything would be done in Bangkok only in absolute secrecy, and no one could correctly say what would be happening an hour hence. I had to believe his words.

The causes of the Siamese revolution last year are not at all deep and unfathomable. The Siamese never felt any discontent at any time about the rule of Siamese monarchs, especially under the present ruler, King Prajadhipok, who is a scholar and statesman of no mean order. But so far as I know the autocracy of the "Princes" in Siam had been the cause of widespread discontent among the educated class of Siamese. Until the revolution, all the ministerial portfolios in the government were their monopoly and the main power of government too rested in their hands.

Now who are these "Princes"? What right they have to hold the administration of the country in their hands while the common man in Siam, able to discharge the functions of office exactly like the princes, is kept at the bottom as an "under-dog," the King himself having no objection to it? These are questions which may be pertinently asked. To make these issues clear I must say that some of the Princes are no doubt closely connected to Their Majesties the King and the Queen as very close blood relations but a good many other Princes are none else than the children of concubines and consorts of

the Siamese monarchs from time to time. In Siam the monarchs were notorious for several centuries for maintaining *harems*. Only the present ruler observes monogamy strictly and does not keep even a single woman as his "consort" besides his charming and cultured Queen, Ramabhai Barani. But his brother, King Vajiravudh, whom King Prajadhipok succeeded on the throne is said to have maintained a large *harem*, and so did the present ruler's father King Chulalnagkorn. Of the innumerable women kept in the palace children were born from time to time and all of them came to be called the "Princes." Thus their right and privilege to occupy prominent positions in the state was rendered easy, although many of them were utterly unfit to carry out the responsibilities of their offices efficiently. But, from what I know, men like Prince Damrong, Prince Purachatra and Prince Svasti are great men. They have served Siam with devotion and ability. I myself had occasion to meet and chat with Prince Damrong and Prince Purachatra, in my capacity of a journalist, and the impression they gave me then was that they were not only able to occupy the ministerial positions which they then held but were sincerely devoted to the service of Siam whose progress they had foremost in their heart. And about Prince Svasti, the King's father-in-law, I have it on reliable authority that he is one of the ablest statesman in the East, and I think for many years he held the position of Minister of Justice. As far as his abilities were concerned, it is said that he earned a name for himself in the ministry. To these three men the Siamese people owe a deep debt of gratitude but I doubt very much whether the same excellent qualities could be attributed to the other Princes as well.

That the educated Siamese had been all along nourishing a hatred against these princes is a well-known fact. Had they been a little generous and cared for the claims of the educated Siamese for suitable appointments in the administration of the country, I doubt whether the powers of the Princes would have ever dwindled, as they have today. But they were all along indifferent. Their



autocracy continued. And now the inevitable has happened.

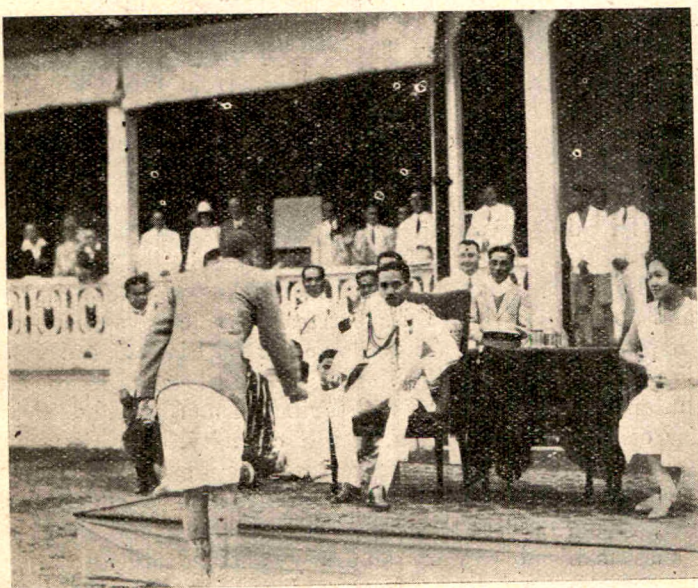
If these Princes loved Siam more and their own power and self-glorification less, they should have done nothing to create discontent in the country. For centuries together they had wielded power and the privilege to advise the Kings on state matters but now that there are sufficiently educated and capable men in Siam, desirous of taking a prominent part

revolutionaries who made him a constitutional ruler from an absolute monarch. That is why I feel that nobody will regret more the action of Prince Bodeoraj in leading an attack on the Phya Bahol government than His Majesty. And it seems to me an impossible task for the aggressive Prince to overthrow the present régime by any means.

As a result of my investigations into the present-day affairs of Siam and from what

I know of the people of that ancient country, I believe that the Siamese have not progressed so much as to maintain a republican government all by themselves. It will take at least a century for Siam to reach that stage, since popular education is still in its infancy in that country. In the meantime, it is desirable that the educated Siamese be given more share in the administration of the country under such a progressive monarch as King Prajadhipok. Only a monarchy, it appears to me, can maintain the peace of Siam under the present order of affairs, and if peace should exist, the princes should no more trifle with ambitious schemes to restore to the old order of things in the country. They must fully realize that the progressive tendency of the world today is

governments is democratic and not autocratic. They should, therefore, in the interest of monarchy and no less of Siam do nothing to disturb the peace of the country by leading offensive attacks on the present government by the Siamese leaders who are fully loyal to the King.

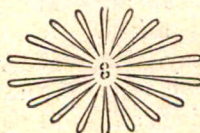


Their Majesties at the Royal Bangkok Sports Club. The King is distributing prizes to the winners of a recent Tennis championship contest

Photo by the writer

in the governance of the country, it is only proper on the part of the princes to do nothing that would bring a civil war to the doors of Siam.

While I was studying the conditions in Siam, I found that His Majesty the King did not seem to bear any spite against the



# NOTES

## *Desirability of Holding an A. I. C. C. Meeting*

Ever since the publication of Mr. M. S. Aney's statement dissolving Congress organizations and laying down the future lines of work of Congressmen, there have been demands on the part of many of them that a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee should be held to chalk out a programme of work for the Indian National Congress and decide other matters relating to it. Recently Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has issued an appeal in which a similar desire has been expressed. This has been followed by the publication of a statement made by Mr. A. Kaleshwara Rao and Mr. M. Bapineedu of Andhradesa after interviewing Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha. They say :

"He deeply deplored the fact that many Congressmen who were not offering civil resistance did no other national service, and also that while he himself saw no occasion for convening a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, as its result was to him a foregone conclusion, those who believed otherwise had thought that the All-India Congress Committee would chalk out a new programme and definitely give up civil resistance even if only for the time being, should send a requisition to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was clear that he strongly disapproved of the tendency of throwing the responsibility on himself or the Secretary for calling a meeting of that body."

Gandhiji evidently thinks that, if a meeting of the A. I. C. C. were called, the majority would not agree to definitely give up civil resistance, even if only for the time being. And he may be presumed to know the mind of the generality of A. I. C. C. members at least as well as others. However whatever the result of an A. I. C. C. meeting

may be, those who desire it "should send a requisition to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru."

Hitherto civil disobedience has been the main political activity of active Congress workers. So, if a meeting of the A. I. C. C. were called, the members would have to make some pronouncement on civil disobedience. If they remained entirely silent on the question, they would be justly understood to have tacitly reiterated their faith in civil disobedience, as the informal Poona conference openly did; and faith must lead to works. If they expressly reiterated their faith in civil disobedience, in that case also they would be expected to engage in and lead a campaign of civil disobedience afresh. But can there be such a campaign in the immediate or near future? No accurate observer of the present situation will say that such a campaign can be started early, if at all. For, even though Mahatma Gandhi has stressed the importance of individual civil disobedience more than once, only a small number of Congressmen have recently gone in for civil disobedience.

So, nothing would be gained by members of the A. I. C. C. in meeting assembled either tacitly allowing it to be presumed that they continued to believe in civil disobedience or openly and expressly reiterating their faith in it. Rather would such conduct on their part expose them to the criticism that they had ceased to practise what they professed, or that they no longer had the strength to act up to their conviction.

Members of the A. I. C. C. in meeting assembled might, in the alternative, give up civil disobedience or resistance. But what reasons would they assign for doing so?



They would not and could not sincerely recant. Not to speak of actual civil resisters and other congressmen, there are others who believe that civil disobedience is a perfectly legitimate, nay constitutional, weapon in the struggle for national political advancement. If certain conditions had been fulfilled—conditions which were mentioned in *The Modern Review* for October 1920, pages 457-58, but never fulfilled, it might have been an irresistible weapon. On ethical grounds, too, no such arguments can be adduced against it as can be brought forward against armed rebellion involving bloodshed, etc. Against it one can, of course, say that, in certain circumstances, civil disobedience would be fruitless, impracticable or inexpedient, or that it would involve an amount of suffering and sacrifice which the people would not be strong enough to undergo.

We do not think the A. I. C. C. would agree to assign or be well advised in assigning any of the above reasons for giving up civil disobedience.

But supposing the members decided to give up civil disobedience without assigning any reasons, would they do so absolutely and unconditionally and for ever? What language exactly would they use in giving it up? Before discussing probable answers to any such questions, one might ask: Is it absolutely necessary to make a declaration giving up civil disobedience? Some might reply: It is necessary for satisfying the Government. That would lead us again to the same question, "What language exactly would they use in giving it up?" The A. I. C. C. could not and would not say, "We give it up for ever." If it were said, "We give it up for the present or for the time being," that would scarcely be accepted as satisfactory, the words 'for the present' or 'for the time being' being vague and denoting no definite period of time. It has indeed been said on behalf of the Government that it does not want Congress to make a declaration giving up civil disobedience for ever. But what period would satisfy Government? Five years, 10 years, 25 years, 50 years, a century.....? Is there any Indian, any Congressman who can prophesy that

there will not be any civil disobedience for even one, two, three, four or five years?

If a non-Congressman, if one who has not engaged in civil disobedience, may be allowed to venture a guess, we would say that under present circumstances a meeting of the A. I. C. C. would perhaps not improve matters—it might possibly make the situation worse, and so it had better not be called. If—no matter, for what reasons—civil disobedience has been practically given up, let the people and the Government both note the fact and draw their own conclusions and do their respective duties.

### *Desirability of an All-Parties Convention*

It is undoubtedly necessary for Congressmen, as for other politically-minded Indians, to have a political programme to meet the needs of the present situation. If not impossible, it should be such a programme as would be acceptable to all Indian nationalists, including Congressmen. In any case, it should be such as would bring together as many nationalist political parties as possible in a united political endeavour. For this reason we support Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's appeal for an All-Parties Convention and Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's more recent call for a united front.

Not belonging to any party and not being in the position of leaders of any party, we have hitherto only suggested such joint endeavour, and that indirectly.

For example, in the last (October) number of this *Review*, published on September 22 on account of the autumnal holidays, we wrote in the course of our Editorial Note under the heading "No All-Parties Politics?":

"...perhaps the outcome would be the chalking out of some political programme according to which men and women of various shades of political opinion might work together. It was not impossible. For, except the communalist Muslim politicians and some depressed class leaders, politically-minded Indians of all other political groups, belonging to various religious communities, have been disillusioned and have become dissatisfied with the White Paper proposals: and a common dissatisfaction often leads to united action."

It has to be admitted with regret that, not

only in India but in other countries as well, there has been caste in politics. But in other countries—Great Britain, for instance, in times of emergency and national peril political caste barriers do not stand in the way of united action. India at present is faced with the peril of the coming constitution. There ought to be combined action to avert the danger. We cannot command success, but should deserve it.

Congress resorted to direct action, whilst other political parties stuck to the older methods. Congressmen may say that they took to direct action because other methods had failed. But the other parties may also now say that direct action has also failed to usher in Swaraj. This is not equivalent to saying that Non-co-operation and civil disobedience have been entirely valueless. A great Liberal leader like Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has said that the momentum which the Indian political movement has acquired has been due to Non-co-operation. That is not all. It has changed the mentality and outlook of a large number of people. It has made them self-reliant, courageous, inured to suffering and accustomed to sacrifices. Temporary failure is not permanent defeat, as the history of national struggles all over the world shows clearly. So, in deliberating with others for the purpose of taking concerted action, Congressmen need not at all smart under a sense of defeat. Nor need non-Congressmen be afraid that they would be hurried into direct action. For, mass direct action has been expressly given up for an indefinite period—put off *sine die* as it were. In an All-Parties Convention civil disobedience should not and cannot be discussed.

It should not be beyond the wit of Indian men to devise some line of action which would not be derided as mendicancy and would not be direct action either.

All Nationalists are agreed in condemning the White Paper proposals. The grounds of condemnation are well known. They ought to be formulated in an agreed manifesto. As regards the political goal of India, Congressmen need not give up their own goal of independence, which is also our goal. But in working with others they should not object to a goal the pursuit of which would lead

all Indians a great way in the direction of independence. Mahatma Gandhi, with the consent of Congress, has stated repeatedly that he would accept the substance of independence. The Westminster statute has given all Dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations the substance of independence to a greater extent than before. That is perhaps the main reason why, in spite of earlier pledges, promises, or "declarations of intention" on the part of the British Crown, Parliament and statesmen, the White Paper has deliberately avoided the use of the words Dominion Status. So let the united demand of Nationalist India be Dominion Status.

The present nominally National but really Tory Government of Great Britain will turn a deaf ear to such a demand. Nevertheless, let the world be reminded again and again what India demands.

### *Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism and Commerce*

*The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe To-day*, by G. D. H. Cole and Margaret I. Cole, is a recent publication which gives a fairly correct idea of the contemporary history, finance, industry, trade and politics of Europe and of its problem of war and peace. After dealing with Great Britain's Irish problem, the authors write :

"The second great imperial problem which has troubled Great Britain since the war is that of India. But this falls outside the scope of this volume; for it would be impossible to deal adequately with the relations between Great Britain and India without considering other aspects of the Eastern question."

So India is not a mere domestic concern of Great Britain. The relation between the two countries is an aspect of the wider Eastern question.

The authors observe that "the rise of Indian Nationalism and the still unsolved problems which a new Indian constitution presents have raised acute issues for the British economic system as well as for the British Empire as a political unit." How the British economic system has been affected is briefly told in the following passages :

"India is the largest market for British exports, and above all for cotton goods. During the war

there was a considerable advance of cotton production in India itself; and since 1918 this advance has continued, and there has also been a considerable import into India of cheap cotton goods produced in Japan. The Indian manufacturers want protection for their own industry against both British and Japanese imports; and Great Britain has been compelled to concede the principle of tariff autonomy to the Indian Government, *which of course she still finally controls* (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*), and actually to permit in response to strong pressure from the Indian manufacturers the imposition of protective duties on British goods. Under the Ottawa agreements the Indian Government agreed to give preference to British imports, and the British manufacturer thus enjoys a more favourable position in the Indian market than his Japanese rival; but the protection accorded to the home manufacturer remains substantial, and *there has been strong objection in India to the granting of any preference at all.* (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

The authors proceed :

Moreover, India, like China, uses the boycott as one of her most powerful political weapons, and there has been from time to time a definite boycott of Lancashire products by the Indian importers, even apart from Gandhi's campaign in favour of the use of Indian cloth produced upon the handloom. Great Britain can obviously ill-afford any further contraction in the Indian market."

Then the influence of Britain's economic necessity on her political policy in India is referred to.

"A large part of the trade in cheap cotton goods is already lost, and is most unlikely ever to be recovered; but there remains a sufficiently large volume of exports to India to exercise an important influence on the political policy of Great Britain in dealing with Indian Nationalist claims.

How do the British people want to treat these claims ?

"The Diehards in Great Britain wish so to crush the Indian Nationalist movement as to keep the Indian market open to British goods by force; but the majority of British politicians and the exporters interested in the Indian trade strongly doubt the practicability of this course, and therefore favour more conciliatory methods."

So, it is only "the practicability of this course" which is doubted, not its justice and righteousness !

"It remains to be seen whether the Round Table Conferences and the further discussions now in progress for the elaboration of a new Indian constitution will result in a working compromise."

We are then told why there may be a "compromise" :

"...the Indians neither possess at present the coherent power required for open rebellion, nor agree in desiring an absolute and immediate withdrawal of the British. The Indians want self-

government; but they are prepared to compromise if great Britain will meet them half-way, and Indian opinion is so divided, especially over the differences between Mohammedans and Hindus, as to make at least a temporary compromise more likely than an open rupture, unless Great Britain becomes involved in a new European war. Moreover, the position of the Indian princes, who have no desire for democratic institutions to be installed in their territories under the aegis of the Indian Nationalist movement, strengthens Great Britain in resisting the claims of the more intransigent Indian Nationalists. Nor can it be forgotten that Indian Nationalism is torn asunder by conflicting class interests as well as by racial and religious differences. The Indian Nationalist cotton employers have no desire to unloose among their exceedingly ill-paid workers forces too strong to be controlled; and this is a further factor making on the side of at least a temporary compromise."

But Indian Nationalists do not find any "compromise" in the White Paper proposals. They are intended to make the Secretary of State for India, the Governor-General and the Governors, greater autocrats than they are even at present. The British Diehards know their business well. They have raised the cries of "abdication," "surrender," "scuttle," etc., in order that there may not be the least "compromise," but that, on the contrary, the White Paper proposals may be purged of even nominal concessions to the people of India.

The passages we have quoted above are a good reminder of the difficulties and obstacles in the way of our winning self-government.

### *Bhai Parmananda's Hindu Mahasabha Presidential Address*

The address delivered by Bhai Parmananda as President of the Ajmer session of the Hindu Mahasabha was an able, frank, and, for the most part, clear pronouncement. It has been subjected to adverse criticism in some Congress organs, because the speaker has criticized the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi. Muhammadans also have attacked it, because the speaker has exposed the real character and object of the Prime Minister's communal decision, misnamed the communal award.

The main topic dealt with in the address is the communal decision. Bhai Parmananda's condemnation of the decision is unequivocal and wholly just and justified.



With reference to the communal problem, Bhai Parmananda observes :

"In the course of the first Round Table Conference the communal problem was once presented in its most acute form as a bar to further constitutional progress. This was again another trap. The Simon Commission had described the communal problem as the most important and highly controversial one. At the same time supposing it to be incapable of solution by mutual agreement of the two communities they had laid down their solution for it. I think, in such a case, the question should not have been raised at all, at the Round Table Conference and even when it was raised and no agreement was reached, the Commission's unanimous recommendation on that point was already there which, considering the statutory position and the importance of the investigation of the Commission, should have been the last thing to be ignored. Again, when after the so-called truce between the Government and Mahatma Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi went to London, instead of negotiating with the British Government he began to follow the will-o'-the-wisp theory of Hindu-Muslim unity. Knowing full well that his failure was a foregone conclusion the new Conservative Government of England settled with the Muslim leaders and a friendly alliance was established between them. This alliance was the inevitable outcome of Mahatma Gandhi's wrong attitude and handling. As a result of this the Premier took it upon himself to find out a fresh solution of the communal problem and impose it upon India. This solution was announced on Aug. 17, 1932, under the name of the Communal Award. It was supplemented by another announcement some time later.

Bhai Parmananda has as much right to characterize Mahatma Gandhi's "attitude and handling" as wrong as others have to defend Gandhiji. We are not in a position to say anything definite either way. Complete knowledge of the affair cannot be obtained from the reports of the proceedings of the Round Table Conference and its committees and sub-committees. Some supplementary information is necessary. This has been supplied in fragmentary form by different persons in different ways. In the absence of personal knowledge, and never having given very close attention to anything relating to the Round Table Conference because we have never believed it to be a bona fide, sincere and serious effort to give India a progressive constitution, we are unable to say who have given the correct supplementary information, nor whether it is adequate. But we have never concealed the fact that we are disbelievers in the correctness of the doctrine that Hindus should surrender whatever the Muhammadaus may want.

Whatever Congress critics may think of Bhai Parmananda's address, they should rest assured that he has great respect for Mahatma Gandhi. For, says he : "It was just at this moment that for the first time the thought came to my mind that Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest living Hindu."

We believe in the real value and utility of Hindu-Muslim unity. We do not disbelieve that there may be some Mussalmans with whom unity is possible even under British rule as it is at present. But, so far as our knowledge and experience go, we do not believe that, under British rule as it is, the political unity of the Hindus with any considerable body of Muslim leaders and rank and file is practicable. To this extent and in this sense we think Bhai Parmananda is right in referring to the theory of Hindu-Muslim unity as a will-o'-the-wisp. The reasons are quite obvious.

Hindu-Moslem *political* dissensions of the modern type are a product of British rule, and cannot be ended by British rule. It is a fact of history that the Aga Khanite deputation which waited upon Lord Minto for the boon of excessive, separate and communal representation was a "command performance," as Maulana Mohamed Ali called it in his Congress Presidential address at Coochabada. This fact is confirmed by that passage in Morley's *Recollections*, where he tells Lord Minto that the latter started the Moslem hare.

Musalman know that whatever advantages the Hindus may promise them under Swaraj are mere paper advantages so long as there is no Swaraj, whereas Government can deliver and has been delivering the goods even now. Moreover, British statesmen and rulers can and do outbid the Hindus. For example, at the last unity conference it was agreed that the Musalmans were to have 32 per cent of the British-India seats in the Central Legislature and that Sind was to be separated under certain conditions. The result was, Sir Samuel Hoare lost no time in announcing the decision to separate Sind unconditionally, as also that the Musalmans were to have 33½ per cent of the seats in the Central Legislature. Such political auctioneering, to which some section or other

of Muslims professing to speak on behalf of the entire community can always be found to be a party, cannot lead to Hindu-Muslim unity.

In fact, we have always felt that the exhortation of this British statesman or that to the different communities of India to arrive at some agreement among themselves, is a piece of consummate hypocrisy, as these British diplomats know full well that under the various existing conditions of the present *regime* such agreement is not possible, and that, even if it were arrived at, new conditions could be easily brought into existence which would make for the annulment of the agreement.

Nevertheless, we are not against fresh efforts to bring about unity. But the negotiations should be between persons who would begin the conference by signing a paper promising that, if after an agreement had been arrived at, the British Government were to give any community even greater advantages than that agreement, the signatories belonging to that community would not accept the Government offer, but would condemn and repudiate it, whatever other persons of their community might do. Of course, this would not produce universal or general Hindu-Moslem unity. But it would at least show that some honest and sincere men on both sides had tried to agree or had actually agreed, but that men in authority had thwarted their plans.

### *Buddhism and Lack of National Consciousness*

Says Bhai Parmananda in the course of his address :

"I have very often mourned the lack of national consciousness among the Hindus. The Hindu philosophy has sunk deep into our minds and we have since very ancient times tried to soar above the limits of narrow nationalism. Again, whatever national pride or other trace of national greatness was left in us was swept away clean by the most refined cosmopolitan preaching of Buddhism."

We should like to know the historical data on which the speaker's last conclusion is based. His observation will have to be reconciled with the fact that the Buddhist period of India's history was not only a period of great cultural activity but was also

one of Hindu expansion and saw the growth of Greater India. In Japan, China and Siam Buddhism has not swept away national pride or sense of national greatness.

### *Caste and the Political Interest of the Hindus*

Rammohun Roy wrote in one of his letters :

"I regret to say that the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among them, has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise....It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort."

Among the causes of the political subjection of India, Rammohun Roy mentions caste in the following passage, extracted from his *Brahmunical Magazine* :

"We have been subjected to such insults for about nine centuries, and the cause of such degradation has been our excess in civilization and abstinence from the slaughter even of animals ; as well as our division into castes, which has been the source of want of unity among us."

We should consider what truth there is in the two passages quoted from Rammohun Roy's writings.

### *Condition on which Hindus May Co-operate with Great Britain*

Bhai Parmananda says in the course of his address :

"I feel an impulse in me that the Hindus would willingly co-operate with Great Britain if their status and responsible position as the premier community in India is recognized in the political institutions of new India."

This passage has been construed by the speaker's critics to mean that in his opinion the Hindus would co-operate with Englishmen in working any constitution, *e. g.*, the White Paper one, provided they were installed in the position of "the favourite wife" instead of the Muslims. The passage does not necessarily bear this interpretation as the only possible one ; but it is capable of being so understood. From Bhai Parmananda's past record and his well-known love of liberty, we would fain understand him to mean that

he would be willing to co-operate with Britain in working a democratic constitution which would automatically lead to Indian political autonomy, provided the Hindus were not deliberately and artificially deprived of the place in it to which they were entitled by their numbers, intelligence, capacity, public spirit, enterprise, contributions to the state revenues and achievements. But it cannot be said that the passage does and must mean all this. So the Hindu Mahasabha president owes it to himself and its members and sympathizers to make his meaning quite clear.

### *Bhai Parmananda and Temple-Entry*

Another passage in Bhai Parmananda's address whose drift is not quite clear is the following:

I think I am duty bound to explain what the position of the Hindu Mahasabha is or ought to be with regard to the Harijan movement of Mahatma Gandhi. Personally, I have the greatest sympathy for it and I think every member of the Hindu Mahasabha individually has got full right to co-operate with it or work for it. But collectively the position of the Hindu Mahasabha is slightly different from what the Mahatma has taken up. In the first place I think this work can properly be done by the Hindu Mahasabha alone as representing the true interests of the Hindus and as being the only advocate of Hindu solidarity. Taking that view I believe that the work of the uplift does not lie with the depressed classes but with the caste Hindus who should develop the right national sense and offer the status of equality and brotherhood to every one who bears that name. The Hindu Mahasabha having all along followed the policy of remaining neutral on religious questions, cannot bring any pressure to bear on the followers of a particular sect to open their temples to any other class for which the temples were not supposed to be meant. But apart from religious matters the Hindu Mahasabha platforms and meetings are open to the Harijans just as much as to any high caste Hindus and the privileges attached with the membership of the Hindu Mahasabha can be shared equally by every Hindu, no matter what his caste or creed may be.

The meaning of the last sentence in this extract is quite clear.

But when Bhaiji says that "the work of uplift does not lie with the depressed classes but with the caste Hindus, who should develop the right national sense and offer the status of equality and brotherhood to every one who bears that name," a critic may say that this patronizing attitude of the caste Hindus bears some resemblance to the similar

attitude of Britishers to Indians. Britishers say that it is they who have developed the national sense and love of liberty in Indians that the status of free men would be a free gift to Indians from their generous patrons the Britishers, the pace and time of advance would be determined by them, and that the work of political uplift of Indians by agitation, struggle, self-assertion, direct action, etc., does not lie with themselves. We should be the last party to complain if high caste Hindus readily and of their own accord recognized the status of equality and brotherhood of every one who bears the Hindu name. But this fraternal spirit is not found among the generality of high caste men, though it certainly is found among many of them. So let these latter work strenuously in furtherance of the cause of the depressed classes, and at the same time let these classes also assert themselves.

As we do not ourselves worship idols in temples, we feel some delicacy in writing on the subject of temple-entry. We can only say in general terms that every follower of a particular religion should be allowed to enjoy equal rights of worship with his co-religionists. We know, neither the Hindu Mahasabha nor any other body has the right to coerce any Hindu to open his private temple to men and women of all castes. But certainly every one has the right to exert moral pressure on the managers, *sewaits*, priests, or trustees of public temples which derive revenue from all castes to throw them open to all Hindu worshippers. We know, according to the Mahasabha's definition of the word 'Hindu,' the followers of Brahmanism, Jainas, Buddhists, Sikhs, Brahmos and Arya Samajists are all Hindus, and the Hindu Mahasabha must observe religious neutrality as regards the religious doctrines, rites and ceremonies of these communities. But it is also true that the vast majority of Hindus in the Mahasabha meaning of that word are followers of Brahmanism, and unless the Mahasabha can even indirectly secure to the depressed castes the right to worship in temples, they cannot be expected to recognize the representative character and protectorship of that body. Now that they are growing self-conscious, they might even leave the Hindu



fold, were it not for the efforts hitherto made by Mahatmaji and his followers, the Hindu Mission and the Hindu Sabhas themselves. But whether they leave the Hindu fold or not, justice demands that they should have equal rights of worship with other Hindus.

### "Life Creates Life"

Bhai Parmananda poured out his heart in the concluding passages of his telling address, which are quoted below :

It is life that creates life. When a man gets short of blood, doctors sometimes take fresh blood from another man and pour it into the arteries of the dying man. In cases where the skin becomes dead, live skin is taken from another person and patched in its place. Similarly when a nation, in the process of natural decay, loses its vitality, it becomes the duty of those who have some life left in them to give it for the good of the nation and infuse a new life into it. This is the only efficacious treatment for old and decaying races. Love of life and comfort, which is a significant symptom of the decay of a race, produces cowardice and cowardice is death. It is sacrifice of life and devotion to the cause of a nation which produces courage and courage is new life. In our traditions we read that when the country was being overrun by barbarians a great *yajna* was performed on the top of Mount Abu. Out of that *yajna* were created the Agnikula Rajputs who pledged to give their lives for the defence of *Dharma*. We have similar and important incidents in the history of Sikh Gurus in the Punjab. When the Brahmins from Kashmir, on being persecuted and tortured by their foreign rulers, came to Amritsar and in an open *darbar* of Guru Teg Bahadur prayed that they be saved from their oppressors, the Guru told them in reply that there was only one way to save them: a man of great piety should lay down his life in the name of *Dharma*. Guru Teg Bahadur kept his word. His head was taken off by the orders of the Mogul King in the Chandni Chowk of Delhi. Out of this martyrdom was kindled a fire that infused a new life into the Hindus of the Punjab. . . This was the great and unequalled miracle in the history of India. . .

How was this miracle brought about? This miracle was the direct outcome of the principle of martyrdom preached by Guru Govind Singh. The remedy is there. It is for the Hindu youths to come in the field and practise it for themselves. Those who cannot afford to give their lives for the noblest cause of preserving their great and ancient race have got other modes to take part in that great *yajna*. The rich can give their riches, the learned their knowledge and the strong their strength.

### *The Hindu Mahasabha on the Minorities Problem*

The most important resolution, carried unanimously at the Ajmer session of the Hindu Mahasabha, runs as follows:

The Hindu Mahasabha in its momentous annual gathering at the historic city of Ajmer appeals under Article 11 of the League Covenant in the name of India to the League of Nations of which she is the original member for application to her of those principles and methods of minority protection which are endorsed and made operative by world opinion on the subject and on the initiative of the principal allied and associated Powers including India and England and emphatically points out that the parties to these stipulations are specially bound by the following resolution adopted at the third Assembly of the League of Nations :

'The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligation to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious and linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the Minority Treaties and by regular action of the Council.'

In moving this resolution Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee of Lucknow University said :

They were meeting in historic Ajmer under the shadow of a great constitutional calamity threatening the political future of the Hindus as a people. The Communal Award had been thrust upon the Hindus in direct opposition to the wishes of 80 per cent of Indians including the entire womanhood. Their entreaties, arguments and logic were all treated with contempt. (Shame) Tracing the history of the Minorities' Treaties he explained that peace workers after the War at a conference at Paris took the first step towards the establishment of world peace through a generous communal system known as the Minorities' Treaties framed on the initiative of no less a statesman than Sir Austen Chamberlain, the then Foreign Secretary. India was an original signatory of these treaties like England and other great Powers and having failed to get a redress of the grievances from the Indian and British Governments the speaker exhorted as a last constitutional resource to appeal to the League of Nations to apply to the Indian Minority problem the same principle as applied to the European problem underlying the treaties if the world peace was to be secured. Concluding, he appealed to the Hindus to unite and leave no stone unturned in convincing the British Government that the Communal Award must go.

Raja Narendra Nath supporting the resolution said that the resolution was an attack not only on the Award but on the whole policy of the British Government determining the relations between communities and classes. The policy which the British Government in India, he said, had been pursuing was opposite to the principle of the Minorities' Treaties which the League respected and enforced, namely, the identification of minorities with majorities and discouragement of the idea of a State within a State.

With reference to the minorities resolution the Mahasabha has cabled to the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the League of Nations . . .

protesting against the Communal Award and holding that the latter was bound in law, morality and justice to the international solution of the problem of minorities as laid down in the Minorities treaties signed at Geneva and warning unprecedented complications leading to the separation of legislatures, administration, services and even purse if the British Government forced the award.

### *Hindu Mahasabha and Council-Entry*

The seventh resolution passed at the Ajmer session of the Hindu Mahasabha "called upon the Hindus all over the country, particularly the Hindu Sabha organizations, to make necessary preparations for capturing the legislatures, as the time had come when the Hindus as a community could no longer afford to ignore the various ways and means open in and out of the constitution to protect and promote its interests." Some pro-Congress papers have criticized and ridiculed this resolution. But the Swaraj section of the Congress, led by Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, which was perhaps bigger than the No-changer section, favoured and adopted council-entry. If Hindu Mahasabha candidates succeed in entering the legislatures, they will not, it may be presumed, fail to adopt the policy of opposition and obstruction followed by the Swarajists in the Legislatures, whenever necessary.

### *Some other Hindu Mahasabha*

#### *Resolutions*

Amelioration of the condition of Labour and tenantry and disapproval of movements advocating the extinction of capitalists and landlords as a class; the establishment of industrial Ashrams for training unemployed Hindu youths for various handicrafts; condemnation of the proposed separation of Sind; organization of Hindu youths for training in drill, physical exercises and arts of self-defence; sympathy with Kapurthala Hindu sufferers from *Arhar* propaganda; appreciation of the services of Dr. Moonje, Professor Chabiani, etc., congratulating the Hindus of Bahawalpur on the struggle to get their legitimate grievances redressed; appreciation and admiration of the firm stand of Fiji Hindus and Hindus of

other colonies against the high-handedness of the colonial Governments and the white colonists; protest against Mr. Savarkar's internment for the last 10 years after he had served a life sentence in the Andamans; condemnation of the enforcement of illegitimate restrictions on Ram Lila processions in Allahabad; acknowledgment of the equal rights of untouchables and recommendation of facilities for them for worship in all public temples, etc.; advocacy of the use of country-made cloth, production of Khadi, and urging of millowners to abstain from exploiting the feeling of Swadeshism;—these formed the subject of some of the resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha. The remaining resolutions may be summarized as follows :

The 23rd strongly condemns the Meo atrocities in Alwar, sympathizes with the Hindus in distress, requests the State authorities and the Hindu Sabhas to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed Hindus, strongly resents executive interference by giving undue and unjust clemency to Muslim criminals and strongly condemns the dangerous policy of communalism by the British officers. The 24th sympathizes with the Hindus in Kashmir suffering as a result of Muslim riots, deplores the attitude of drift adopted by the authorities even thereafter, considers the Glancy recommendations as a 'communal award' and directs the committee for Kapurthala to deal with the Kashmir question also. The twenty-fifth resolves to take steps to prevent the conversion to Christianity in Assam and Chota Nagpur of Hindus. The twenty-sixth expresses great regret and resentment against the Muslim rulers of Hyderabad, Bhopal, Bhawalpur and Rampur for action prejudicial to Hindu subjects and threatens agitation if the Hindu grievances are not redressed. The twenty-seventh enters a strong protest against the creation of new deficit provinces on the basis of a subvention from the Central Government. The twenty-eighth reiterates the resolutions regarding Sangathan and Suddhi. The twenty-ninth recognizes the fundamental unity of the ancient Aryan culture of India and countries like China, Japan, etc., and appreciates the action of the German Government for promoting Sanskrit learning and culture. The thirtieth while appreciating and supporting the moves for unity urges the Hindus not to sacrifice nationalism for any kind of communal arrangement. The thirty-first recommends the adoption of Devnagri as the common script and the thirty-second resolves to start an all-India Hindu Seva Sangh at Delhi to propagate the objects of the Mahasabha.

Bhai Parmanand has donated Rs. 35,000, Seth Jugul Kishore Birla Rs. 10,000, Raja Narendranath Rs. 1,500, Captain Bhandari and Mr Bhagwan Das Awasthi and another Rs. 500 each towards the fund for the purpose. Besides these, there were many contributions totalling in all about Rs. 53,000.

### *Delegates from Abroad Attend Last Hindu Mahasabha Session*

The 15th session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha opened at 12 on the 14th October in the spacious Hindu Mahasabha pandal at Arya Nagar. It was the representative gathering ever held. There were on the *dais* delegates from East and South Africa with Mehta Jaimini, Vedic Missionary for foreign countries, Arya philosopher Rajya Ratan Pundit Atmaramji of Baroda, Buddhists from Ceylon, Tibet, China, Burma and Japan, Shrimati Annadevi, an American Arya Samajist from New York, and eminent persons from all parts of India.

### *Overseas Indians' Conference*

The second session of the Overseas Indians' Conference was held at Ajmer on the 18th October last, Mr. Chandkaran Sarda, advocate, presiding. There were many delegates from America, England, Mauritius, Trinidad, Africa, Fiji, etc. The conference passed five resolutions unanimously.

The first resolution appreciates and admires the bold stand taken by the overseas Indians in facing the oppressive and prejudicial policy pursued by various colonial Governments and declares that Indians will always stand by them in their political, religious and other important struggles.

The second resolution draws the attention of the Government to the present situation of the Indians in Kenya and South Africa and urges it to safe-guard their interests and privileges against the unjust demands of the white settlers. Bhai Parmanand seconding the resolution gave a short history of how Indians had taken to colonies and how he himself had to face difficulties in colonies. He said that in Kenya white settlers were trying to capture the legislatures with an overwhelming majority and the Government were supporting them. He dwelt on the miserable state of the Indian colonists and assured the delegates present of his active support to their cause.

The third resolution fully agrees with and appreciates the just demands for a common electoral roll of Fiji Indian colonists and requests the Colonial Government to grant the principle of common franchise. Moving the resolution, Mr. D. N. Sarma, Assam, said that everywhere Indians were treated unjustly and the British Government were ignoring the just rights of the Indians at home and abroad.

The fourth resolution condemns the action of the Government regarding the refusal to grant permission and passports to Mr. Sri Krishna Sarma and Swami Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi to go to the colonies in Fiji and South Africa respectively and demands a reconsideration of the matter.

The fifth resolution proposes to call in India a conference of Indians in overseas colonies in order to ascertain and remove their grievances.

The president winding up the conference intimated to the audience that the Mahasabha had opened a department for colonies with Mr. Dixit as secretary.

There was a time when Indians were encouraged to emigrate to Africa. South Africa and Kenya owe much of their prosperity to these Indian emigrants. This has been admitted by Englishmen who are in a position to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the subject. But for years past these Indians are being ill-treated and denied their just rights. By the "assisted emigration scheme and other means many of them have been repatriated to India, where their condition being very unsatisfactory, they generally want to return to South Africa, Fiji, etc., from where they came. So repatriation should be given up. But though it was thought that the assisted repatriation scheme had been practically abandoned as a matter of fact last year more men came back from South Africa than ever before. One of the grounds on which Germany was deprived of her colonial possessions was that she ill-treated the indigenous population there. But Great Britain does not take any adequate steps to present such ill-treatment of non-white settlers in her colonies by white ones.

Overseas Indians have all along put up a plucky fight, and fully deserve all the support which we Indians in the homeland can give them.

### *Joint Session of Khalsa Durbar and Sikh League*

At the joint session of the Khalsa Durbar and Sikh League held last month at Lahore the opinion was unanimously expressed that the only way to democratic swaraj is through the abolition of communal representation in the various legislative bodies in the country.

A resolution further stated that, as mutual communal settlement had at present become difficult on account of the unjust and iniquitous decision of the British Government, the conference, while reiterating and reserving the right to put forward the Sikh demands as heretofore advocated by the Central Sikh League, when and if it became necessary, recommended to Panths the abolition of communal representation as the most appropriate and effective means of fighting the communal award and establishing democratic Swaraj in the country. The conference further declared that the Sikhs would not submit to any constitution based on the communal award.

By another resolution the conference declared that no stable work of constitution-making could be done and no desired object in the scheme of



Indian Swaraj could be achieved under a regime of ordinances and repression and impressed on the Government to call a halt to the experiment and explore the avenue of reconciliation with the Congress and thereby rise to the height of true statesmanship.

Another resolution recommended to the Khalsa Durbar to arrange a referendum to focus the attention of Khalsa on the mischievous character of the communal award.

A resolution was also adopted requesting the Government to reduce land revenue and water rate by 50 per cent in view of the low prices of commodities.

The Sikhs were further called upon to eradicate the evil of untouchability, and Government was urged to release the prisoners sentenced in the 1914-1915 Punjab conspiracy cases.

At its concluding sitting the joint session of the Khalsa Durbar and the Central Sikh League passed resolutions opining that the constitution outlined in the White Paper was wholly unacceptable to the Sikhs, as it was both retrograde and undemocratic. The conference condemned the 'deliberate policy of the Governor of introducing communalism', to mete out favoured treatment to certain communities in the public services and the army and resented the invidious treatment meted out to the Sikhs. The conference also opined that a declaration of fundamental rights should be embodied in the constitution. The conference also supported the demands of Kashmiri Sikhs.

Sympathy was expressed for the flood victims in Rohtak and an appeal for help for them was made. The Sikhs were also urged to adopt Swadeshi and Khaddar and abstain from liquor.

We appreciate and admire the truly national and democratic spirit which inspired the proceedings of the joint session of the Khalsa Durbar and the Sikh League.

### *Dayanand Semi-centenary*

The semi-centenary of the death of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, founder of the Arya Samaj, is being celebrated at Ajmer with great enthusiasm and magnificence. We hope these celebrations will give a fresh impetus to the educational, social reform and philanthropic activities for which the followers of the great religious and social reformer and Nationalist are justly famous. We hope a complete report of the celebrations, with illustrations, summaries of speeches, etc., will be published in book form in due course. Some idea of the splendour of the celebrations may be formed from the telegraphic news printed below.

Ajmer, Oct. 17.

The Dayanand semi-centenary celebrations are going on in Aryanagar. Nearly one lakh of persons have assembled. Lectures were delivered in the main Shatabdi pandal by Sriyut Ganga

Prasad Upadhyaya, Budhdevji, Ganga Prasadji, chief judge, Tehri, Swami Swatantranandji, Babu Pooranachandji, Khushalchand, Shivaduttaji, and Sriyut Jagannath Nirukta Ratna on various topics.

On the morning of Oct. 16 a grand *Nagarikirtan* consisting of one lakh of person started from the Arya Samaj garden where the last remains of Swami Dayanand Saraswati lay and ended at Bhai Kothi where he obtained *nirwana* on the Divali day fifty years ago. The procession was headed by an elephant on which Swami Munishwaranand Saraswati and Tiraramji Chaur were seated and all *sanyasis*, *rajas*, *talukdars*, *raises*, leaders and the general Arya public marched on foot.

### *Kidnapping and Abduction of Women in U. P. and Punjab*

The Government review of the Report of the Punjab Police Department for the year 1932 states:

Traffic in women is another crime which calls for attention. There were 504 cases of kidnapping and abduction. This type of crime has its origin in the scarcity of female population and since this trade is not regarded as offensive or degrading by the people, the police can make little headway against it.

Without sufficient proof we cannot believe that traffic in women "is not regarded as offensive or degrading by the people" of the Panjab. In any case, the educated women and men of that province ought to make sustained efforts to wipe out the reproach of 504 cases of kidnapping and abduction in a year in a province containing a population of 23,580,852. In the neighbouring United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, with a population of 48,408,763, the number of cases of kidnapping in the year 1932 was 711. Some months ago, in a speech at Dacca, the Governor of Bengal expressed a doubt as to whether Bengal's record of crimes against women was the worst. The Police Report of Bengal for 1932, which is not before us now, ought to remove the doubt.

### *Mahatma Gandhi on Inter-caste Marriages*

At the conclusion of the marriage ceremony of Mahatma Gandhi's grand-nephew at Wardha, he said, addressing the couple:

This was an inter-provincial marriage and not an inter-caste one. He had no hesitation in

advocating inter-caste marriages under well-defined limitations, for he believed there was no *varna* or division in the original sense of the term and that limiting marriage to the same division or *varna* was never its distinguishing feature.

### *Rammohun Roy Centenary*

During September and October last the centenary of the death of Rammohun Roy was celebrated in various places in different provinces of India. Not having had access to the leading newspapers of all the provinces of India, we have not been able to see the reports of all the celebrations. But from what we have seen, it seems that more places in the Madras Presidency have celebrated the occasion than those in any other.

The meetings in some of the cities were very influentially attended and thoughtful speeches were made. For example, at the Lucknow meeting,

Amongst those present were, Raja Jagannath Bux Singh and Kunwar Rajendra Singh, ex-Ministers of the U. P. Government; hon. Mr. Justice B. N. Srivastava; R. B. Pandit Shyam Behari Misra, Diwan of Orcha State; Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, vice-chancellor of the Lucknow University; Dr. R. D. Wellons, principal, Reid Christian College; Mr. A. P. Sen; Prof. N. K. Siddhanta, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Lucknow University and Mrs. Siddhanta; Miss Manchester, professor of the Isabella Thoburn College; Principal S. C. Sen; Messrs. Shambhu Dayal and A. C. Bose, retired district and sessions judges; Mrs. Minon, advocate; Dr. Qutub-uddin Ahmed, LL. D. barrister-at-law; and many others.

On the motion of the hon. Mr. Justice B. N. Srivastava and seconded by Mrs. Mukand, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani took the chair. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye was the first speaker.

He stressed the catholicity of outlook of Raja Ram Mohan. Born and brought up in the midst of orthodox Raja Ram Mohan had the breadth of vision to realize that the West had its good points which the East could profitably assimilate. He perceived that one of the principal causes of the downfall of India was the proneness of her people to hug the dead past and their refusal to adjust themselves to changing conditions.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy set himself to giving the outlook of his people a new orientation and bringing about harmony between the East and West. He was a great reformer in all spheres, social, religious, moral, political and educational. The abolition of *suttee* was his crowning achievement for which he laboured strenuously and ceaselessly.

A great believer in liberty, he founded the Brahmo Samaj and thus gave an impetus to independence of thought and the fearless pursuit of a new faith. Dr. Paranjpye pointed out how much India owed to the Brahmo Samaj movement, which had comparatively few adherents but had produced some of the greatest leaders of India.

It was in no small measure due to Raja Ram Mohan Roy's endeavours that a change came over the system of education in the country.

Whatever the defects of modern education it was a fact that the growth of nationalism in India was the outcome of that education and thus Raja Ram Mohan Roy could justly be called the Father of modern India.

The chairman, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, chief editor of *The Leader* and ex-Minister, said in winding up the proceedings :

It could be claimed without any exaggeration that Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the greatest Indian of all time. He enumerated the monumental achievements of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in practically every sphere of public life, social, religious, economic and political. 'When you think of his successful attempts for the abolition of *suttee* and polygamy from Hindu life, his attempts for the establishment of English colleges for the education of the Indian youths, his revival of Hinduism in a highly scientific and purified form, his pioneer but great debut in journalism, his stern fight against the newly imposed Press Act of 1823 and his open and trenchant criticism of the form of the Government of India which did not distinguish between the executive and the judiciary, you feel that there hardly was a public activity which did not engage his attention.'

In short as Mr. Chintamani remarked, there was no reform he did not strive for, there was no improvement in existing life for which he did not care and there was no suffering which he did not bear to recall the glories of ancient India. 'It was his dream, which unfortunately remained yet unfulfilled so long as the present form of government continued in India—a form which according to Raja Ram Mohan Roy's political disciple Mr. Mahadeva Govind Ranade, has 'organized hypocrisy' as its basic structure. Raja Ram Mohan Roy tasted the bitterness of this organized hypocrisy in political official life when he launched his campaign against the Press Act.

### *Hindu Mahasabha's Proposed Representation to The League of Nations*

*The Bombay Chronicle* of October 19 ridicules the Resolution unanimously and enthusiastically passed at the Ajmer Session of the Hindu Mahasabha to condemn and protest against the communal "Award" as being a negation of democracy or Dominion constitution and flouting (a) the wishes of 80 per cent of Indians, comprising Hindus, Sikhs, Indian Christians, and the entire womanhood of India who have all declared for joint electorate, pure and simple, without reserved representation even for the minorities; and also flouting (b) the established principles of minority protection as laid down in the well-known international instruments called minorities treaties which the victorious Powers of the Great War

(including India and England) have imposed upon the vanquished Powers and the different militant minorities of Europe as a step towards world peace. Thus nearly twenty sovereign states of Europe have now signed these minorities treaties and their signature was followed by a debate raised in the League of Nations on the question whether the minorities treaties were binding equally on all the States-Members of the League, the signatory States as well as the non-signatory States, like England, France, or India, who had formulated those treaties. The debate was led by Germany, and the smaller States like Lithuania, Latvia and Poland, and by England and France on the other side. Both England and France pleaded that they were ready to sign the minorities treaties provided they had any minorities in their midst. But Sir Austen Chamberlain, the principal author of the treaties, conferred that India has minorities with a vengeance. Eventually the position was settled in the form of the following resolution adopted at the Third Assembly of the League :

"The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligation to the League with respect to Minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of *their own racial, religious or linguistic Minorities*, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council."

It is, therefore, clear that the minorities treaties to which India is one of the High contracting parties are as binding on her as they are on Turkey or Poland.

*The Bombay Chronicle* has thus totally misconceived the Ajmer Resolution of the Mahasabha, which proposes to wait in a deputation, firstly, on the authorities in England, and, secondly, on those of the League, so that Sir Samuel Hoare's communal settlement which violates the international settlement of the question may be set aside, and leave the way open for the growth of a genuine democracy in India.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI

Our Bombay contemporary reminds the Hindu Mahasabha in effect that in the League of Nations countries are represented by their Governments, not by their peoples. Perhaps every school-boy knows that in these days. But what is peculiar in the case of

India is that, whereas other states which are members of the League have national governments and are self-governing, so that their governments and peoples are identified with one another, India has not got a national government and is not self-governing, and hence it may be necessary for the people of India to tell the League what the Government of India has not done in the interests of India. It would, no doubt, be very easy for the League authorities to refuse, on technical grounds, to listen to the representation of the Mahasabha, and most probably that is what they will do—particularly as in this case the prestige of so influential a Member-State as Great Britain is involved. But there is no harm in trying to obtain justice. We are not aware of anything in the constitution of the League of Nations or in the Articles of its covenant, etc., which would debar it from trying to do justice to India. China and Germany have cried in the Geneva wilderness. The Hindu Mahasabha's cry also is almost sure to be a cry in the wilderness. But the world may come to know what is what. That may be some little gain.

The Bombay paper argues that it is only the Congress which represents the whole Indian nation and is definitely pledged to a solution of the minorities question, and that the Mahasabha is a communal institution. True. But if the Congress does not or cannot do its duty, is no other body to try to do the right thing ?

Our Bombay friend says in effect that the Congress scorns to refer a purely domestic question to the decision of a foreign body like the League dominated by Britain and other Powers in no way sympathetic towards the freedom of oriental peoples. Of course, the Hindu Mahasabha is not an august body like the Congress and so it may without loss of dignity stoop to seek the help of a foreign body. But it is to be borne in mind that the Government of India, for whose upkeep the people of India pay, is represented in the League, and hence it is not an absolutely foreign body. Just as the Round Table Conference, dominated by the unsympathetic British Power, was not an entirely foreign body only because Government-nominated Indians were among its members ; and for



that reason Congress-members like Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu did not feel it beneath their dignity to recognize the Round Table Conference and take part in and appear before it. Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the Congress, was pleased to have the Poona Pact relating to a domestic question confirmed by the foreign body known as the British cabinet.

In the opinion of *The Bombay Chronicle*, the only effective way to get rid of the communal "award" is to supersede it by an agreement among the communities. Personally, for reasons stated in a previous note, we are not at all hopeful about such an agreement being arrived at. But no Indian body can or does stand in the way of the Congress trying to secure such an agreement. It must be borne in mind, however, that the agreement can be effective only after it has been accepted and confirmed by the foreign bodies known as the British Ministry and the British Parliament.

That India's position in the League is anomalous and that her interests suffer owing to that reason are felt by many non-Indians also. These non-Indians, however, unlike our Bombay friends, think that this should and can be remedied. They belong to countries like England, France, Belgium, Germany, Bulgaria, Russia, Holland, Denmark, China, America and Switzerland. Delegates from these countries and from India attended the third International Conference on India held at Geneva on September 19 last. The following resolution among others was unanimously passed at this Conference :

5. This conference considers it wrong that disputes arising between India and the other members of the British Commonwealth should not fall within the jurisdiction of the League of Nations and considers it unfair to the other members of the League that one member thereof (Great Britain) should nominate the delegates of another (India).

#### *Eighth United Provinces Liberal Conference.*

The eighth session of the United Provinces Liberal Conference was held at Allahabad on the 21st and 22nd October last. The speech of Mehta Krishna Ram, editor of *The Leader*, who was chairman of its reception committee, was brief and to the point and

well-considered. In the course of it, he expressed the opinion that "Liberalism, with its high democratic ideals of freedom, justice, fair play and equality of rights, its recognition of the necessity of compromise and evolutionary progress, and its stern opposition to tyranny and coercion of all forms, popular or governmental, can make a valuable contribution" to the solution of the dominating economic problem all over the world, which, in his opinion, is "the root cause of the pervading distemper and disorder" everywhere. This may be true. But the pity is that Liberalism has not actually made any such contribution—perhaps because it does not possess the requisite driving power.

The speaker proceeded to say :

A heavy obligation rests on genuine Liberals all over the world to devote their best thought to this extremely difficult subject, so that civilization may be saved from the wreckage with which it is threatened by the conflict of blind and unreasoning forces of extremism. Already these forces have inflicted cruel loss and suffering on millions in many a land and are threatening another outbreak of international violence on an unprecedented scale.

In these truly testing times, with formidable and almost overwhelming odds against them, the Liberals in India, though not strong in numbers, and frowned upon by extremists on either side, have a special responsibility cast on them to strive to their uttermost to keep the Liberal ideals before the public and the Government, for I believe that policies guided by these ideals can alone bring peace and contentment to this distracted land. If the Government had heeded the warnings and listened to the advice of the experienced leaders of the party and other men of good-will, the powerful party which stands for complete independence and the severance of the British connection, and which has adopted the method of direct action for achieving this goal, would not have come into existence. The very popularity of this party, which grew in numbers and influence in proportion to the efforts of Government to repress and suppress it, should have conveyed a lesson and a warning to those who control Indian policy. But political wisdom has not dawned on them.

Mehta Krishna Ram agrees with his educated countrymen in thinking that the scheme of constitutional changes adumbrated in the White Paper seeks to maintain and reinforce the vested interests, alien as well as indigenous, and is calculated to set the classes against the masses and to perpetuate the communal factor in politics. Above all, it is designed to retain in British hands the essentials of power through its plethora of safeguards and reservations.

Mr. A. P. Sen, barrister-at-law, Lucknow, was elected president of the conference. It was a very good choice. The greater part of his reasoned and dignified address was devoted to a consideration of the White Paper proposals. He had no difficulty in showing that the White Paper scheme does not propose to confer the right of self-government on the people of India, nor would it constitute a step forward towards the goal of Indian self-government.

The constitution formulated in these proposals is certainly not Dominion Status nor any real Self-Government either in the Provinces or at the Centre, nor is it truly a government responsible to its people through its legislatures. The White Paper appears to be a mere catalogue of safeguards rather than proposals for real autonomy. Whatever autonomy there may be in outward appearance is more or less neutralized by the numerous limitations and restrictions and overriding safeguards with which these so-called reforms are hedged. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, a very important member of the British Government, claimed that "his Majesty's Government have surrounded their proposals with all the safeguards which the wit of man could devise."

There is great uncertainty as to when, if ever, and in what shape, the proposed Indian constitution would be an actuality.

In examining the proposals of the White Paper we have to bear in mind that they are subject to further alterations by the Joint Committee as well as by the two Houses of Parliament during the passage of the Constitution Act. But he is a blind optimist who hopes that as a result of the deliberations of the Joint Committee and discussions in Parliament, the White Paper proposals will be improved upon or that the modifications effected will be satisfactory from the Indian standpoint. The chances are that further concessions will be made to the persistent clamour of the Die-hards in Great Britain led by Mr. Churchill and Lord Lloyd. The Die-hards have not been defeated but have only been put off by the assurance that the White Paper proposals are not final. My apprehensions are that in the Constitution Act passed by Parliament there will be even less of real self-government for India.

As regards the date when the constitution may begin to be worked, Mr. Sen says :

Defective, partial and unsatisfactory as the scheme of responsibility at the centre is, its inauguration is subject to such conditions and limitations as will reduce it to a distant dream.

The mere passing of the Constitution Act will not bring into being a Federal government. There are "preparatory processes required in British India which cannot be completed until the Constitution Act is on the Statute Book and which must inevitably occupy some time." And then there are "the final discussions with the States with regard to their instruments of accession, and the execution of the latter cannot be undertaken

until the Act which will be the basis of the Princes' accession has been passed, for until that time arrives the States will not be in possession of complete knowledge of the character and powers of the Federation to which they are asked to accede."

This is not all. There are certain pre-requisites of a financial character to the inauguration of responsible federal government. Before the first federal ministry comes into being, a reserve bank, free from political influence, will have to be set up and will have to be in successful operation. The White Paper proceeds : "Some, however, of the conditions necessary for the successful establishment and operation of such a bank, depending as they do on world-conditions are not altogether within their control." "The Indian budgetary position should be assured, the existing short-term debt both in London and in India should be substantially reduced, adequate reserves should have been accumulated, and India's normal export surplus should have been restored." Further, the financial, economic and political conditions must be such as to render it practicable to start the new Federal and Provincial Governments on a stable basis. And if the conditions are not such in the opinion of his Majesty's Government, then "it would inevitably be necessary" says the White Paper, "to reconsider the position and determine in the light of the then circumstances what course should be pursued," and then His Majesty's Government pledge themselves to call into conference representatives of Indian opinion. When all the above conditions are fulfilled, then "it is the intention of his Majesty's Government that the Federation shall be brought into being by Royal Proclamation, but that Proclamation shall not be issued until both Houses of Parliament have presented an Address to the Crown with a prayer for its Proclamation."

He is a rash prophet who will venture to predict whether or when all these antecedent conditions will be satisfied and the federal constitution ushered into existence. I wish good luck to those who have hopes of the early consummation of the federal scheme of Central Government.

After showing what Dominion Status stands for and proving that Britain was pledged to grant it to India, he observes, "the constitution which is proposed in the White Paper is as far removed from Dominion Status as one pole is from another."

Examining in detail the powers and special responsibilities of the Federal Executive, he comes to the conclusion that "it is a travesty of truth to say the people will have complete administrative control over any department of federal administration." Similarly, passing in review the subjects of military control, financial control, control of services, legislative control, franchise, etc., he makes it clear that the White Paper does not concede or make for self-rule. Nor is there any 'self-determination' in it.

"Our future constitutional development and political progress are not to be in our hands. For every constitutional step forward we shall have to depend upon the sweet will of our rulers. At every stage of progress there must be a fresh enquiry and fresh parliamentary legislation. We are not to be the architects of our own destiny but are to be the supplicants of another nation for favour. England is to determine the stage and pace of India's progress, and India is to remain helpless, as before, in the matter of self-development.

No self-respecting Indian can help feeling the humiliation of such an abject position.

After criticizing others, Mr. Sen turns the search-light inwards and observes that "for many of our ills we ourselves are responsible."

"In a country divided by so many religions, and sects, communities, castes and sub-castes, and differences of language the task of building up an united nation is fraught with considerable difficulties. But the imperative duty is cast upon us so to reconstruct ourselves as will enable us to overcome those difficulties."

He suggests in detail what ought to be done "to reconstruct ourselves."

He condemns the revolutionary movement and parties, and considers them politically wrong and injurious. From what he says, it would appear that in his opinion their "existence" is indirectly explained by the "smarting under the humiliation of the political domination of India by another country," and also by "many economic causes." He would "earnestly beg all my patriotic countrymen to abandon this [civil disobedience] movement altogether." "In the present crisis in the history of our country, united action amongst all progressive parties is most urgently needed."

## *U. P. Liberal Conference Resolutions*

The most important and lengthy resolution passed at the U. P. Liberal Conference related to the White Paper. It begins thus :

(a) The United Provinces Liberal Conference places on record its sense of profound dissatisfaction with the proposals of constitutional advance embodied in the White Paper and with the efforts that are being made in the Joint Select Committee to make them even more illiberal. The White Paper proposals make no real or substantial transfer of power to responsible Indian governments and provide no method whereby India might be prepared to take over the control of the reserved subjects. The scheme is permeated with distrust of Indians and Indian capacity and is overloaded with safeguards both at the centre and in the provinces which are much more in the interests of England than of India. The proposals

in their present form will neither satisfy Indian opinion nor bring about any improvement in the political situation.

(b) In the opinion of this Conference no scheme which, while meeting the immediate demands and requirements of India, does not also provide for automatic development to full responsibility and equality of status with the Dominions within a short period fixed in the statute itself will satisfy Indian national aspirations or allay political discontent.

Clause (c) of the resolution states that the "Conference adheres to the following resolution of the last session of the National Liberal Federation," which is then quoted in full. That resolution of the National Liberal Federation embodies suggestions for making India self-governing and its constitution democratic as well as detailed criticism and condemnation of the White Paper.

Some of the other resolutions dealt with the Statutory Railway Authority, Transfer of Aden, the Swadeshi Movement, Princes' Protection Bill, the Political Situation, Indians Abroad, Reserve Bank Bill, Agricultural Indebtedness, and Untouchability.

## *Insistence on Formal Abandonment of Civil Disobedience*

Clause (b) of the resolution on the political situation reads :

"This Conference disapproves of the continuance of the policy of civil disobedience, which stands in the way of a united political action by all progressive parties."

Without the least desire to be offensive, we cannot help saying that this clause gives one, to however slight an extent, the same impression as the attitude of the Government towards the Congress. Government wants a formal and complete abandonment of civil disobedience, completely ignoring Mahatma Gandhi's gesture of peace and the practical discontinuance of civil disobedience. Why should the Liberals want a similar repudiation of civil disobedience from the Congress ? As we understand the matter, neither the Government nor the Liberals may ever get such a humiliating recantation from the Congress in the present political condition of India. Congressmen cannot sincerely recant. It ought to be enough that civil disobedience has been practically given up.

If Liberals can co-operate with Congress-



men in the uplift of the depressed classes, which is socio-political work, why cannot the two parties unite on a directly political programme which involves neither 'mendicancy' nor 'direct action'?

### \* *Exhibition of Indian Art in London*

The recent exhibition of Modern Indian paintings was organized by Mr. Barada Charan Ukil. Those whose pictures have been exhibited in it are the brothers Sarada Charan Ukil, Barada Charan Ukil and Rudra Charan Ukil, and D. K. Deb Barua, Sudhansu Chaudhuri, Pares Ray, B. Sen, K. N. Mazumdar, S. Choudhury, G. N. Tagore, Janini Ranjan Ray, Sciram Vaish, N. N. Tagore, A. P. Banerjee, R. K. Samanta, Nalini Kanta Mazumdar and Lalit Mohan Sen. Art critics in the British Press have paid a considerable tribute and Sir Samuel Hoare a high tribute to the quality of Indian Art displayed in the Exhibition.

He expressed his gladness to be able to get away, if only for a short time, from the ordeal of examination and cross-examination in the Committee. There was a note of genuineness in the wish that he expressed, that he could find time to discuss with the distinguished Indian visitors who came to see him from time to time, other things besides politics and matters of administration. He struck a still deeper note when he reminded the small but distinguished audience that it was in matters of art and the wider issues of life that different peoples in the East and the West came together upon a higher level of mutual understanding and appreciation than they frequently did in the more controversial realms in which he was so much and so strenuously involved. If only Indo-British relations could be preserved on this level how much easier all the rest would be!

But how can there be sincere "mutual understanding and appreciation" in any matter between two parties when one party insists on treating the other as mere children or rather less than human, in political and administrative matters? The human mind is not divided into air-tight compartments. If some members of a nation understand and are creative in literature, art, science, philosophy, etc., it stands to reason that there would be other members of it who understand political and administrative problems equally well and can do equally good constructive work in politics and administration.

Sir Samuel Hoare and his fellow imperialists should know that Indians refuse to be

patted on the back as artists and trodden under foot as political dreamers and agitators.

### *Mr. Churchill's Proposals*

London, Oct. 24.

The creation of a Government of India inspectorate to tour the provinces and report on the working of the transferred departments was proposed by Mr. Churchill when giving evidence before the Joint Select Committee. He stressed that any advance must be by stages and the provinces should be working satisfactorily before a change was introduced in the Centre.

He said he was prepared to support provincial Home Rule on four conditions, namely, that the powers so extended would be revocable by Parliament, that the experiment would be given a fair chance over a long period without further changes, that the Governors would have deputies to whom they would be empowered to entrust the judiciary and police and that an all-India inspectorate would be appointed.

Mr. Churchill explained that the inspectorate would supervise the expenditure of grants which the provinces would receive from the Centre and by discharging the responsibilities of Parliament for the well-being of the masses and the Government of the provinces, would remove the 'odious accusation against the White Paper that we have ceased to concern ourselves with the welfare of Indian peoples and are only anxious for our own interests and rights.'

These paragraphs give some idea of the constitution which Mr. Churchill would give India if he had the absolute power. They need not be discussed. He cut a rather sorry and foolish figure under cross-examination. as later events have proved.

The claim that British imperialists rule India for "the welfare of the Indian peoples," is sickening hypocrisy. They have all along professed to concern themselves with our welfare. Yet, in spite of their professed concern for the welfare of the masses, the latter are sunk in abject poverty. This has been admitted by many British officers and statesmen. The latest evidence on the subject from British sources is contained in the following observations in the annual Government report on the administration of the U. P. Police for the year 1932:

In India more than in any other country in the world there is a considerable portion of the population that finds it difficult even in normal years to keep body and soul together. If anything abnormal happens this section of the people is deprived of the bare necessities of life.

Our poverty is not the only proof of the British imperialistic care to which we have been subjected. The infliction of the same

care is responsible for the fact that, of all countries under civilized rule, India is the most illiterate, 92 per cent of our population being quite innocent of letters.

In spite of the imperialist concern for our welfare the death-rate in India is also higher than in any other country under civilized government.

Let us conclude with some actuarial figures, taken from the India volume, part I, of the census report for 1931. The male child's "complete expectation of life in years" when he is born is in Australia 55.20, Denmark 54.9, England 48.53, France 45.74, Germany 44.82, Holland 51, India 22.59, Italy 41.24, Japan 43.97, Norway 54.84, Sweden 54.53, Switzerland 49.25, United States 49.32. For the female child the figures are: Australia 58.84, Denmark 57.9, England 52.38, France 49.13, Germany 48.33, Holland 53.4, India 23.31, Italy 44.83, Japan 44.85, Norway 57.72, Sweden 56.98, Switzerland 52.15, United States 52.54.

So we pray to Mr. Churchill and his fellow-imperialists to neglect the masses of India for a little while! It is just possible that their neglect may produce results opposite to those produced by their care.

### *An Indian Swimmer's Feat*

Rangoon, Oct. 25.

The great Indian swimmer P. K. Ghosh, who entered water at 8-6 in the morning on Oct. 22 at the Royal Lakes, came out at 3-30 P. M. on Oct. 25, creating a new world record of swimming endurance test for 79 hours and 24 minutes in the presence of a huge cosmopolitan crowd. Fully conscious and responding to ovations by signs he swam unaided to the boundary line ammunition. It is stated that on the shore on a stretcher he was garlanded by Dr. Dugal, president of the Rangoon Corporation. He was then removed in an ambulance to a private residence. Immediately after 3-6 P. M. repeated rifle fires announced his breaking of the world's record but he continued for another 24 minutes.

### *Separation of Burma*

(Associated Press)  
Rangoon, Oct. 19.

U. Chit Hlaing, M. L. C., president of one section of the anti-separationist party, and also leader of that section in the Burma legislature, has sent a communication to the chairman and members of the Joint Select Committee, London, condemning and protesting against the views expressed by the Secretary of State on the issue of separation of Burma at this stage of the committee's proceedings and before the committee

consulted the Indian delegates, particularly the Burmese.

Sir Samuel Hoare's views are prejudicial and detrimental to the case of federationists and are also based on entirely fallacious and one-sided estimate of Burma's opinion on the subject. Sir Samuel Hoare was unduly swayed by the proceedings of the Simon Commission, forgetting that the Commission was boycotted by all representing the greater bulk and the fact that the Burma legislature at that time was also banned by all general councils of Burmese associations. The election was conclusive proof for pro-federation. The separation motion was utterly defeated in the legislature in December, 1932, and a convention of all general councils of Burmese associations held in July, 1932, unanimously rejected separation.

Forty-four anti-separationist members of the legislature declare entire support for federation and we repudiate Sir Samuel Hoare's plea that separation is in the best interests of Burma. Any attempt to thrust separation in spite of such evidence is tantamount to flouting the wishes of the people of Burma and will become too deliberate and pernicious if so done under the influence of official tactics and will never be tolerated by Burma.

### *Muslims Educationally Not the most Backward Community in All Provinces*

The president of the recent U. P. Muslim Educational Conference rightly regretted the educational backwardness of his own community and made some good suggestions for its educational advancement. He may feel encouraged by the fact that the U. P. Muslims have already outstripped the U. P. Hindus in education. According to the census of 1931, in the U. P. among Hindus 91 males and 9 females *per mille* are literate and among Muslims 97 males and 16 females *per mille* are literate. Muslims are more literate than Hindus in some other areas also. Their literacy *per mille* there in 1931 is shown below.

Area.	Hindus.		Muslims.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Ajmer-Merwara	164	23	196	28
C. P. & Benar	118	9	265	35
Madras	182	26	229	21
U. P.	91	9	97	16
Baroda	315	72	420	79
Bombay States	114	13	138	16
C. I. Agency	83	7	198	8
C. P. States	50	3	272	32
Gwalior	69	9	156	28
Hyderabad	70	8	205	35
Madras States	221	21	336	15
Mysore	161	24	284	101

The Bengal Census Report for 1931 reveals the fact that in the decade 1921-1931 literacy among Hindu males has decreased in

22 districts and literacy among Muslim males has decreased in 12 of them. Among Muslims increase in literacy has taken place in 15 districts, but it has taken place among Hindus only in 6 districts. As Bengal Muslims are more backward in education than Bengal Hindus and Government makes greater efforts for the spread of education among the former, it is only to be expected that during the decade there should be greater progress among them. But why should there be educational retrogression among the Hindus? Perhaps the census is inaccurate in this respect. But if it be accurate, the Bengal Government ought to take all those steps for the promotion of education among Bengal Hindus which it has been taking for years in the interest of Muslim education.

The most important question to which the Bengal Government owes an answer is, why there should be any decrease in education at all in any area among any community. The matter should receive the earliest attention of the entire population of Bengal.

### *Vithalbhai Patel*

The cause of Indian emancipation has sustained an irreparable loss by the tragic death in a foreign land of Srijut Vithalbhai Patel. At home and abroad, in health and in sickness, he was most valiant fighter for his country's freedom. He was a very able parliamentarian, possessed of profound and extensive knowledge of constitutional law. As the first elected president of the Indian Legislative Assembly, he made a record and won a reputation by his knowledge, skill, fearless independence, love of freedom, tenacity of purpose, unremitting industry and controversial powers which his successors have not approached and which future incumbents of the office will find it hard to equal and still more difficult to beat. He went abroad mainly for getting cured and improving his health, but did more in America and Europe in a physically feeble condition for acquainting the people of those continents with the case for India's freedom than Indians possessed of normal health are generally able to do. In our last March number the Rev. J. T. Sunderland gave

an account of Mr. Patel's visit to America, and briefly referring to the visit to that continent of other famous Indians, wrote of his visit thus, in part :

Last and in some respects most important of all, Mr. V. J. Patel, India's great and heroic leader and peace-loving fighter for her freedom, came in November, 1932. Notwithstanding his impaired health, caused by his cruel imprisonment in India, and the four severe surgical operations which he was compelled to undergo in Europe to save his life, he is moving about widely and doing much very valuable work for India's cause. No other visitor from India has ever met with such high official recognition and welcome. He has been received with distinguished honour and given notable public receptions by the mayors of New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, Detroit, Washington and others of our largest cities. His pictures and accounts of his long and able services to India have been published in many of our widely circulated papers. In his addresses and lectures delivered in colleges, theatres, great halls, churches, and before clubs and associations of many kinds, he has presented India's case for freedom and self-rule fearlessly and with great clearness and power. The visit of this great Indian leader to America will long be remembered. His addresses and interviews have everywhere produced strong impressions. Certain it is that he has created or deepened in the minds of thousands the conviction that his great historic nation, which has had such an illustrious past, is abundantly able to rule itself now, and ought to be granted its freedom without delay.

It was only fitting that shortly before his death the message which he gave concluded with the words : "Before I die I am praying for the early attainment of India's freedom."

### *Mahatma Gandhi's Suggested Visit to Midnapur*

It has been suggested that Mahatma Gandhi should visit Midnapur. As that district is at present practically under martial law, the visit of a messenger of peace at this time would not in our opinion be appropriate, nor would it produce any adequate beneficial result. Obviously the suggestion has been made in the hope that he may be able to convert those in Midnapur who are terroristically inclined, if any are still left, to the cult of non-violence. But how will contact between him and them be produced? Even entirely unarmed and figuratively toothless and clawless human beings who might see or seek to see Mahatmaji might most probably be suspected by the police to be either potential civil resisters or terrorists in intention.



If we were rightly informed, during Gandhiji's visit to Calcutta in a previous year he was asked by the people of Midnapur to visit that district. But the visit did not come off. If he had visited Midnapur at that time, the people would have been encouraged in their *non-violent* struggle. So far as our information goes, the heroic sacrifices and sufferings of the people of Tamluk and Contai sub-divisions, in the cause of non-violence, with no leaders like Sardar Patel or Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan to lead them, were surpassed in India only by those of the non-violent fighters of N.-W. Frontier Province.

### *Bengal and the Poona Pact*

Readers of newspapers have learned from several sources that Mahatma Gandhi agrees that the Poona Pact may be altered in cases of proved injustice, with the consent of both parties. But it is hoping against hope to get the consent of the party which has got an undue advantage to any change which would lessen that advantage. In the case of Bengal, there were no two parties—no representative of the "caste Hindus" signed the Pact. There was, no doubt, some acquiescence on the part of some Bengalis for a brief period under fear of Mahatmajī's death. There is, moreover, a third party to take into account, namely, the British ministry. They confirmed the Poona Pact because it was expected to serve their purpose better than or at least as well as the original communal award. But if they found any agreed change would not suit them so well, they would be quite equal to finding plenty of excuses for not accepting it. Let us, however, assume that there are only two parties, *viz.*, Bengal "Caste Hindus" on the one side and the depressed classes of Bengal on the other represented by Dr. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi has not yet been convinced that any injustice has been done to Bengal nationalists. And it would not be easy to convince Dr. Ambedkar either. In any case it is hard lines that a partisan like Dr. Ambedkar should have a stranglehold on Bengal nationalism, or that it should be at the mercy of only a single great-souled individual like the Mahatma. Before the Poona Pact he fasted to prevent the disruption

of Hindu society by the communal "award." Unfortunately, the permanent possibility of that disruption stares us in the face, because of the sanctity ascribed to the Poona Pact. It is a strange irony of fate that a non-communal organization like the Congress has become the greatest indirect advocate and supporter of the communalism-ridden "award" of the British premier through its adherence to the death to the Poona Pact, which did not nullify but only strengthened that "award" in some respects.

It will help real All-India patriots to understand the Bengal Nationalists' case, if they bear in mind, that up to the 29th August of this year the Bengal Government had not prepared its *final* list of depressed classes, that 26 (twenty-six) castes, including the numerous Namasudras and Rajbangshis, had objected to being included in the list, thus leaving only 11,67,555 persons to be given special representation, that according to Sir William Prentice's answer in Council in preparing the provisional Government list, "the general criteria of untouchability were not applied" and that "Government did not rely on any particular authority but prepared the list on the basis of the information generally at their disposal."

We have shown in our last number, p. 484, that the "depressed classes" in Bengal would be entitled at the most to the reservation of 5 (five) seats, instead of the 30 (thirty) assigned to them by the Poona Pact.

### *Careers for Women and Marriage*

Some months ago the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, advertised that a principal was wanted from the 1st November, 1933 for Bethune College, the premier Women's College in Bengal. One of the conditions laid down was that she must be unmarried or widowed. It is to be hoped, however, that the best candidate, a married lady, has been appointed.

It was reported about a month ago that the Executive Health Officer of the Bombay Municipality had summarily dispensed with the services of Dr. Miss Sundrabai Raut, who was in charge of a municipal maternity home, on the ground that she had recently married.

An item of news of an opposite kind is the following :

Amritsar, Oct. 7.

Sardar Mohinder Singh Sidhwan has given notice to move two resolutions in the forthcoming meeting of the District Board, Ludhiana, to the effect that unmarried women teachers should not be employed in the District Board Education Department and that those already in service and unmarried be given notices that in case they do not get themselves married within a year, their services will be dispensed with.

Though marriage is normal for both men and women, attempts have been made in many countries to shut out married women from various careers. Years ago the New York Board of Education adopted a by-law especially directed at married women. "The position of the Board was at once attacked and ridiculed, with the result that on May 26, 1920, the by-law was "stricken out in its entirety." *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, by Thomas Woody, vol. i, prints the following poem by Alice Duer Miller ridiculing the by-law of the New York Board of Education :

The Board interviews three women candidates, as follows :

*Chorus by Board :*

Now please don't waste  
Your time and ours  
By pleas all based  
On mental powers.  
She seems to us  
The proper stuff  
Who has a hus-  
Band bad enough.  
All other pleas appear to us  
Excessively superfluous.

*1st Teacher :*

My husbaad is not really bad—

*Board :*

How very sad, how very sad !

*1st Teacher :*

He's good, but hear my one excuse—

*Board :*

Oh, what's the use, oh, what's the use ?

*1st Teacher :*

Last winter in a railroad wreck  
He lost an arm and broke his neck.  
He's doomed, but lingers day by day.

*Board :*

Her husband's doomed ! Hurry ! hurry !

*2nd Teacher :*

My husband's kind and healthy, too—

*Board :*

Why, then, of course, you will not do.

*2nd Teacher :*

Just hear me out. You'll find you're wrong.  
It's true his body's good and strong ;  
But, ah, his wits are all astray,

*Board :*

Her husband's mad. Hip, hip, hurray !

*3rd Teacher :*

My husband's wise and well—the creature !

*Board :*

Then you can never be a teacher..

*3rd Teacher :*

Wait. For I led him such a life  
He could not stand me as a wife ;  
Last Michaelmas, he ran away.

*Board :*

Her husband hates her, Hip, hurray !

*Chorus by Board :*

Now we have found,  
Without a doubt,  
By process sound  
And well thought out,  
Each candidate  
Is fit in truth  
To educate  
The mind of youth.  
No teacher need apply to us  
Whose married life's harmonious. } = ! ✓

### *Swimming Feat By Girl of Seven*

Last month at the Swimming Fair organized by the Oriental Club of Allahabad a Hindustani girl of seven of Benares, named Jayanti Devi, crossed the Jumna twice without taking rest. She also dived with her hands and feet tied, having been dropped into the river from a height of about 12 feet.

### *Germany Leaves League of Nations and Disarmament Conference*

Germany has cut off all connection with the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference on the ground that she was not accorded equality of status and equality of armaments. All peoples who are not partisans must admit Germany's grievances to be just.

Germany herself has not given her Jews an equal status, has on the contrary persecuted them cruelly, and at the last League Assembly session opposed the resolution dealing with the protection of minorities, including the Jews. But these wrong actions of hers do not prove that the other Powers have treated her justly.

### *Gift of Sabarmati Ashram for "Harijan" Service*

Mahatma Gandhi has offered to hand over to Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla, President, Servants of Untouchables Society, the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati to be dedicated "once for all for the service of Harijans." A noble offer for a noble purpose.

*Stimati Kamini Ray*

Mrs. K. N. Ray, who died last month at the age of about 70, was Bengal's greatest poetess. Before her marriage she had already become famous for her poetry as Miss Kamini Sen, B.A. Her father, the late Babu Chandicharan Sen, a judicial officer, had won distinction and popularity during his lifetime by writing some historical novels treating of events which happened during the earlier period of British rule in India, and by translating *Uncle Tom's Cabin* into Bengali. The first book of poems by Mrs. K. N. Ray, which was published when she was a teacher in Bethune College, was *Alo-o-Ohhaya* or "Light and Shade." It came out with an introduction by the poet Hem Chandra Bandopadhyay and at once made a name. Subsequently other books of poems and some dramatic pieces were composed and published by her. The last work, which was published a few years ago, was a collection of sonnets which were an expression of some aspects of her inner life on the eve of and after her marriage. Translations of some of these poems, by Mrs. Jessie Duncan Westbrook, were published in *The Modern Review* for November, 1929. Their Bengali originals had not then come out.

Purity of thought and sentiment and a certain intellectual distinction were some of the characteristics of her poetry. They were entirely free from voluptuousness. Reading her poems, no one would think of woman as a plaything of man or as a suppliant for man's favour, but would rather be impressed with the dignity and high destiny of womanhood.

She took part in a quiet way in social welfare work of different kinds and generally in the movement for women's uplift and emancipation. She was noted for her individuality and independence of character. She always tried to avoid the limelight and never played to the gallery. It is not a little remarkable that, though a contemporary of so great a poet as Rabindranath Tagore, her works do not bear such evidence of his influence as the works of many other contemporary authors do.

*"Excluded Areas"*

The provision about "excluded areas" in the White Paper is unnecessary and is a

reflection on the desire and ability of the Indian intelligentsia to look after the interests of the aboriginal tribes the regions inhabited by whom would generally be "excluded." What Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. M. R. Jayakar and the Archbishop of Canterbury said before the Joint Select Committee is quite correct.

Mr. N. M. Joshi put the view that it was not only the moneylenders from whom protection was needed but capitalists, autocratic officers and even "anthropologists who want these specimens to be preserved." He contended that free discussion facilitated protection.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar put the view that it would be unwise to ignore the modern Indian's realization of obligations towards these communities and expressed the fear that if public criticism in relation to the totally excluded area was not permitted to be brought to bear, "these people will long continue as exhibits of what civilizations used to be once in India."

The Archbishop of Canterbury also thought that total prohibition was needlessly drastic and urged the importance of a legislature being aware how the problem was being treated.

As areas other than tribal may be declared "excluded," the provision is very dangerous also. Already the district of Midnapur has been mentioned in this connection.

*Abortive Rebellion in Siam?*

It seems that the rebellion in Siam has fizzled out. Nevertheless, it would be wise and statesmanlike on the part of the King of Siam to inquire into the grievances of his people, if any, and redress them. It should not be impossible to make Siam a quite up-to-date constitutional monarchy.

*Jawaharlal Nehru on M. N. Roy*

In the course of a just and generous communication to the Press relating to Mr. M. N. Roy Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru describes his first meeting with him. Says he:

Six feet tall and well-built, physically M. N. Roy was a fine specimen of Indian humanity. Intellectually, he was alert and keen and even a few minutes' conversation impressed me with his unusual ability.

The communication concludes:

Today he lies in the Bareilly Central Prison and for nearly two years and a half he has been in gaol. He is ill and is said to suffer from a serious constitutional disease. For long unused to a hot climate he has had to endure the terrible summer heat of Northern India in the hard and painful surroundings of a prison. The usual facilities which were granted to some of us in



prison are denied him and it appears, that even books and writing materials are severely restricted.

For an intellectual that is the harshest trial of all. And so he wastes away and his bright young life which had already shown such rich promise slides downhill to the brink. Such is the fate of one of the bravest and ablest of India's sons of the present generation. We are poor enough in human material and it is a tragedy to see the waste of the lives of those who have the ability and capacity to do so much for their country, while others whom nobody can accuse of possessing any intellect or ideals or even decent feelings occupy the seats of power and authority. But it is wrong to think that their lives are wasted. They serve the cause better in this silent way than many who shout from the housetops.

As capital punishment has not been pronounced on Mr. M. N. Roy, he is legally entitled to such medical and other treatment as would cure and keep alive his body and mind.

### *Japanese Reciprocity!*

Presiding over the 14th ordinary general meeting of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, Mr. Walchand Hirachand pointed out that, although the coastal waters of Japan are reserved to her national tonnage only and although there is an embargo at present on the import of Indian and Burman rice into Japan, her shippers have been invading our coastal waters with extremely low and uneconomic rates made possible by the policy of the Japanese State to subsidize its shipping and the depreciated yen, and that the Japanese rice merchants have began to dump at low rates the Indian markets with old rice imported into Japan from Burma in previous years, thus damaging the Indian rice market and ruining the Burmese agriculturists. Rice interests in Burma and Indian merchants have requested the Government of India to place a ban on the imports of old Indian rice from Japan. As for reservation of Indian coastal traffic for Indian shipping, that would involve "discrimination" against British shipping!

### *Mad Men's Cures for Terrorism* ✓

*The Statesman* has been advertising mad quack remedies for terrorism. Through its columns, some Europeans at Kharagpur have suggested that for those found in unauthorized possession of arms or ammunition the death penalty should be enforced within

48 hours! But why 48 hours? Why not immediately and on the spot where unauthorized arms or ammunition are found! These terror-stricken Europeans (and the Editor of *The Statesman*?) take it for granted that such unauthorized things are kept in stock only for murder and that the murder of European officials. They forget that different punishments are provided in the ordinary law for different crimes, and that arms and ammunition may be placed in a man's house by his enemies or police informers without his knowledge to get him punished.

Another correspondent of the same paper, one Captain O'Donovan, goes one better. He proposes that "in the event of another British official losing his life by assassination, two (or more) of the pampered gentry now resident in Midnapore gaol be taken outside, placed against a wall, and publicly shot!" So some Indian prisoners are proposed to be selected or taken at random and shot down, no matter who or what they are or what the offence for which they were jailed. But whatever their offence might have been for which they were imprisoned, the judge or judges did not condemn them to death, but to the lesser punishment of imprisonment. So, it is only frenzied and panic stricken men who can suggest that they should be killed because some other person or persons outside the jail have committed a murder. But apart from the sanity or justice of the proposal, how can it influence the terrorists or prevent terrorism?

To the crimes of terrorists, one more has now to be added, namely, that they have unhinged the minds of some Europeans.

### *'Interpopular' Neighbourliness.*

While the distance between continents and countries, measured in miles, remains as great as ever, they have really come very much closer to one another if we consider how much less time it takes at present to travel and to transmit news over long distances. From that point of view the earth has become smaller than before. Science has brought about this shrinkage. As distant peoples have thus become neighbours, it

would be natural to expect greater neighbourliness among nations than in days gone by. But as a matter of fact, continents against continents, countries against countries are found arrayed in hostility against one another. This is because nations and governments are organized for the promotion of selfish economic interests and to feed chauvinistic vanity.

This is one side of the medal. The other, the brighter, side is presented by 'interpopular' conferences like the Third International Conference on India which met at Geneva in September last and of which an illustrated account is published elsewhere in this issue. We desire to call such a conference 'interpopular' rather than 'international,' as many individuals belonging to various peoples may be friendly, in their mutual attitude, whereas nations may be at strife. This conference is remarkable in that it manifested friendliness to a people which is weak. Professions of friendship for the powerful are not rare, but real friendliness for the unorganized and weak is rare and is, therefore, a priceless commodity. Though the high and mighty ones of the world were not gathered together at this conference, such a gathering may have a brighter future than its neighbour the League of Nations.

### *"Equality of Status and Freedom" in the British Empire*

According to the official report of the proceedings of the League Assembly received in India last month, Mr. Ormsby-Gore made a speech at a meeting of the sixth committee, criticizing the German Government's treatment of minorities in Germany and eulogized the British policy and principles in the following words :

It has always been a cardinal principle of the British Empire that no person shall be debarred from holding any office under the Crown, or from occupying posts in any profession or the like, in the famous words of Queen Victoria in her proclamation as Empress of India, 'By reason of race, colour or creed.' That is fundamental, and the only thing that holds the British Empire together is equality of status and freedom. If we were to substitute for our present conceptions of the British Empire this conception of the race ascendancy of one element in it, quite frankly it would be the end. The British Empire does not

conceive of itself in terms of racial solidarity, but in terms of the free association of free people, encouraged to develop their national consciousness within the greater unity and, above all, bound together by what is the real guarantee for all minorities all over the world—free self-governing institutions. We have always said 'rather self-government than even good government.'

The people of India form the vast majority of the inhabitants of the British Empire. Hence the acid test of real British policy and principles lies in the treatment which Indians receive in India and in parts of the British Empire like South Africa, Kenya, etc. Is there freedom, is there equality of status, for Indians in these vast regions of the British Empire? No.

The less Englishmen refer to Queen Victoria's proclamation the better. It stands as a glaring illustration of contrast between profession and practice, precept and example.

### *Marwari Women's Conference in Calcutta*

Welcoming the delegates to the All-India Marwari Women's Conference in Calcutta, Srimati Jankidevi Mussadi, chairwoman of the reception committee, said :

Our community is very backward in social matters. Veiled and confined within four corners of the house we remain shut off from the big world outside. *Purdah* retards our physical, moral and mental development. Almost daily we hear of attacks made by *goondas* on helpless sisters who are unable to protect their honour. In my humble opinion sound education is the only panacea for all our present social evils. One thousand and one social taboos, meaningless social and religious customs and prejudices and other forms of dress and style of wearing ornaments, all have their roots in the absence of education.

The lady who was elected president, Srimati Jankidevi Bajaj, spoke in the same strain. She said, in part :

Many social evils are prevalent in our community which are sapping our vitals. The underlying cause of all these is, firstly, the absence of sound and suitable education, and, secondly, the ingrained idea in the minds of our men and women that women are inferior to men and should always be treated as such. We always treat them as 'pariahs.' Our greatest enemy is *purdah*. From whatever point we may view it—social, educational or economic—its pernicious effect will be found to be blocking our progress and development. It has, therefore, to be discarded wherever it hampers healthy social progress.

All social reforms began with women and unless they took them up seriously, the hopes of reforms

could hardly be realized. 'In the mode and fashion about our dress and ornaments we should imitate our sisters of more advanced and progressive communities where purdah has not cast its blasting effects. Let us not make ourselves the laughing-stock of the world on account of our strange and ugly fashions in dress.'

We have today no voice in the shaping of our future destiny. We are tied in nuptial knot to people whom we scarcely know and with whom perhaps we have nothing in common. Necessarily there is no love and affection between husband and wife, which is the blessing of a happy union. Our life in most cases is, therefore, a slow process of waste.

### *Bengal Hindus Condemn Communal "Award"*

The following resolution was passed last month at an influential and representative meeting of Bengal Hindus held in Calcutta :

"This meeting of the Hindus of Bengal records its emphatic condemnation of the Communal 'Award' which apart from the other great imperfections of the White Paper, is in itself a negation of self-government and is at the same time utterly unjust and unfair to the Hindus, based on no uniform principle whatever and designed with the sole object of keeping the Hindus permanently in a position of political inferiority."

Incidentally the Poona Pact also was condemned at this meeting.

### *Indian J. S. C. Delegates Non-Co-operate !*

A number of Indian delegates to the Joint Select Committee, such as Mr. Jayakar, Sir P. Sethna, Sir Abdur Rahim, Sirdar Bata Singh, Choudhri Zafarullah, Mr. Thombare and Sir Manubhai Mehta, declined to cross-examine members of the Indian Empire Society who appeared as witnesses.

Mr. Jayakar said that there was no common ground with witnesses who were of the opinion that it was a mistake to apply democratic principles to India, that decline commenced when British politicians endeavoured to endow India with democratic government and that the only reality is power. These sentiments are so radically different from Indian sentiments that I will not detain the Select Committee by detailed questions.

Choudhri Zafarulla said : 'In view of the evidence that the witnesses have given that since the reforms the administration of India is less efficient and more corrupt and far more expensive and that wherever in British India Indians have been interested in self-government the results are almost invariably disastrous, that it is only brilliant exceptions among Indians who achieve success in the higher ranks, that better class Indians do not want democracy and that the

Indian does not want a vote with which he does not know what to do and so sells it, it shall serve no useful purpose to put questions.'

We think the Indian delegates have acted wrongly and inconsistently. There was little common ground between Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar and witnesses like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir P. Fagan and yet they examined the latter. Besides, there is no reason why Non-co-operation, assuming that it is justifiable, should be reserved only for witnesses. In essentials there is little common ground between the demands of Indian Nationalists and the White Paper proposals, and there is little common ground also between members of the J. S. Committee like Lord Salisbury and Indian Nationalists. Therefore, either the whole show should have been boycotted as the Simon Commission was, or all the lies and all the partial truths of British witnesses, including those of the Indian Empire Society should have been thoroughly exposed by cross-examination.

### *Prolongation of Life of Indian Legislatures*

The prolongation of the life of the Indian Legislatures as at present constituted is entirely wrong. Having been elected for three years, they have lost what representative character they may have originally possessed. Moreover, there are or soon would be new issues before the country, like the Reserve Bank Bill, Statutory Railway Board, Indo-Japanese-Lancashire trade problems, J. S. C. Report, etc., on which the members of the legislatures did not get any mandate from their constituencies, implied or express, when they were elected.

### *Suggested Visit of Mahatmaji to Midnapur*

With reference to the suggested visit of Mahatmaji to Midnapur *The Bombay Chronicle* observes :

In a variety of ways Gandhi has done almost everything possible to wean the people of India from the path of violence and to rely on non-violent methods for the redress of their wrongs. But his attitude is grossly misunderstood or, at any rate, is not appreciated by the Government. And as he points out, he can have little chance of



success in Bengal, if he has to address only one party. On the other hand, Government, who are the prime cause of all the present turmoil all over the country, can have peace any day they wish, if only they call off repression and resume constitutional negotiations on the basis of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. If Mr. Hales wants to succeed in his peace efforts he should address himself first and foremost to the Government of India.

### *Muslim Chamber of Commerce and A Commerce Seat in Bengal*

The Report of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee was signed on the 15th May 1930. Two Muhammadan members signed it without any notes of dissent. It says :

"The foreign trade is almost entirely in the hands of European houses, though a few of the great Indian firms take a small part in it. The greater part of the inland trade is in the hands of non-Bengalis, chiefly Marwaris. Thus, besides the Bengal Chamber of Commerce with European constituents, there are the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, composed chiefly of Bengalis; the Marwari Chamber of Commerce with only Marwari members; and the Indian Chamber of Commerce whose members are principally men from outside Bengal. Muhammadans take only a very insignificant part in commerce, being represented by a few men from the western Presidency."

Of the 307 members of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce 220 are Hindus, 3 are Muhammadans, the rest are joint-stock companies, mostly managed by Hindus.

Of the Insurance Companies operating in Bengal, there are 15 Muhammadan directors out of 152. Not a single Muhammadan is a member of the Calcutta Stock Exchange.

Why should the newly-founded Muslim Chamber of Commerce then have a seat allotted to it ?

J. M. DATTA

### *Demands of Central India States' People*

Some of the important resolutions passed at the Central India States' People's Conference last month at Khandwa under the presidentship of Raja Bahadur Govindlal

Pitty of Bombay are printed below. They deserve full support.

This Conference is strongly opposed to and condemns the proposed Legislation for the protection of the Princes, as it imposes a further handicap on the liberties of the people. It requests the Indian legislature to reject the measure. It also requests the State Administrations to press for its withdrawal.

This Conference considers it essential that fundamental rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of press, right to assemble and form associations, right to follow one's own form of worship and Rule of Law should be guaranteed to the people of the States of Central India.

This Conference earnestly urges upon the Rulers of States in Central India and the Paramount Authority to take, in collaboration, immediate steps to inaugurate in the States representative assemblies of elected members with a view to the early establishment of responsible Government in the States.

In the opinion of this Conference the right of representation of the people of the States by representatives elected by them (the people of the States) in the proposed Federal Legislature is infeasible and independent of the consent of any party in the States. This Conference, therefore, urges the rulers and the Paramount Power to recognize and concede this right to the people.

This Conference urges on all the Indian State Rulers in Central India to grant the so-called Untouchables their right to use public associations, temples, wells, taps, schools and Dharmshalas situate in their territory in equality to those obtaining to the higher castes, and to confiscate the "Mafis" which have been hitherto awarded to the temples in case they do not concede the right of temple entry to the so-called Untouchables.

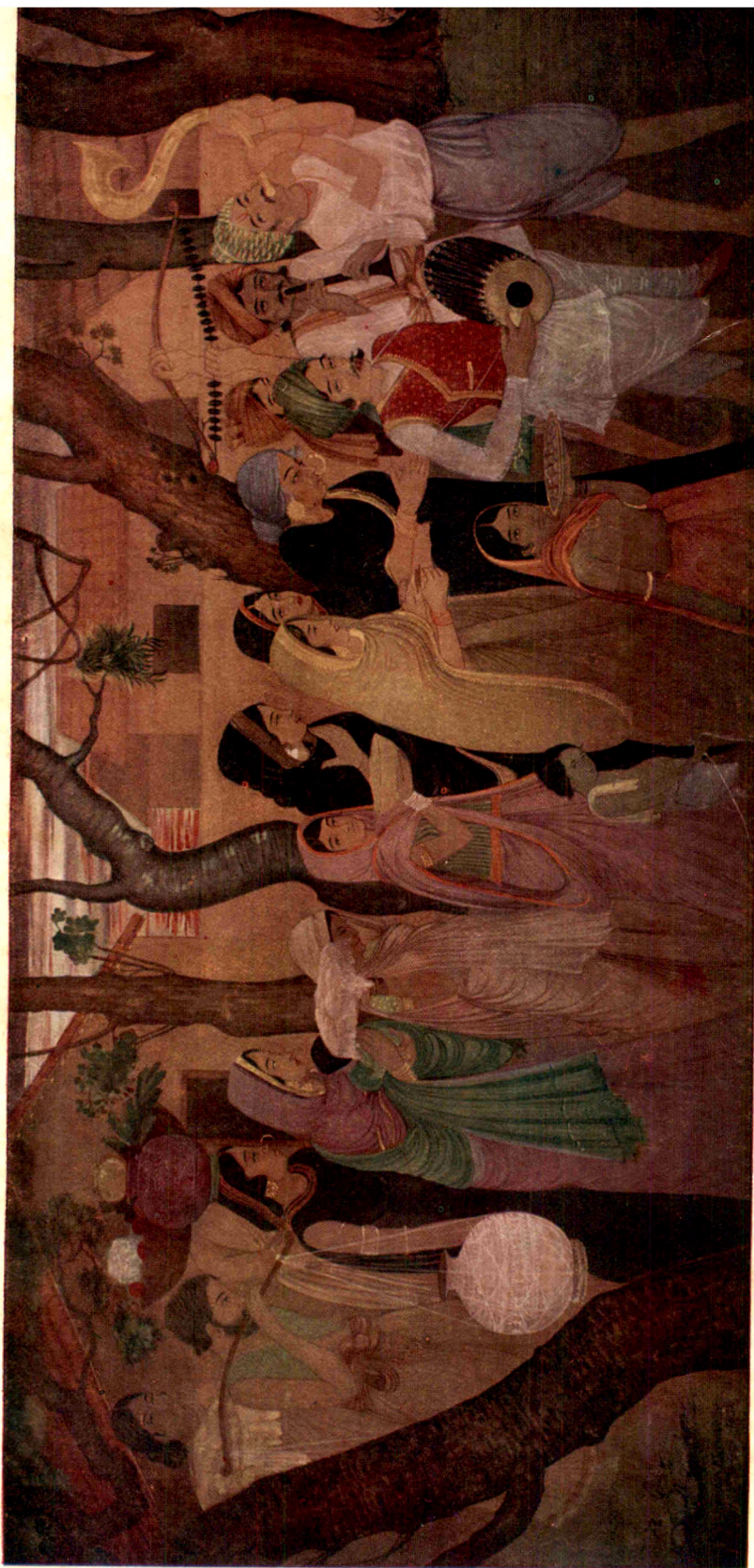
This Conference resolves and requests the Central India States rulers to introduce and enforce the "Factory Act" and "Workmen's Compensation Act" on British Indian lines in the Mills and Factories wherever they are not in force; for there are many mills and factories in the territory of Central India States, wherein the operatives are required to put in a ten-to-twelve hours' day and wherein there is no compensation for accidental injuries.

This Conference urges on the Central India States' Rulers to stop at once the prevailing system of forced labour in the States where it still lingers.

### *India and British Policy in China*

London, Oct. 11.

Undoubtedly Indian leaders are watching the British policy in China closely. They are all strongly anti-Japanese, declared Dr Sze, the new Chinese Minister at Washington, in an interview with *Reuter* before leaving London. He was of the opinion that if Britain gave way to Japan in China it would most adversely affect Britain's policy and future position in India. —*Reuter*.

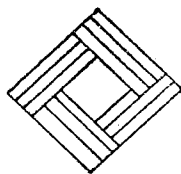


RURAL PAGEANT  
By Panchanan Karmakar

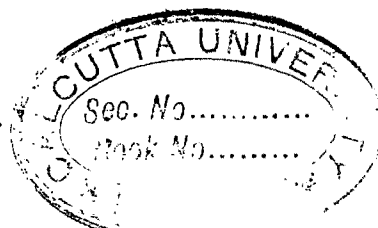
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## THE WORKING OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

[Being an interview between the Poet and Professor Zimmern]

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

**D**URING my last visit to Europe, I was given the opportunity of coming into intimate contact with a group of publicists and students interested in the workings of the League of Nations. Among others, Professor Zimmern of Oxford was there and it was mainly because of his presence and enthusiasm that we had a very interesting discussion on the activities of the League. Today, thanks to the political unrest in Central Europe, attention is again being focussed on the League of Nations and a summary of our discussion would, I feel, be found quite interesting in the light of recent happenings. The discussion took place on August 29, 1930.

*Tagore*

Lately I have had an opportunity of knowing something about the mind of Europe of today. In my tour through Germany and other places I was made conscious of the fact that individuals are busily thinking about the problem of international relations. It is in the air and one cannot ignore it any longer. In spite of all political turmoils, I know people are deeply thinking about this important problem of the present age, and I hope you will give me some idea as to the nature and character of the movement concerning the meeting of races, and conflict of interests.

Since I have come to this place I have had occasion to meet young people, and the one question repeatedly asked was whether the minds of the East and West are fundamentally different, whether the ideas that come from Eastern sources are acceptable to the West. I do not really know if there is any real difficulty in the Western mind to receiving any idea that has universal value and that happens to come from the East. I myself should like to have the answer and I do ask it of people who have the idea that our minds are so fundamentally different that we must carefully remain in separate enclosures in order to save ourselves from mutual contamination. I do not believe that and cannot, and I do not approve of the intellectual timidity that tries to barricade itself against free circulation of thoughts from all parts of the human world.

Naturally the question that comes to my mind while I am here is what is the character and mission of the League of Nations—and whether it must develop an exclusively political character. I realize that it inevitably assumes a strong political aspect because politicians are running this institution, but politics is only a part of the human mind. We have to deal with the psychology of humanity, not merely political machinery, and in trying to adjust even diplomatic



difficulties the whole mind has to be taken hold of. Politics changes its character according to the temperament of the people; it has its local organizations, its historical traditions. I do not know whether any attempt has been made to deal with this intricate problem in a complete manner. I myself have often thought it incongruous that the League of Nations should only have politicians to represent the nations. Should not others who are thinkers, dreamers, who are organizing great institutions all over the world for the same purpose of bringing peace among human races, have their place in the League? I know that the League has a Committee of International Intellectual Co-operation but I am afraid it does not go deep enough in this most difficult mission of bringing the spirit of goodwill among human races.

I should think there should be outside the League other movements which would bring together in this place the idealists who know that the whole problem of this present age is how to make true the fact that human races have come together; not merely those nations who have their place in the political world today, but also other races who may not have their political sphere but have also their aspirations, their intellectual life and their own philosophy. They are vitally affected by what is happening in world politics in which they are not allowed to take part.

This present age should find its fulfilment in truth. Science has enabled the human race to come together, but science cannot supply an ideal which only can give it its ultimate meaning. For that, all those who have in their mind felt the attraction of something which is higher than the political mechanism, should do their best to create an atmosphere around this institution which will give it a more complete character and deeper human touch. This is all I can say today, but I hope that those who have come here will enable me to know something of how they think about this problem.

*Professor Zimmern*

I would like to say a few words, and to say what a privilege it is to be able to enjoy with others this converse with you. As you

have mentioned the field of intellectual co-operation, perhaps it rests with me to start from that idea. I do not think those who work in the League regard the League merely as a political institution. It is true politicians will be coming next week from different governments, but the League covers a very wide range of human interest. I see friends here from the Health Section and the International Labour Office. One of the chief achievements of the League has been to broaden our conception of politics, to show that the old bureaucracy is much too narrow, to enlarge our conception of international relations to cover practically every sphere of organized public life, and I think it will interest you if Dr. B... told you a little about the very varied activities of the Health Section in the League whose work extend to all parts of the world, to Asia and also Africa. Nor is the League a Western Institution—very far from it. You have raised the question whether there is a fundamental difference between the East and the Western mind. I think this distinction that is made between the equality of races, is unfortunate, and it has clouded the horizon ever since the League's foundation. There has been continuous daily co-operation between officials and Committee members of different races and representatives of different cultures and civilizations, and I do not think those who have worked in that co-operation have discovered any fundamental difference. I have sometimes found a greater difficulty (in my work among students) in promoting co-operation between minds representing old and new ways of thought in Europe and Asia than just general co-operation between the East and the West which I regard as an old-fashioned phrase. I think we have technically here a League of states and governments, but it is also an association of peoples because members of those different governments are constantly working together and learning to know each other better. Science, of course, has given us all common problems; when we get together to know one another better we are allowed to venture into the deeper mysteries of government, we learn to know the soul of each nation through its chosen representatives in this place, and that is one

of the great privileges of working in the League of Nations. If that work takes deeper root this combination of nations and cultures will become more and more developed—this is one of the chief factors in the work done in Geneva.

*Someone from the Labour Office*

The International Labour Office is an organization which has not so many politicians and officials of governments as the League, and is working for the social uplift and economic betterment of the poor classes of the world. This organization is not only governed by officials but by representatives of labour and employers of labour (25 per cent are workers). In our June Conference we had for the first time in world history representatives of the working classes taking part in our deliberations. Our charters become effective after approval by the various governments concerned and we provide for protection, not only of working men, but also for women in industry, and children. We are just now striving to perfect and complete a series of conventions by which the exploitation of child labour throughout the world is to be checked and ultimately abolished.

*Tagore*

I am thankful to hear what has been said because my idea was very vague as to the real work of the League of Nations. I entertained the notion that it was solely dominated by politics. Possibly it is still so and the politicians have their own interests to represent and so it becomes like a game of chess—each trying to get the better of the other, but all the same the activities in connection with the League are very great. I have just been seeing that great thinker and writer, H. G. Wells, and I have been wondering whether the League would ever think of asking him or people like him to come and advise them, to criticize them and bring fresh light on to their work and a wider background to their activities. It ought to be possible that the best minds should have an opportunity to bring here their best thoughts and through that meeting a great force of internationalism be evolved.

I can see that in regard to world health

it is easier to deal with in an international spirit and co-operation, but there are other subjects which are difficult owing to the very fact that those who come here think it their duty to represent the self-interest of the nations.

*Professor Zimmern*

People representing Governments are themselves chosen for their personal qualities. The Committee of Intellectual Co-operation consists of men and women representing different branches of science, so the idea of bringing the best minds to Geneva has already been acted upon to a certain extent. But there is one difficulty about it. If you have a set Committee with a fixed agenda you are sure to narrow down the limit of discussions but there is a definite movement now for people interested in international affairs associating together in a regular way, and professors and teachers throughout the world are trying to deal with these problems in a scientific spirit. In Paris and London those interested in Pacific Relations discussed in a most frank way problems which could not possibly be discussed here, because it would have excited too much disturbance amongst diplomats.

Imagination is needed to get friendly contacts and there is a number of institutions in Europe, Asia and America, who are now embarking on parallel researches in subjects of that kind, not trying to do it all in one place, but trying to get groups of people working together in colleges of learning. Some kind of technique is being visualized for bringing the best thought of the times to bear upon these very difficult problems and is one of the aspects of the work of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation independent of its own organization.

*Tagore*

The student mind is quite astir today. I first came to notice the restlessness among the young generation of the West when I visited Europe in 1926 and had an opportunity of meeting them in Darmstadt. Though their condition was pitiable, though their faces bore signs of privation, and were emaciated by famine, there was a glow of idealism.

Something you felt was there, the feeling that some great future was before them and it was for them to build it up. It was said by most of them, 'we have lost our faith in our teachers, we want something more satisfying than they have supplied us with.' I could feel that they had that adventurous spirit which seeks freedom for its creative mind in building up the future. Also I found how widespread had the student movement become all over Germany. I do not know about other countries, but what I saw there has given me the idea that not through organization of big people will the mission of this age be fulfilled. It seems to me that spontaneously this mission has been begun, by the young and it will mature into wisdom even through their blunders and occasional setbacks. These people are living simple lives, going to the root of things, and following a new ideal of living, and not treading the old way of custom which brought them to disaster. A real movement of the spirit I have seen among the new generation.

I am told that in this League you have scientists because the scientific problem has no race distinctions. There we can meet together.

At the same time we should not ignore the difficulties. They must be faced. I myself think that these will be, some day or other, overcome by the idealists who are not shackled by the weight of old traditions, by things that are already dead but which still cling to life. My hope is with the young people of the West, the vigorous-minded, full of enthusiasm. Those who are powerful and prosperous are suspicious of ideals. I believe in what Dr. Zimmern has said, that there need not be any regular rigid organization, but we need individuals who do not represent any particular nation or even institution, who could have an opportunity to come together to create an atmosphere. I am told by Dr. Zimmern that he is hopeful of such a movement in Geneva, and that there has been efforts made with regard to some educational work started in this place. I hope that from this beginning great things may grow.

## THE WONDERFUL AGE IN WHICH SHAKESPEARE LIVED

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

**H**AS England ever seen another age so great as that of Shakespeare? Has the modern world produced any other in which so great events of so many different kinds transpired, or in which lived so many men, cast in so various moulds, who made so deep permanent marks upon their own and succeeding times? Could any age less great than that into which the poet was born, have stimulated his genius to such splendid fruitage as we see in his dramas?

Let us get clearly in mind the two essential dates. Shakespeare lived to the age of 52 years,—his birth occurring in 1564 and his death in 1616.

Notice first a few of his literary contemporaries in England. The brilliancy of his work is so great that it tends to obscure,

and sometimes causes us wholly to forget, the work of other writers with whom he was associated. But as a fact, historians would be compelled to rank the literary output of his age as distinguished and as surpassed perhaps only once in English annals, even if there had been no Shakespeare.

England in Shakespeare's day has been very well called a nest of singing birds. There was a springtime of poetry and song. We must not think of the drama as confined to Shakespeare, or even to Shakespeare and a few others. The old time medieval "Mysteries" had developed into the "Miracle Plays," and they into the "Moralties," and they again into the true drama. The drama had become popular, and an ever-increasing number of adapters of plays, revisers of old plays, re-writers and improvers of plays, and



finally creators of new plays, made their appearance. Shakespeare was one of this large and growing number, and his genius finally lifted him to an eminence far above the rest. But there were other writers who attained distinction, and whose plays were worthy to live and have lived.

Perhaps the greatest of these was Ben Jonson, who was born ten years later than Shakespeare. Jonson possessed much more learning of the schools than did his brother poet. He conformed more closely to the generally accepted rules of the dramatic art. He wrote a large number of plays. In the construction of his plots, he was perhaps superior to Shakespeare. In his own day his fame was nearly or quite as great as Shakespeare's. The two dramatists were warm friends. But Shakespeare had that mysterious something which we call genius, while Jonson had only great talent, or, if genius, a genius of a distinctly lower order, and so Shakespeare's plays have lived and grown in fame, while Jonson's are not much known to any one today, except to the historian of the drama, or to the special student of literature.

Two very distinguished play-writers who were contemporaries and friends of Shakespeare, and who have sometimes been called rivals and sometimes imitators of him, were Beaumont and Fletcher,—whose work was almost wholly done together, in collaboration with each other. Their plays attained great popularity and the popularity continued long after their death.

In all English literature there are only a very few names, possibly not more than three or four, that are more resplendent than that of Edmund Spenser, who was Shakespeare's senior by eleven years. His great poem, the *Faerie Queene*, was published just as Shakespeare was discovering himself, just as he was beginning to launch out as a writer of original plays.

Perhaps there was no finer character in the England of Shakespeare's day than Sir Philip Sidney. He was a favourite of Queen Elizabeth and was considered the first gentleman of his time. He attained distinction in arms, fighting in the Netherlands to help the Dutch people to preserve their

liberties against the encroachments of Philip II of Spain. But he was a writer of real eminence, as well as a scholar, a courtier and a soldier. His *Arcadia*, published when Shakespeare was doing his very best work, was held in high esteem by his age, and his *Sonnets* were thought the finest in the language. Both have permanent places in English literature.

I mention only one other of the English writers who gave lustre to the age of Shakespeare, namely, Francis Bacon. Bacon wrote essays of much literary importance, and near the end of his life some verses of little or no importance. His great writings were scientific and philosophical. His *Advancement of Learning*, published when Shakespeare was in his prime, and his *Novum Organum*, published shortly after Shakespeare's death, have their place among the great books of the modern world.

Let us notice some of the great contemporaries of Shakespeare outside of the field of letters and some of the great events that transpired in different parts of the earth during his life or near it.

Shakespeare's time was the world's greatest age of exploration and discovery. America was discovered only 72 years before Shakespeare's birth. Only a little longer had the passage to Asia around the Cape of Good Hope been known. Hudson's Bay in America was discovered about the time that Shakespeare was making his plans to retire from strenuous London to Stratford, the village of his birth, and there begin to take his ease. The Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock in New England four years after Shakespeare's death.

The spirit of Columbus had passed into hundreds of daring men of every leading European nation. Numberless explorers were pushing out over unknown seas and through unknown lands to learn more about that wonderful new world which lay hidden beyond the great Western ocean.

It was in the generation immediately preceding Shakespeare's birth that Cortez conquered and devastated Mexico and Pizarro conquered and destroyed Peru. Sebastian Cabot, who had pushed his discoveries by sea so far, died only seven years before

Shakespeare saw the light. Sir Francis Drake, who was the first Englishman to sail round the world, was a contemporary of Shakespeare.

Great events connected with India were transpiring in Shakespeare's age. The reign of the Emperor Akbar, India's greatest ruler after Asoka, and one of the world's greatest of all time, for the most part paralleled the life of Shakespeare, Akbar coming to the throne eight years before the English poet was born and dying when he was forty-one. In 1600, when Shakespeare was thirty-six, the British East India Company received its charter in London, an event which at the time seemed insignificant, but which developed later into a most terrible tragedy for India.

Great things were going on in the world of thought and letters and knowledge in Shakespeare's time. Great schools and universities were springing up. The universities of Milan in Italy, Leyden in Holland, Barcelona in Spain, Giessen, Groningen and Jena in Germany, and others, were established during Shakespeare's life; not to mention Trinity College, Dublin, Edinburgh University, Scotland, and a number of the great schools and colleges of England.

Painting, sculpture and architecture flourished. Michael Angelo died the year before Shakespeare was born; Titian, when Shakespeare was a school boy. Rembrandt was born when Shakespeare was at work on his great tragedies. The Louvre in Paris was begun when Shakespeare was seven years old; the Escorial in Spain when he was nine; St. Peter's in Rome was completed two years before he died.

Contemporary with Shakespeare we find in France, Montaigne, the essayist and Rabelais the satirist; in Italy, Tasso, the distinguished poet, in Spain Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Calderon, the greatest names in Spanish literature.

In science we find Tycho Brahe, the great astronomer; Kepler, the discoverer of Kepler's laws; Galileo, the inventor of the telescope, and the man who was imprisoned for heresy for saying that the earth revolves about the sun.

It is noticeable that the calendar used in the western world was reformed in Shakespeare's time, that is, the Julian calendar was abolished and our present Gregorian one was adopted.

Contemporary with Shakespeare we find in philosophy Descartes, and in political philosophy, Hugo Grotius, who laid the foundations of international law.

Great political events were going on in Shakespeare's time. Perhaps the most important of these on the European Continent was the fierce and cruel war waged by Philip II of Spain against Holland, for the purpose of subjugating that liberty-loving people. There was never a more heroic struggle than that of the Hollanders. William, Prince of Orange, was their leader. His assassination occurred when Shakespeare was 20, but, although their great leader had fallen, the Dutch people carried on the struggle, and in two years more the Spaniards were driven from the country, and Holland was saved.

Great religious events were transpiring when Shakespeare was living.

Calvin died the year Shakespeare was born. Throughout all Shakespeare's life the terrible Inquisition was flourishing in Spain and elsewhere. The new Protestant Reformation was pushing forward in many countries. The Catholic Church was intensely active, endeavouring to stem its progress and to promote its own counter-reformation. The most tragic event connected with the religious movements of that age was the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which occurred when Shakespeare was eight years old.

So much for events outside Great Britain. In Great Britain itself events not less important were transpiring.

The occupant of the British throne when Shakespeare came on the scene was Queen Elizabeth, who had been ruling five years, and who continued to do so for twenty-nine years more. She was proud, haughty, domineering, fond of dress and of show, anything but a gentle, winning or lovable woman. But she was intellectually keen, able, and far-sighted. She had a powerful will. She was able to manage men and affairs with great skill. She was a successful and a great ruler, — confessedly one of the very

greatest that has ever occupied the British throne.

In 1603, thirteen years before Shakespeare's death, Elizabeth died, and James I succeeded her. He was a very different character from Elizabeth. He was good-natured, but weak. His reign was anything but a great one in English history. He was called the "wisest fool in Christendom." Macaulay said of him: "He was made up of two men, — a witty, well-read scholar, who wrote, disputed and harangued, and a nervous, drivelling idiot, who acted."

Perhaps the two most memorable, or at least the two most exciting, political events that occurred in England during Shakespeare's life, were the Gun-powder Plot, in the second year of Jame's reign, and the destruction of the famous Spanish Armada, which took place under Elizabeth, when the young poet was just beginning his career in London. We can well imagine the tremendous excitement of the English people, when the news came to them of the fitting up of the powerful armada by Philip. Spain was then the first nation of Europe, her armies were the most formidable, her sea power was the greatest. She had lately been enriched by the vast wealth obtained from Mexico and Peru. And now her stern, wilful and relentless monarch had determined to crush England. This armada was the iron hand with which he was to do it.

The alarm was great everywhere, and increased as the great naval armament neared completion, and finally as it began to move, and drew nearer and nearer to the British shores. But the winds and waves were against the invader, and became the effective allies of the stout and alert British seamen. The great and supposed invincible armada was beaten back, divided, scattered, defeated; its ships were destroyed; the armed forces which it was conveying to British soil were drowned; the pride of Philip and Spain was brought low, and England was saved. We may be sure that such an event could not fail to make a deep impression upon a young man of twenty four, with the keen mind and the susceptible nature of Shakespeare, as indeed it made a deep and most lasting impression upon the whole English nation.

I have spoken of Shakespeare's age as

being the great age of geographical discovery, — the age when the leading nations of Europe were pushing out into the unknown parts of the world, trying to find new lands and to get possession of them. England was not behind other countries in the spirit of adventure manifested among her people, and in the efforts which they put forth to plant the British flag in new lands.

No British name represents that spirit of adventure and discovery better than Sir Walter Raleigh, the scholar, the writer, the brilliant courtier of Queen Elizabeth, the daring admiral and lover of the sea, the traveller and explorer in the new world, and the man who attempted to found the colony of Virginia, which he named after his patroness, the Virgin Queen.

We shall not understand the England of Shakespeare's day if we do not bear in mind the intense religious activity everywhere manifest, and the stirring religious events of far-reaching importance which were taking place.

It was during Shakespeare's early life that the Nonconformists arose, and that Puritanism began to attract attention. In the generation before Shakespeare, under Queen Mary, there had been severe persecutions of Protestants, with much shedding of blood. Latimer, Cranmer, Ridley and Bradford had been cast into prison. When Elizabeth succeeded Mary on the throne there was still persecution, but now it was of Roman Catholic's. During Elizabeth's reign no fewer than two hundred and four Roman Catholics were executed, ninety died in prison, and hundred and five were banished.

Up in Scotland, during Shakespeare's time, John Knox was doing his powerful work.

It was during Shakespeare's life, — five years before the end, — that the authorized translation of the Bible was made, — what is known as King James's version, which has kept its place as the standard version up to our own time.

From all these events, religious, political, military, commercial, literary and scientific, taking place in England, on the continent of Europe, in other parts of the world, on land and on sea, we may get something of an idea of how stirring, how revolutionary, and how



great an age it was in which Shakespeare lived and wrote.

Europe never saw a time when mightier forces were at work in human society, or when changes took place of greater import to nations, institutions and civilization itself.

Is it any wonder that in such an age great men were produced? If a poet with the many-sided, world-compassing genius of Shakespeare was ever to come to mankind, was it not in such an age, and in such a land as England, that he would be likely to appear?

## DOES MACHINERY SPELL PROGRESS?

By SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH. D.

**I**S machine a god or a devil? Do the liabilities for the machine age overshadow its assets? Is the Western mechanized civilization about to commit suicide?

There are in general two answers to these questions given by two schools of opinion: one is composed of those prophets of doom who see in the machine age a giant Frankenstein, prepared to destroy its creator; the other the cheerful optimists who look to machinery to liberate mankind and emancipate the individual.

Life in America is surrounded by a veritable wall of machinery. From the tiniest wrist watch to the mighty turbine, Americans are living lives interlocked with mechanisms. Now it is apparent that anything which increases man's power for good also increases his power for evil. Machinery can become the Frankenstein of a people who give way to malicious or revengeful impulses. In time of war it is easy to picture a world going to the devil by its own clever devices. There is little hope for this mechanized age, if mechanical warfare is not curbed. Not long ago an "air game" was staged in London, in which a handful of aeroplanes in an hour's time theoretically wiped out strategic points all over London and killed millions of Londoners with gas. Even seasoned cynics admit that if modern mechanized warfare is not abolished, nobody can predict that what is known as Western civilization will not go down in as colossal a wreck as the old Roman civilization, and go down much more spectacularly.

Another liability of the machine age is social standardization. People living in this civilization seem to be doing the same things and thinking the same thoughts. They have a tendency to be rolled flat by their standardization.

The speed, stress, strain, dust, dirt and noise of the modern age are another liability. Workers lose much of their efficiency through the effects of noise and similar strain.

Finally, reference must be made to the liability of technological unemployment, or displacement of the man by the machine. Until

1920 in the United States, there was another job waiting—at least statistically—for the man displaced by a new machine. But now the rate of discharging is exceeding the rate of hiring. Men of forty are considered too old to employ, and are thrown mercilessly into the scrap heap of modern industry. For years big employers of industry have been junking their employees at forty. Speed-up systems and the mad haste for mass production and mass profits have led industry to demand younger and younger men who could better stand the pace. In countless instances men who had given the best years of their life in one industry or another, found themselves at forty discharged and thrown upon the industrial scrap pile.

Machine in America has so displaced labour that there are millions of workers who are "obsolete" and whose economic position would not be improved if the nation suddenly boomed to top production standards. It is well known that though pre-depression production could be resumed at once, there would still remain an unemployed population of from four to six millions. Stuart Chase, one of the leading American economists, declares that if Americans go on inventing machines for the next twenty-five years, they will have forty-five men doing the work now done by seventy, and requiring hundred men a few years ago.

We are now far, far away from the handicraft age—an age that even in the fourteenth century, King Edward III of England classed the kitchen pots and pans among the royal jewels. One thing the handicraft age had was economic security; but now behind the shoulder of every man there is a ghost—a ghost that asks, "How long is my job going to last?"

The fact appears to be that modern industrial society does not need millions of workers to produce the goods it wants. Machines of steel have partially taken their place. The industrial society does need the consuming capacity of these workers. It needs their purchasing power. But how are they to obtain purchasing power

when there is not enough work for them ? They seem to have been rendered obsolete.

From the consuming point of view, no human being is obsolete ; on the contrary, an ever-increasing human consumption is not only desirable but necessary. But it is disconcerting that here in America, the richest country of the world, millions of people are without food. This is the strangest of paradox. As Mr. Stuart Chase says, Americans have :

Too much wheat and not enough bread !  
 Too much cotton and not enough clothes !  
 Too many bricks and not enough houses !  
 Too much drudgery and not enough jobs  
 Too much goods and not enough money,

It is futile to deny the existence of a serious condition of maladjustment—one which may eventually become dangerous if its source is too long neglected. Many students of industrial mechanization are of the opinion that the primary fault of the present condition is not with the machine. Americans simply have not yet discovered how to pass along to the public the benefits of inventive genius and of improved processes. Theoretically, each machine that makes for productive efficiency should do two things. It should bring shorter hours to workers engaged in that industry, and it should make a cheaper product available to the public. It would not matter, in theory, if the workers received fewer dollars of pay for the shorter hours, so long as a proper balance were maintained between wage scales and the prices of the goods being produced for the workers' consumption. The problem at present is to remove the obstacles which prevent maintenance of this balance between consumer's income and prices of goods. It is a problem of maladjustments ; but is there no way out of it ?

The advocates of mechanical development do not question that machinery has opened a wider field of opportunity to the human family, and opening a wider field of opportunity is always held by them to be equivalent of growth in the things that really count in the Occident. They would not limit the chance for a great human advance, because that chance involves at the same time the possibility of a great human collapse. The adventurous West asks : Why, to minimize the possibility of disaster, shut the door on the possibility of great achievement ?

Among the assets of the machine age are enumerated the following : higher living standards, shorter hours, and less superstition in man. There is also perhaps less cruelty. In the pre-machine age, of the Greeks and Romans, let us say, human sacrifice was a universal institution, and every imaginable cruelty was habitual. The old human sacrifices of the Aztecs and Druids, the ancient tortures, punishment

for witchcraft—these and their kind have disappeared since the advent of the machine. Then, too, owing to better sanitation men are living longer. Their physical health is better. Coming to terms with mechanized civilization is a long and arduous process, but its assets are claimed to be many and beneficial.

It has been pointed out in America that if there is nothing better to be said for the Russian Soviet experiment than that it is opening the door to modern machinery that would be enough justification. Who can measure just what the advent of the tractor may mean to the Russian peasant who has for ages done all his work with a hoe ? The tractor may do more for Russia in one generation than Communism ever has done for the world or will now do for the Soviet. Not that the tractor will actually change the nature of the people, but that it will open up a wider field for them and in filling it they may be inspired to change themselves. The Russians may succeed in spite of Communism, because they are going to use electricity, modern farm machinery, have modern home equipment, and more than all because they are going to enjoy the modern school. Machinery is unquestionably adding to Russian opportunity.

Mahatma Gandhi is often represented as a milder St. George challenging the dragon of Western industrialism. But, one suspects, this is an over-statement of his attitude toward the machine. "I would favour the use of the most elaborate machinery," he has said, "if thereby India's pauperism and resulting idleness could be avoided. I have suggested hand-spinning as the only ready means of driving away penury and making famine of work and wealth impossible." This suggests that the Mahatma rebels against the machine economy only because he thinks it ill-adapted to the immediate Indian situation. It is not apparent that he would seriously suggest that the West dismantle all its industrial establishments.

What seems evident from the present social trends in the Occident is that the technical operations of machine industry are not to be the same in the future as they have been in the past. On the contrary, the machine industry of the future is likely to undergo profoundly revolutionary technological changes which will alter its functional operations and secure better social reactions upon man. If Western men are to keep their mechanical civilization a going concern, they must control it. In other words, machinery is to be their real servant and they themselves are its masters. That a new Dark Age is preventable and that progress with richer social content is possible constitutes the great hope of a considerable group of representative American thinkers.

## VISCOUNT GREY ON THE TAMING OF SQUIRRELS

*— Very touching account, indeed.*

[Mr. K. R. R. Sastry, M.A., B.L., has sent us the following interesting correspondence which passed between him and Viscount Grey of Fallodon in order to draw the attention of a wider public to the hobby of taming squirrels which used to "play over the Foreign Office documents" while Viscount Grey was at the head of that high office.—Ed., M. R.]

### I. MR. K. R. R. SASTRY'S LETTER

Villupuram,  
October 29, 1923.

DEAR VISCOUNT,

The only reason for disturbing you in your well-merited retirement is to elicit from you a few details regarding one of your pet hobbies, the taming of squirrels.

The squirrel is to us, Brahmins of India, a sacred animal since it too carried its unfailing quota to the aid of Sri Rama of the epic of Ramayana during his crossing the Ocean. Like other pet animals, it surely responds to the food that I place for it in my school-window, but once I try to approach the animal very silently with a pleasing countenance, it jumps farther away from me. No doubt, it comes very near my feet while I am absorbed in any other serious work but my attempts for the past eleven months to caress the squirrel have been to my infinite disappointment, unsuccessful.

Maharshi Tagore, the father of our poet, Rabindranath Tagore, was well known for his pet animal the squirrel. He is now on the other side of existence.

As you may be aware of, any method of taming the squirrel through enforced isolation from its breed, is to me sinful. I am eager to learn from you how you succeeded in taming the squirrel.

In our Indian ideal of spiritualizing politics, we have already lost a great soul in "Honest John"; may the Great One endow you with long life so that you may give of your best to humanity.

I beg to remain,  
Revered Viscount,  
Yours truly,  
K. R. R. SASTRY.

To Viscount Grey, O. M.  
Fallodon,  
Northumberland.

### II. VISCOUNT GREY'S REPLY

4, Buckingham Street,  
London, S. W. 1,  
November 29, 1923.

Dear Mr. Sastry,

I was very much interested in your letter about squirrels, and feel much sympathy with your desire and effort to tame them. I enclose a memorandum giving my experience in case it may be helpful to you.

It is very delightful to get wild things which are under no restraint and which are leading a perfectly natural life to become tame and to abandon that fear of men which is such a barrier between ourselves and so many beautiful things in the world.

Yours very truly,  
Grey of Fallodon.

To Mr. K. R. R. Sastry, M.A.  
Villupuram, South India.

### III. VISCOUNT GREY'S MEMORANDUM ON THE TAMING OF SQUIRRELS

The native British squirrel is the red squirrel. It is naturally very shy in a wild state. If taken young from the nest, it can be made very tame, but I have never done that as it is then separated from its natural conditions, and I am told, does not live very long.

The wild squirrels at Fallodon used to go on to the sill of a window on the ground floor of the house for nuts. The window was then opened and nuts were always placed inside the room. They then get into the habit of coming into the room for nuts and would do so when I was sitting at my writing-table. I put a few nuts on the floor close to my chair. The squirrels got the habit of taking the nuts while I was sitting in my chair. Then when a squirrel had taken a nut and gone away to eat or bury it, I would before he returned place the back of my hand on the floor with the nuts in the palm of my hand. When the squirrel returned, it was necessary to keep very still. He would at first be very surprised at seeing a hand and would examine it very cautiously, sometimes



testing the tips of the fingers with his teeth very gently to see what the strange object was. At last he would find there were nuts on the hand and take one and go off with it and keep returning for more nuts. When the squirrel was quite used to this, I would raise the hand a few inches from the ground. He would then put his forepaws on the hand and reach up to take a nut out of the hand. When he was quite used to this, I would, when he reached up to my hand, raise the hand higher very gently and slowly. He would then pull up his hind legs from the floor and sit on the hand.

Some squirrels used to come on to my knee. There were always nuts placed on the writing-table, and they would feed out of my

hand on the writing-table, and there were always some that would sit on my hand confidently as long as I remained sitting but they never became sufficiently tame to let me caress them with my hand and if I got up to walk about the room they would go out of the window, though they would very soon return.

The grey squirrel was introduced into England some time ago. It is common to the parks in London. It is of a more tame disposition than the wild red squirrel and will eat with confidence out of the hands of the people. It becomes very used to people from seeing so many always walking about in the parks.

## A POET OF ISLAM SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL

By AHMAD SHAFI

**W**ELL may Sir Muhammad Iqbal be called a poet of Islam. In him has culminated the urge for reform which Sir Sayad Ahmad Khan succeeded in kindling in Hali and the effect of the impact of the West on the educated Mussalmans roused in Akbar. Yet he is totally different in several respects both from Hali and Akbar. The former was at his best provincial and the latter confined his attention to a particular phase of the social life of his country. Their chief merit lies in being pioneers in the field where Iqbal has attained considerable success. They had, however, their limitations. They had to break new ground. They talked to an audience which was not prepared to listen or even cared to grasp the idea of what was said. Hali followed the lines of least resistance and cited the story of Islamic glories that had faded. Akbar tried the barbs and darts of sarcasm and from behind the shield of the laughter which his artful cynicism provoked he generally overshot the mark. Iqbal seems to have put the finger on the spot. He has had the initial advantage of having followed Hali and Akbar and it may be said without disrespect to either of his predecessors that he has the substantial benefit of a better mental equipment and greater intellectual calibre inasmuch as he has a fairly close and extensive knowledge of the

world in which the Mussalmans find themselves strayed and handicapped.

He would very nearly have sunk to the provincialism of Hali and the sermonizing of Akbar if he had not changed his medium of expression from Urdu into Persian. The Mussalmans of India have produced several poets who have written exquisite poetry in Persian. Those were the days when Persian was the Court language and appreciation was sought and obtained from a narrow circle of the *elite* of the society who were the custodians of the culture of the day. Persia set the standard in poetry and culture and almost all other things that matter in life, and naturally enough the poets turned their face towards that country. Like the Nobel Prize of today a word of appreciation from Persia raised the poet in the eyes of his contemporaries and placed him on a pedestal for posterity to admire. Iqbal changed to Persian for a different object. He did not do so for the simple purpose of eliciting praise for his poetic faculty from Persia. Persian is the *lingua franca* of the intelligentsia of the Islamic world. He only widened the range of his audience. At the same time he felt that he could speak on a larger variety of subjects and could cast his net wide. This has given his poetry a tone all its own. There is evidence of vigour which is created by a consciousness of

self-confidence. The expression has deepened and the words have greater rhythm, melody and music.

His first attempt in Persian was a *masnavi* ("Israr-i-Khudi") in which he explained what he considered to be the secrets of self in the light of Islam. Under the thin strains of his poetry is audible the clash between Iqbal's Mussalman and Nietzsche's superman, and the similarity between the two is so apparent that he had to protest that he had conceived his Mussalman, or super-Mussalman if you like, long before he had even heard of Nietzsche's superman. His second *masnavi* ("Ramuz-i-Bekhudi") depicted super-society and placed his Mussalman in it. Thanks to their value as treatises on a sociological subject these two books definitely lifted him from the rut in which any lesser poet would have ended his life. A new vista had now opened before him, and after a short interval he published another book *Piym-i-Mashraq*, a delightful collection of quatrains and sundry poetry. It took the Indian Mussalmans by storm as much by the vigour of its ideas as by the rugged method of their presentation. The book is in response to Goethe's *Westostliche Divan*. He thought so well of it that he wished that Goethe had read it. This was followed by *Zabur-i-Ajam* which repeats almost the same thoughts which found expression in *Piym* but in a finer form and more chaste style. The ruggedness of the former book gives place to finely chiselled expressions in the latter. The *Zabur* at places smells of midnight oil, yet the effect is good, though it requires an effort to perceive it. His fifth book in Persian *Jawid Namah* is in a different form and style altogether. After delivering his response to Goethe he follows in the footsteps of Dante, and, chaperoned by Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi he travels from planet to planet and tells us what he saw, said and heard there. Iqbal's characters live in different planets and have been drawn from India, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey and Sudan. They all have been laid under contribution in support of the points Iqbal makes and in their discourses he weaves the positive and negative aspects of his own philosophy of life. The book is a veritable epitome of all that is best in his thought. It however suffers from one defect. It is disjointed and lacks cohesion in treatment, but his points are well made. I will confine my attention to this book alone and explain in brief what he has been preaching.

It is not without reason that he has selected Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi out of the mystics of Islam as his guide in his peregrinations through the astral world. Rumi is the author of the famous *Masnavi* which is the gospel of the *Sufi* world of Islam. Iqbal draws upon his philosophy of life as he does not let his mysticism obscure the need of living the present span of life intensely and with fervour, not free

from the zest of life. Rumi believes in life actuated by love of God in all its actions and dedicated to His service through the service of mankind. Iqbal's own poetry is neither wholly mystic nor mundane, and one is constantly conscious of his endeavour to escape from the one to the other. At times this tendency assumes the proportions of a defect and it is rather annoying when one loses the drift of an otherwise clearly stated philosophical thought in the jargon of a mystic. It must be admitted that his attempt at capping philosophical deductions with mystical explanations is not happy and is calculated to create an impression that he has sought refuge from his own logical conclusions under the capacious folds of the cloak of a mystic. The explanation appears to be that he is philosophical by temperament and mystic by adaptation. After an enumeration of these defects, it is only fair to him to say that it is after a long time that a Mussalman has succeeded in building up a more or less complete social philosophy capable of rational explanation.

Conflict between intellect and love, or reason and emotion, is a theme on which Iqbal has dilated again and again. In a typical passage he says: Intellect chains man to this world in order to break the spell that holds the mysteries of creation. It is true that the eyes of a votary of mere intellect are not stranger to the delights of mere vision, but his self lacks the courage to indulge in his fancies. The hazards of the high roads make him walk cautiously like a blind man, and slowly like an ant, and the more his intellect seeks and observes refinements of behaviour and conduct the more slowly he treads in the path of God. All his good deeds are accomplished only by slow degrees, that is, if these are accomplished at all. Love, on the other hand, does not take count of time or distance. While intellect bores a tunnel through a mountain or spans a path round it love treats it as a mere straw. Love conquers eternity by assault, and its force is not derived from the peculiarities of particular localities, and its vigour is not due to the strength of nerves. It was love that made conquests possible on a diet of barley, that cracked the skull of Nimrod without a direct hit, that defeated the hordes of Pharaoh without engaging them in battle. Love mingles in life in the manner of sight in eyes, it is at the same time both inside and outside of it. Love's wonders are beyond the reach of intellect or faith.

According to Iqbal surrender of thought is the death of the intellect and forsaking of worship is the death of the mind. Man is one of God's mysteries, world is due to His imminence in it; knowledge and the arts are the outward manifestations of life, the cause of universe is the sight of the face of God. This world does act as a veil to reality just as the surface of water does not prevent a diver from diving. Denial of God:

is death. Does it become a *ghazi* to wage *jihad* against dead bodies? The man of faith is astir with life and is ever at war with himself. He attacks himself as a lion pounces upon a stag. A non-believer with his mind awake is better than a faithful who falls asleep in Kaaba. The eye with a vision for evil is blind, the sun never sees the night.

He gleans wisdom from all quarters and selects the regime of four prophets for this purpose. It will be noticed that he includes Buddha and Zerdusht (Zoroaster) along with Christ and Muhammad, and that all these four are preachers of monotheism. From the stories of Buddha he selects the episode of the repentance of the dancing-girl. The point of citation lies in the fervour of girl's response to the sermon of Buddha who teaches him a new valuation of things that had so far either mattered in her life or had escaped her attention. Says she: Now as you have captured me tighten the meshes of your net and do not let this restless mind of mine flutter free from it. There is, because of your presence in my thought, such a dazzling light in my bosom, that even the sun and the moon have suffered the painful pleasure of waiting for its share. The desire to be in the presence of God has created in mankind a desire to set up gods according to its own ideas—love sometimes decoys the wooer. You have endowed me with soaring ambitions, now untie the strings from my feet so that (to change the metaphor) I could bestow upon royalty the royal robe cut from the sackcloth fashioned by you. There is nothing to crow about if the traditional Persian lover cut the rock to find a spring of water for his beloved, as love is mighty enough to carry all the mountains of the world on its back. This is a free and, I am afraid, rather inapt translation of the original chaste Persian which has the added merit of deriving its strength from the melody of the words and their rhyme. There is audible in this passage a faint echo of the ideas which about a couple of decades ago Iqbal trumpeted in his poem *Shikwah* (a complaint) addressed to God reminding Him of His past favours upon Mussalmans and asking Him to admit them again to his good graces. It was a weak man's cry of despair and as the Mussalmans were acutely conscious of having been outpaced in the race for progress the idea caught the popular fancy to an alarming extent so much so that Iqbal himself had to poetize a rejoinder from the divine addressee scolding the Mussalmans for their evil ways and for neglect to follow in the path of those who had merited God's kindness. But the original plaint has had a long start and since then the *Shikwah* has in more or less subdued tones persisted in his subsequent work till happily in his latest book the strains have grown fainter and been reduced to their proper proportions.

After Buddha Zoroaster. The contest between good and evil or between light and darkness has always been a fascinating subject and as Zoroastrianism is a monotheistic religion and lays it down as a duty of man to help the good in this struggle Iqbal takes a chapter from the life of Zoroaster and shows how Ahriman unsuccessfully tempted Zoroaster to retire within himself and to cease from persuading people to take sides with the good in this primeval conflict. Zoroaster's reply is firm and explains how the forces of good cannot help ever waging war on evil. He says, Light is a river and darkness the banks of that river. It is in the nature of the stream to wash away its banks. A picture of the great colourless whom no one has ever seen can only be painted by the blood of the Ahriman. Deployment of self is life, to test the striking power of self is life. Self is perfected by facing difficulties till it lifts the veil from the face of reality. The man of truth does not conduct himself but in the light of truth and suffers the gory consequences of declaring his faith. Whatever fate falls in the path of love is good and welcome are the frowns of the Friend. It is wrong to witness beauty alone, i.e., the others as well should be invited to share the view. As love becomes perfect it becomes the maker of man.

His attitude towards the West is that of an average intelligent and well-educated Asiatic who reacts from its excessive adulation.

Is there a conflict between faith and patriotism? If by faith you mean Islam and by patriotism the love of one's own country to the exclusion of others as manifested by modern nationalism Iqbal says yes. His arguments are rather curious. The West, he says, is teaching the faithful to place their country above everything else. The ideas of the nations of the West are centripetal while the activities of the Moslem are centrifugal. They should rise higher than Syria, Palestine and Iraq. What is faith? It is to rise higher than the surface of the earth so that one should become aware of oneself. The man of God is not contained in the four dimensions of this world. If a mere straw can soar over this earth it is a pity if such a precious thing as life is allowed to die in the earth. Though the man was created from the earth and drew his sustenance from it it is a pity if he remains in it for ever, it is a pity if he does not fly higher than this. Said the body, mingle in the dust of the roadside; said the life, survey the expanse of the universe. A free man is free from the bonds of all kinds of shackles, a free man is annoyed by the bondage of earth. The hawks cannot prey upon the mice. These are only handfuls of earth that you call your country—Egypt, Persia, Yeman. The only attachment of a people to their country is the fact of their birth in it, but it goes no further. For example, consider the sun. Though it rises



from the East it burns from a desire to get out of the confines of the East and the West. It shines at its full glory in order to captivate the whole world. Its nature is free from the East and the West though it rises from the East. The students of logic must have detected the fallacy of the example of the sun.

He sees an affinity between Communism and Imperialism. The former has discovered that the urge for life springs from man's stomach. Life does not develop its characteristics from the body. Communism proceeds no further than the body. Its foundations are laid on the equality of stomachs. As long as fraternity is an affair of the heart its foundations are laid in the heart and not in anything earthy. Similarly Imperialism is a device for fattening the body. Its bosom is without light and without heart. Both Communism and Imperialism live restless and volatile lives. Both do not recognize God and deceive man. For one life is an exodus, for the other a tribute. One conquers by means of knowledge and faith and art, the other takes away bread from the man and life from his body. Both are sunk in the earth, both have bodies bright and hearts dark. Life is to burn with the desire for adaptation to the divine ends and to sow the seed of heart in the earth.

The Turks are an Eastern race who have lived on the hinterland of the West. Mustafa Kamal is now modernizing them. Iqbal explains the difference between the East and the West. It should not be forgotten that when Iqbal says East he generally means the East of the Mussalmans. For the Western, he says, intellect is the melody of life. For the Eastern love is the secret of the universe. The intellect learns truth by love and love strengthens its foundations by means of the intellect. It is the eyes of the Western that seek the truth. His heart is dead. He has been wounded by his own sword, he lies half dead like his own victims. The throb and thrill of life is by your own fire. It is yours to create a new world. Mustafa Kamal is drunk with the pleasure of modernizing the Turks. It will not give Kaaba a new life if it is stocked with idols brought from the West. The Turk is not renovating his life. His modernity is no more than the old time defects of the West. His heart has not created a new Adam, his mind has not built a new world. He therefore tried to build on what he found from the West and melted like wax in the intensity of its fire. The wonders of the world are not created by following others in the calendar of life. Look into the Quran. Hundreds of worlds are found in its verses. If you have a heart that knows you will find one such world enough for the needs of the modern times. The man of faith is one of the signs of God. Every world fits on him like a garment. As one world grows old in this grasp the Quran gives him a new world.

What are the ingredients of these worlds of

the Quran? Iqbal answers: four. First, the position of man in the universe; second, the kingdom of God on earth; third, the ownership of earth by God, and, fourth, the acquisition of knowledge tempered by the guidance of the spirit. His man is Nietzsche's superman converted to Islam—the highest watermark having been reached in the Prophet. When talking of man he does not ignore the woman.

"The man and the woman are," says he, "tied together by each other. They give shape to the zest of life. Woman watches the spark of life. Her nature is the record of the mysteries of life. She alights our fire in her own life. Her essence makes earth man. Her conscience contains the potentialities of life and her labours maintain the permanence of life. She is the flame which emits sparks of life, neither life nor body could take shape without her anguish. The *elan* in us is due to her urge. We are all her paintings. If God has given you the courage of sight, purify yourself and see her purity."

(Nietzsche missed this constituent of society when he depicted his superman.)

Is the kingdom of God on earth the theocracy imputed to Islam? Listen to Iqbal. The man of God is free from anxiety at all stages of life. Neither is he himself a slave nor does he enslave others. He is free and that is that. His country and his laws are given to him by God. His ways, his customs, his faith, the good, the bad, the bitter and the sweet of life are all from God. Proud intellect is oblivious of the good of the others. It looks out for its own gain and ignores the existence of others. Inspiration from God watches the benefits of all, it keeps in view advantages for everybody. In war as well as in peace it is just. Its friendship and its conflict is neither due to partisanship nor to fear. Iqbal warns his audience of the dangers of aping the West and counsels the following of the Quran.

But why is it that in spite of the existence of these ingredients for new worlds in the Quran the Mussalmans have failed to utilize them? Where is the defect? Is it in the Mussalmans? Iqbal's answer is no more than conventional. It is the teacher of the Quran that is to blame. This is evading the issues. The problem is, not so easily solved as that. Iqbal has the privilege of a poet but this matter is not amenable to poets alone. The present-day complexities of life have made it necessary for the entire community to turn its attention to it. He thinks that the verses and the ordinances of the Quran are susceptible of new interpretations, but who is to determine the validity and aptitude of the new interpretations? This is a real difficulty and it was perhaps to evade it that one such interpreter of our own times claimed divine guidance for his interpretation. He has been ignored by the generality of Mussalmans. Among the creators of the new worlds the Russians attract Iqbal's attention, but theirs is a lop-sided effort as they

set at nought the very idea of religion. Even the Mussalmans have not tasted the fruits of the Quran to the full. They shattered the magic of Caesar and Chosroes and occupied the Imperial thrones. As their empires gained strength their religion received an imprint from Imperialism. Imperialism changes the outlook of a people as well as their intellect, their comprehension, their ways and their manners. The Russians like the Mussalmans have broken the bones of Csardom. It would enlighten their conscience if they took a lesson from the history of the Mussalmans. This old world of ours needs a people who can teach and follow their own teachings. They should turn their face towards Asia. The ways of the West have grown senile and the Russians should not seek guidance from it. They have made an end of the old gods and should now turn to the true God. Do they desire to stabilize the state of the world? Have they first searched for stable foundations? These are to be found in the Quran. What is Quran? It is a help for the helpless. No good can be sought from the man who exploits for wealth and takes interest. Usury creates mischief. It makes life opaque like bricks and stones. It is admissible to draw sustenance from the earth as it is entrusted to man and belongs to God. The man of faith is its trustee and God is its owner. The Quran is more than a mere book. When it enters into life it makes it different and when life is made different the world is made different. It is alive and enduring and always communicates its message. If only you will realize it you will find that it contains the destinies of the East and the West. If the Mussalmans cannot draw a tune from it there are thousand others who will. Dissemination of the word of God does not stand in need of any particular people or time or place. If God will relieve the Mussalmans of this duty he will entrust it to some other people. Since the Musalmans have begun to adopt the way of other peoples there is a danger of their being deprived of the Quran altogether—others being chosen for this mission.

Is Islam a religion of fatalism? The Mussalmans are supposed to have a blind faith in a predetermined and fore-ordained destiny. Iqbal explains destiny in his own inimitable manner. He says: If a particular destiny frustrates your purpose and defeats your object you should ask God for a different destiny. It is quite admissible to desire a different destiny as God has at his command an infinite number of destinies. If you reduce yourself to earth you are thrown to the winds. If you harden yourself into a stone you are used for breaking fragile things. If you become a dew-drop it becomes your destiny to fall, if you expand into an ocean you are destined to persist for ever. As long as you believe in being in conflict with yourself you remain confined to the world of your own thoughts. If true religion is the essence of your religion, your

desire for better life is intensified. Pity the religion that lulls you to sleep and renders your sleep heavy. Is it a religion, or a magic, or a charm, or a pill of opium? From where do you get the flight of fancy, the wisdom of the wise, the might of the man of God, the wonders of the mind, the conquests of oratory and the flame of good deeds. From your own nature of course, the nature that is a gift from God. What is life? It is a mine of gems. You are its keeper. Its master is someone else. Resplendence of his nature is a source of honour for a man of God. His only object is to serve mankind. The service of mankind is in the traditions of prophet-hood and to ask for recompense for such service is to trade on it. Return the things of God to God. This will solve your difficulties. Why is there misery and poverty in the world? Because you claim as your own all that virtually belongs to God. As long as you call a gem your own property it has the value of a gem, otherwise it is like a stone to you and has for you less value than a pebble. Look at it from a different point of view and the world becomes different, this earth and this sky becomes different.

Iqbal regards the recoil of the modern woman from motherhood as the fruit of a Godless civilization. The essence of a true civilization is religion, religion is love and love is the way of life. Outwardly it (love) is a flame, inwardly it is the light of God. Religion does not ripen without love. Take your religion from those who love.

Perpetual progress towards reality is the heaven of Iqbal. He rises higher than the orthodox belief in paradise. The soul of a free man, says he, cannot be contained even in heavens. The paradise of a lover is to realize his own self. The Mulla believes that the day of resurrection from the grave is the day of judgment but love in itself is the morn of that fateful day. Knowledge is based on hope and fear, but lovers are free from such emotions. Knowledge is afraid of the might of the universe. Love is saturated with its (universe's) glories. Knowledge keeps in view the past and the present. Love waits for all that comes. Love is unrestrained and impatient and jealous, it never complains. Separation from the beloved intensifies love's fire. To live without danger is to live without life. Life of hazard is the life worth living. If you say that what has happened was to happen and events of life are predestined you have not understood the import of destiny, you have not realized yourself, nor seen God.

It has been an extremely difficult and delicate task with Muslim divines to place the Prophet, Muhammad in relation to divinity. The Prophet is alike a man and a messenger of God. He is spoken of in the Quran as a slave of God. Now listen to Iqbal's explanation. He says that the slave of God partakes of the attributes.

of man and the essence of divinity. He does not derive his being from one country, or the other. He is a man as well as a superman. He shapes destinies. He nourishes life as well as kills it. He is transparent as a glass and opaque as a stone. A slave of man and a slave of God are two different persons. The latter is a whole world in himself and the world draws its sustenance from him. He has a beginning but no end. He is free from the morns and eves of the mere man. He is the secret of God. He is the cause and effect of the universe. He is its inner secret.

His views on the modernization of Persia are interesting. He has no patience with that country, once a creator of civilization, for following the West especially for its reviving the memory of pre-Islamic heroes. He says that when the life had run out of the faith and

culture of Persia the desert of Arabia sent her the reviving potion and it was due to this that Persia has survived to this day while Rome the Great has perished. His views on patriotism and nationalism have fallen on deaf ears in Persia where he has not attracted much attention. In Turkey his message has been almost equally barren of results though he has received ample notice there. It is too sanguine to expect a poet being taken so seriously in his own lifetime that the nations who are busy in the work of reconstruction should seek to mould their national fortunes in accordance with his poetry. In Egypt some of his poems have been translated into Arabic. But that is not enough. In India in the eyes of the non-Mussalmans, save a few scholars, his political activities have eclipsed his poetical merits.

### THREE TRACTS BY RAMMOHUN ROY

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

[The three following tracts by Rammohun Roy are not included in any of the existing collected editions of his works. They were published at intervals of three or four days in May 1823, and form part of his controversy with the Trinitarians. The first part of the second tract entitled "Two Dialogues" has been reproduced in the existing collected works, but the editors had not apparently come upon its second half. All this new material will be included in the collected edition of Rammohun Roy's works shortly to be published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.—BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI.]

#### A FEW QUERIES FOR THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF TRINITARIANS

##### PART I.

*"Be always ready to make a defence with meekness and reverence to every man that asketh you a REASON of the hope which is in you."* 1 Peter iii. 15.

Query 1st. Are God and Christ two beings or one being?

2nd. If the Father and the Christ (the anointed) are two beings, each of them God, are they not then two Gods?

3rd. If the Father and the Christ are but one being and one God, then is it not evident that what is true of the Father, must be true of Christ the son and the anointed; father and son in this case being but two different names for one and the same God?

4th. If the Christ (the anointed) be God, who anointed him? Did he anoint himself, being at once both the anointer and the anointed? See Luke iv. 18, Acts x. 38.

5th. If the Father be unbegotten, and the son begotten, and if they both are one and the same being,—then does it not follow that the same being is both begotten and unbegotten?

6th. If Christ, and the being styled in scripture "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," be one and the same being, then does it not follow that Christ is the God and Father of himself?

7th. If the Father and the Son be the same individual being, does it not follow that Christ is both the Father and Son of himself? that he sent himself? ascended to himself when he ascended to "his Father and our Father, to his God and our God," John xx. 17? and now sitteth at the right hand of himself? that he prayed to himself, when he prayed to his Father, whom he calls the only true God, John xvii. 3? and submitted his own will to the will of himself when he prayed to the Father, Luke xxii. 42, "not *my* will but *thine* be done" and forsook himself when he prayed to the Father, Matt. xxvii. 46. "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?"

8th. If Christ be God Almighty, possessed of all power, with what truth could he declare that of his ownself he could do nothing, John v. 19, 30; and that to sit on his right hand, and on his left, was not his to give, Matt. xx. 23?

9th. Was God Almighty, the infinite, eternal and unchangeable Jehovah, once a helpless infant, indebted to the care of one of his own creatures for protection from injury and for the supplies of animal life, and carried from place to place at the will of his nurse in her supporting arms?



10th. Was the being who alone is omnipresent, and who filleth heaven and earth with his presence, once confined in a mortal body removable from place to place?

11th. If Christ be the omniscient God, to whom are perfectly known all times and all events, past, present, and to come, with what truth could he say, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the son, but the father," Mark xiii. 32?

12th. Can it be true in any sense whatever, that the very same being could be ignorant of that day, and at the same time know it? And what language could Christ have used, which would more clearly have expressed both his own ignorance, and that of all other beings whatever, but the father, concerning that day?

13th. If Christ be God, the ever-living God, who only hath life and immortality in himself, who was it that expired on the cross, after praying, (Luke xxiii. 46,) "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (or, *deliver up my breath*.)

14th. Did Christ know that he and his Father were one being, when he said to the Jews, John viii. 17, 18, "It is written in your law, the testimony of *two men* is true. *I am one* that bear witness of myself, and the father who sent me beareth witness of me?"

15th. If that saying of Christ's, John x. 30, "I and my Father are one," prove Christ and his Father to be one being, will not that other saying of his also prove his Father, himself, and his disciples to be all but one being, where he prays to his Father, John xvii. 21, 22, 23; "That they all may be one; as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us"—"that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected in one"?

16th. Did Christ know, or mean others to understand that he was God, when he said to the Jews, John viii. 40, "Ye seek to kill a *man* that hath told you the truth which I have heard of God?"

17th. Does not the doctrine of the Deity or Godhead of Christ involve the scriptures in absurdity, do away with all the piety and obedience of Jesus to his heavenly father, and cast unjust reflections on the character of him, who came to bear witness to the truth, and in whose mouth was found no guile, but whose veracity may be fairly questioned, if this doctrine be true?

18th. It may be said that the doctrine is a mystery to be believed though not to be understood; but may not the same be said with equal reason of the popish doctrine of transubstantiation?

19th. Did the apostle Peter know that Christ was God, when he called upon the assembled multitude to hear his words, and told them, Acts ii. 22 to 36 verse, that Jesus of Nazareth

was a *man* approved of God, by miracles, etc. which God did by him; and that after the Jews had crucified and slain him, God raised him from the dead, and that the same Jesus whom they had crucified, was made by God both Lord and Christ?

20th. If Christ be God, is he not Lord in and of himself, there being in this case no one superior to make him Lord? How is he then a *made* Lord, made by God both Lord and Christ, and Lord not to his own glory but to the glory of God the Father? Philipp ii. 11.

21th. Was he God, or a super-angelic being, or a crucified man, who was made Lord and Christ?

22nd. Was he God, or a super-angelic being, or a crucified man, whom the Jews slew, but whom God exalted to be a prince (or *leader*) and a saviour, Acts v. 30, 31; xiii. 23?

23rd. If he were a crucified man, does it not follow that Christ the saviour was a man and not God?

24th. Did the apostle Paul understand Christ to be God, when he said, 1 Cor. xv. 21, "By *man* came (or *cometh*) the resurrection from the dead," and Acts xvii. 31, "God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world by that *man* whom he hath ordained, and raised from the dead; and 1. Cor. viii. 6, "to us there is but one God, the father;" and again, Eph. iv. 5, 6 "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, &c.;" and again 1. Tim. ii. 5, "There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the *man* Christ Jesus;" and again, 1. Cor. xv. 24, 28, "that Christ must deliver up the kingdom to God even the father, and be subject to him that put all things under him, that God may be all in (or *among*) all;" even that God whom the apostle Paul, and the other apostles so frequently denominate "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"? See 2 Cor. xi. 31, Ephes. i. 3, 1 Pet. i. 3.

25th. Did the apostle Paul understand Christ to be God, when he says, 1. Cor. iii. 21, 22, 23; "all things are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's," (not God, but God's); and in 1. Cor. xi. 3, "the head of every man is Christ and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God"?

26th. Did the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews know that Christ was God, or indeed more than a man, when he said that Christ was made like his brethren in all things, tempted in all points, as we are, and made perfect through sufferings, Heb. ii. 10, 17, 18; iv. 15?

27th. Did the apostle John (who is generally supposed to be the author of the book of Revelation,) understand Christ to be God or more than a man, when in the book of Revelation, Christ is described as the lamb that was slain; and when in Rev. i. 1, it is said that God gave the revelation to Jesus Christ; who

must have been previously ignorant of it, else how could it have been a *revelation* to him?

28th. If Christ be not a man, truly and properly, and no more than a man, how could he be born by natural descent from David, according to Acts ii. 30, iii. 22, xiii. 23, Rom. i. 3, 2 Tim. ii. 8, and agreeably to the genealogy of Matthew's gospel.

29th. What class of beings did that person belong to, who amidst the agonies of expiring nature prayed, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do," Luke xxiii. 34?

30th. Did the real and very Christ himself, and in his proper person, actually die on the cross?

31st. If we should say "no," to the preceding question, do we not deny the reality of Christ's death, and thus deny the Scriptures?

32nd. If the real and very Christ himself, and in his proper person died, was it a man, a super-angelic being, or God himself that died, was laid in the sepulchre, and on the third day was restored to life?

33rd. Did the Jews in reality crucify God Almighty? Was the creator and upholder of all things put to death by his own creatures; and did the God of the universe actually expire?

34th. If the God of nature had ceased to live, who then could have lived? Would not all nature in that instant have been blotted out of existence, and have become a blank?

35th. If it was only a man that died, and if the real and very Christ himself and in his proper person actually died, does not the conclusion necessarily and unavoidably follow, that the real and very Christ himself and in his proper person was only a man?

Calcutta, May 9, 1823.

#### A FEW QUERIES FOR THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF TRINITARIANS.

##### PART II.

*"Be always ready to make a defence with meekness and reverence to every man that asketh you a REASON of the hope which is in you."* 1 Peter iii. 15.

Did Christ ever say that he had two natures?

Is it any where in the Bible said that Jesus Christ was a God-man?

Did Christ ever say that he himself was God, equal with the Father?

Did Christ at any time command his disciples and followers to pay him divine worship?

Did Christ direct his followers to pray to him?

Did not Christ direct his followers to pray to the Father only? Matt. vi. 6-9; Luke xi. 2; John xvi. 23.

Is the word TRINITY to be found in the Bible?

Did Christ ever say that there are three co-equal persons or essences in the Godhead?

Are we in the Scriptures commanded to pray to, or worship the Trinity?

Who are the true worshippers of God, they

that worship the Trinity, or they who worship the Father only? John iv. 23.

Can you find in the Bible such expressions as "God the Son," or "God the Holy Ghost?"

Is it any where in the Bible said that the Holy Ghost is God equal with the Father?

Are we commanded in the Scriptures to pray to the Holy Ghost?

Are we commanded in the Scriptures to worship the Holy Ghost?

Did not Christ represent the Father as the only true God? John xvii. 3.

And if the Father is the only true God, can either Jesus Christ or the Holy Ghost be a true God?

Is it any where in the Bible said that either Jesus Christ or the Holy Ghost is the only true God?

If the Father is the only true God, must not every other God be a false God?

If the Father is the only true God is not he an idolater who worships any other being besides or with the Father?

If to us there be but one God, and if that one God is the Father 1 Cor. viii. 6, can the Trinity, Jesus Christ, or the Holy Ghost, be our God?

Was Jesus Christ a God, a God-man, or a man? Acts ii. 22, xvii. 31; John viii. 40.

Is the Mediator a God-man or a man? 1 Tim ii. 5.

Will the last judge be a God-man, or a man only? Acts xvii. 31.

What is the Trinity—three Gods, three parts of a God, three attributes, or three names?

If there are three persons in the Trinity, and each of the persons is really and absolutely God, wherein does Trinitarianism differ from Tritheism?

What is the first of all the commandments? Mark xii. 29.

Did not the Jews put Jesus Christ to death?

Would it have been possible for men to kill Christ if he had been the immortal God?

Is it any where in Scripture said that it was only a part of Jesus Christ that suffered and died?

If Jesus Christ was God Almighty, how much of the Deity was alive when Jesus Christ was dead, and by whom and how were the affairs of the universe administered during his decease?

Is it any where in Scripture said that Christ is the God of the Father?

Is it not said in Scripture that the Father is the God of Christ? John xx. 17; 2 Cor. xi. 31; Ephes i. 3, 17; Matt. xxvii. 46; 1 Peter i. 3.

If the Father is the God of Christ, can Christ be equal with the Father?

Did the Father ever pray to, or worship Christ?

Did not Christ pray to, and worship the Father? Matt. xiv. 23; xxvi. 39, 53; xxvii. 46; Mark vi. 46, xiv. 36; Luke ix. 18, 28, 29; John xii. 27, 28; and xvii.

Is it any where said in Scripture that Christ is greater than God the Father?

Is not the Father said to be greater than Christ? John x. 29; xiv. 28; 1 Cor. iii. 23, xi. 3.

Is not Almighty God able to do every thing of himself?

Was Christ able of himself to do any thing? John v. 19, 30; viii. 28.

Does not God know every thing?

Did Christ know when the day of judgment will be? Mark xiii. 32.

Can God have any brothers?

Had not Christ brothers? Matt. xxv. 40; xxviii. 10; John xx. 17; Rom viii. 29; Heb. ii. 17.

Was God subject to the commands of Christ?

Was not Christ subject to God's commands?

Can God increase in wisdom?

Did not Christ increase in wisdom? Luke ii. 52.

Is not God perfect?

Was Christ perfect by nature, or was he made perfect? Heb. ii. 10; v. 9.

Was Christ holy in himself, or did the Father sanctify him? John x. 36.

Is it possible for God to have any infirmities?

Was not Christ subject to infirmities? Heb. iv. 15; v. 2, 3; vii. 27.

If Christ was God Almighty, was not the mother of Christ the mother of God?

If Mary was the mother of God, what relation to God Almighty did Mary's father and mother bear?

Can God have grandfathers and grandmothers?

Are not the genealogies in Matthew and Luke given as the genealogies of Joseph?

Can the genealogies of Joseph be the genealogies of Christ, if Christ be not the son of Joseph?

If Christ was God Almighty, how far is his example adapted for our imitation?

Can the resurrection of Christ, if he was the eternal God, be any evidence of our future resurrection?

Is it any where in Scripture said that Mary was descended from David? If not, how can Christ, if he is not the son of Joseph, be descended from David?

Did not the Father produce the Son?

Could the Son have produced the Father?

If Jesus Christ, God the Father, and the Holy Ghost, are one, and but one God, did not the Jews kill the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, i.e. the Trinity altogether, when they killed Jesus Christ?

Can the son be of the same age with his Father?

Did Christ die in order to make God Almighty better tempered?

Is God reconciled to us or are we reconciled to God? Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor v. 18, 19; Colos i. 21; Ephes ii. 15, 16.

Can the Word of God be God himself?

Can the Messenger of God be the God that sent him?

Is Christ called a creature? Colos i. 15.

Were not the great men among the Jews called Gods? Exod iv. 16; vii. 1; xxii. 28; Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6; John x. 34, 35.

If Christ's being called God will prove him to be God Almighty, must not all those who are called Gods be Gods Almighty likewise?

Was the Father ever employed as the messenger of Jesus Christ?

Was not Christ the messenger of God the Father? John iv. 34; v. 30, 36, 37; vi. 40, 44; etc.

Was not Christ made by the Father to be both Lord and Christ? Acts ii. 36.

Were not the first Christians partakers of the divine nature, and filled with all the fulness of God? 2 Pet. i. 4; Ephes. iii. 19.

Is it any where in Scripture said that Christ is partaker of the divine nature?

Did Christ give to God any kingdom?

Did not God appoint unto Christ his kingdom? Luke xx. 29.

Will not Christ at last deliver up his kingdom to God the Father and become subject to him?

1 Cor. xv. 24, 25, 27, 28.

In whose name did the apostles baptize? Acts viii. 16; x. 48; xix. 5.

Can one be three, and three be one, at the same time?

Is it possible for a part to be equal to the whole, or the whole to be no more than a part?

Can any thing come from God that is unreasonable?

Can you believe that which you do not understand?

*Calcutta, May 12, 1823.*

## TWO DIALOGUES.

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### DIALOGUE FIRST BETWEEN A TRINITARIAN MISSIONARY AND THREE CHINESE CONVERTS.

*[This has been reproduced in the the collected works  
of Rammohun Roy]*

### DIALOGUE SECOND BETWEEN A UNITARIAN MINISTER AND AN ITINERANT BOOKSELLER.

A Unitarian minister meeting with an itinerant bookseller in Yorkshire, a zealous Calvinist, they got into a debate on the deity of Christ; when, after other observations, a conversation took place, of which the following is the substance.

U. Did the real Christ actually die?

C. Yes, he actually died.

U. But did the self-existent God die?

C. No, it was impossible for God to die.

U. What was it then that died?

C. It was the human nature of Christ that died.

U. But is the human nature only, the real Christ?



C. No, he is truly God, and only assumed the human nature when he came into this world.

U. Do you mean that the real Christ actually existed without the human nature?

C. Yes, he always existed; only he clothed himself with the human nature when he came into this world.

U. And was he the real Christ before he clothed himself with the human nature.

C. Yes, for his person is divine, and always existed.

U. As I wish fully to understand you, allow me to compare what you have said respecting Christ with something else which may illustrate it. When you go to bed, you strip off your clothes: but when naked in bed, you are the same person as you were when you had your clothes on.

C. Yes, I am.

U. Will you allow this to be an illustration of what you have said respecting Christ, that he was the same person without the clothing of humanity as with it?

C. Yes, I admit it; for he was always God.

U. But when you rise in the morning, for convenience and decency's sake, you put on your clothes.

C. Yes; and in like manner when Christ came into this world, it was necessary for him to clothe himself with humanity, that he might suffer and die.

U. Suppose, after you have put on your clothes and set on your journey, you meet with some person who tears off your clothes and destroys them, would it be proper to say that person had killed you, merely because he had torn off and destroyed your clothes?

C. No, certainly not.

U. Yet it would be as proper to say you were killed as to say Jesus Christ died, merely because the humanity with which he clothed himself was put to death; if that humanity was no more essential to his existence, or his real person, than your clothes are to your existence, or your real person. I see not, if the humanity only died, and that humanity be not the real Christ, how it can be shown that the real Christ died.

On this the Calvinist seemed like a man caught unawares in some trap, and said "I did not perceive what you were after till now," and let the subject drop. This conversation took place in the presence of several persons.

*Calcutta, May, 16, 1823*

## A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE end of our journey was reached when we found ourselves on a broad ledge that ran round the column of vapour like a platform. There was some heat but it did not appear to be intolerable. We made the circuit of the platform and the circumference was something like a mile. The light above the vapour struggled through the veil of mist and enveloped us in a diffused, faint, rosy halo of light. The sound we had been hearing seemed to be issuing not only from the great funnel out of which the vapour rose, but from every nook and crevice. The level was always the same and its haunting character never changed. As we gazed into the slowly curling, ascending mass of vapour the same fantastic delusions that we had witnessed from a distance were repeated. We saw again those fairy-like forms, the beautifully moulded limbs, the chiselled features and the dreamy eyes, all clear and life-like for a moment and vanishing the next instant in the revolving shadows of vapour and mist. The whole scene was like the performance of some great magician, whose stage was the column of vapour and whose

magic wand was waved to produce these marvels of sight and sound. But it was no conjurer's trick, no mere freak-phenomenon of nature, but a manifestation with a profoundly spiritual significance even to us who were strangers in this land and who were averse, by training and tradition, to the worship of any visible object. We could not, however, deny to ourselves that we felt a powerful moving of the spirit and an almost irresistible urge to an expression of adoration. We may be considered credulous or superstitious, but we were under a spell that could neither be resisted nor broken and we bowed deep and low to the Power and Fascination behind what we saw and heard.

The Master stood somewhat apart from us and as we raised our heads after our obeisance to the Unseen that projected the Seen we looked at the Master. We shall never forget the light that shone on his countenance. Piercing the dim pink light that pervaded the place, a bright white light radiated from his face while his eyes seemed to penetrate the wall of rock and the veil of vapour. And as we looked at him in astonish-

ment he raised his arms high over his head and his voice was lifted in a solemn chant of invocation and praise. It was a singularly powerful and musical voice, clear as a clarion and sweet as a silver trumpet, thrilling and rising and falling in deep cadences, penetrating the other sound that had been in our ears so long and echoing round the cavern and in the passage and vaulted roof behind us. The words were different from the hymn we had heard in the domed temple at Opi, but the refrain was the same, and at the end of each verse came the reiteration, Raba ! Raba ! with constant modulations of the voice. The earnestness and the fervour of the singer's tone were as appealing as the solemnity of the words and gestures was impressive. Even while the chant rose and fell Ashan, who had laid aside his staff and his lamp, rose into the air high over our heads and circled round the column of vapour, sometimes touching the fringe of it, and at other times keeping just clear of the misty vapour. Sometimes we lost sight of him behind the cloud of mist, but his voice floated down to us strong and clear, and stirred us to the depth of our being. We listened as one listens to an outpouring of music from above, or a hallelujah sung by a disembodied spirit. The dangers and fatigues of the journey were forgotten, the singing voice was like a balm to our spirits which experienced a peace they had never known before.

After going round the circle of Raba three times the Master descended to the rock. The chanting ceased and Ashan stood for some time in deep meditation, his eyes closed and his head bowed down. When he opened his eyes he merely said, 'Let us now return.'

The journey back was accomplished without incident and we found Hamar waiting for us at the entrance of the cave passage.

### XXXVI

Arrived at the entrance to the passage we had traversed and once more standing in the open sunshine the Master said, 'You have seen Raba from a point of vantage accessible to only a privileged few. Now come and see it as other people see the pilgrims who flock to Raba at all seasons of the year.'

Maruchi replied that we awaited the Master's pleasure. The Master led us out of the hollow into the rugged open country and then we made a circuit towards a point where a low hill blocked the view beyond it. We crossed it and saw not very far off the vapour column of Raba ascending to the sky. There was a fair western wind which blew the vapour towards the east, but up to a certain height the hollow column rose perpendicularly and then swayed in the wind. As we proceeded nearer we could discern the wall that ran round the wide open mouth from which the vapour issued. The wall was not quite

close to the opening in the ground but at some distance from it so that there was no danger of the fumes reaching the people who stood outside the wall. When we came up to the place where crowds of people were standing we noticed that the wall was about twenty feet high and the top was guarded by long sharp, iron spikes driven into the stone wall. Also there were watchmen posted at short distances to prevent people making any attempt to scale the wall.

There were men and women from different countries crowding near the wall and intently watching Raba. Many of them were obviously devout and some had a rapt look.

Others were moving about as at a fair satisfied that the object of their pilgrimage had been fulfilled by their arrival at this sacred spot. There was, however, no unseemly mirth or any sign of levity. No one could shake off the feeling of solemnity that pervaded the place. There was an atmosphere of mystery that filled the mind with awe. The vapour rose like a column of incense and the colour seemed like the reflection of some heavenly light. The sound that we had heard from below was more diffused on the surface, but was clearly audible and had the same peculiar characteristic of filling the ear and the mind. Scattered all over the surrounding space were tents and temporary dwellings where the pilgrims lived during their short stay. There were priests moving about among the pilgrims and many of them were chanting hymns. Many people were sitting down on the ground gazing at the mist pillar of Raba.

We mingled with the crowd and passed round the wall without attracting much attention. Those who glanced at us casually thought us to be priests from some other place. Ashan the Master was known by reputation to many people in many lands but few knew him by sight, and while people turned their heads to have another look at his stately form as he passed at our head others stared at Orlon's magnificent manhood in frank admiration. But it was merely a passing curiosity which caused us no inconvenience. We found much to interest us in that moving, jostling mass of humanity. There were many types and many costumes. We had observed in the course of our travels that the people inhabiting the different countries and cities of Mars were generally a fine featured race and did not present so many variations as are noticed on our own planet. We had nowhere met the Negroid type and did not see any at Raba. The variation was chiefly in the height, some races being taller than others, though we had not seen any pigmies, for the Pompos could not be called by that name. On the whole the human race on Mars has struck us as physically superior to our own race, though intellectually they may be on the same level. The biological and physiological theory may be that there is better sexual selection among the Martians. Anyhow, there

seems to be better material among our planetary neighbours for a great progressive movement all along the line.

While we were strolling along watching the other pilgrims and looking at the misty mystery of Raba we saw a number of men in monkly garb coming from the opposite direction. Among them was a reverend-looking man with grey hair and a grey beard who, as soon as he set his eyes upon Ashan, hurried forward and fell at the Master's feet, saying, 'Master, Master!'

The Master raised him to his feet and gave him his blessing and said, 'I see you after a long time, Boras. May Raba have you in his safe keeping!'

'May this day and these eyes be blessed that they have beheld the Master,' responded Boras with fervent gratitude.

Others heard and saw this greeting and soon a murmur which grew into exclamations of wonder rose from the crowd which surrounded us. 'Ashan the Master! The Blessed One is here! Raba has called him!'

The eagerness of the crowd to see the Master and to approach close to him became so great that we had considerable difficulty in preventing a rush and to keep people falling over one another. The Master stood towering above the crowd, his wonderful smile lighting up his countenance and his eyes with great depths of love in them calmly surveying the crowd.

Boras spoke with great humility. 'Will it please the Master to rest a little? We have a small place near-by.'

'My friends and myself are at your service,' replied the Master.

Boras and the other monks preceded us telling the people who were crowding in upon the Master on all sides, 'Good people, make way for the Master and as you love him do not press upon him to close.'

The crowd parted and as the Master passed men and women knelt down before him and kissed the hem of his garment and touched his hands and feet, and cried, 'Bless us, thou who art blessed! Blessed be Raba who has brought thee in our midst this day! O Master, look at us with thy healing eyes, lay upon us thy healing hand!'

'Bless you all, my children. Mingle your prayers with the incense that is rising before you and let them reach the Healer.'

Slowly the Master passed through the crowd which always opened before him only to close again behind him. A great multitude followed the Master who was led to a small house built of stone and which stood behind a large mound of boulders and rocks. The Master passed in alone while the rest of us stood at the door to prevent overcrowding and a rush into the room. But the people who had followed us were patient and profoundly respectful and made no attempt to rush or hustle us. They sat down on the

ground at some little distance from the house and some of them asked with a note of pleading in their voice, 'Will it be our good fortune to see and hear the Blessed One?'

'That will be as he pleases,' gravely answered Boras.

'We await his pleasure,' was the courteous reply. And they waited patiently.

For a short while the Master sat on the mat that had been spread out for him and then he called Boras. 'What do these good people want?' he asked Boras.

'Master, they want to see and hear you.'

'I am not accustomed to address large gatherings of people. What I know I communicate to inquirers. The curious have nothing to learn from me.'

'Shall I then tell them to go away?'

'Not so, Boras, for that would disappoint and hurt them, and I would hurt no man nor anything that has life. I will speak to them.'

The Master rose and came out of the room. As he stood facing the large concourse of men and women they rose to their feet and rendered him homage by bowing low before him. Ashan went forward and took his seat on a slab of stone that lay on a slightly raised ground. We stood respectfully behind him, but he asked us to be seated and we accordingly sat down in a semi-circle. To the other people he mentioned with his hand and they resumed their seats.

For some moments the Master sat silent with his eyes cast down and his body perfectly motionless. Then he raised his noble head and turned slightly in his seat so that we could see his profile and note the stamp of calm thought on his countenance. The crowd had become a congregation and sat in absolute silence with all eyes fixed upon the Master.

Then the Master spoke. His voice, so familiar to us all, had a new timbre. It was not loud or pitched very high, but it was clear and penetrating, reaching with ease even those who sat the farthest away from him and thrilling all with its resonance and deep feeling:

'Be even as Raba yonder. Let your thoughts rise as an incense to him to whom all adoration is due.'

'What is it that you hear? Let your own voice be even as the voice of Raba and let it sound in your heart.'

'The world in which you live calls with many voices and points in many directions. The voices are meaningless and the directions lead nowhere.'

'Ye pilgrims, your pilgrimage neither begins nor ends here. Through many lives and many ages you have been pilgrims and the time when you will lay your staff aside is not yet.'

'Your rest must be of your own seeking as your staff must be of your own making.'

'Your eternal quest is for your own selves and



you will not cease from your wanderings until you have found it.

'Movement is the law. The eye deceives us when we imagine anything at rest. The tree appears fixed but it is full of active movement. The stone lies still but it is constantly changing, growing, and disintegrating. Change is movement.

'The universe around you is like a tree. The suns and stars, the planets and moons are its flowers and fruits, and the stretches of space are its branches. The roots cannot be seen and they are the Primary Cause. The universe has but one root and it is the Creator.

'The Law does not change, nor does Being. Life and death are but changes of the garments that the spirit dons and takes off again. For the soul there is neither beginning nor end for it is eternal even as the Law is eternal.

'Cling not to this life which is passing, nor to those you love for they are but the acquaintances of an hour and life is only a resting-house where we change our clothing and pass on.

'Yet there is no freedom for our deeds cling to us through life and death and they form into fetters that shackle us through many lives.

'We forge the chain and we fasten it to the spirit. Shatter the links and be free.

'Spirit, remember thy ancestry and win back thy high estate, which is freedom.

'Take not what you cannot give back. Therefore take no life.

'The Law of cause and effect has no pity to oil its wheels. Therefore, be merciful and lubricate the running wheels of thy being.

'Neither wealth nor want makes any difference to our condition. Thought alone makes all the difference.

'It is the feeling that occupies all our thoughts and there is very little left that which is permanent.

'The present is not all your possession but make it yield an abundant harvest.

'The past is bound to you by the chain fashioned by yourself and the burden is light or heavy as you have made it.

'Fear not the future because it will be neither better nor worse than what you have made it and are making now.

'Fear not death for it is no more terrible than life.

'Fear not the Unknown for so long as you do not know your destiny everything is unknown.

'Heed the messages that come from the Immensity around you. Pay equal heed to the least things about you, the grass under your feet and the flower on the tree. The greatest and the smallest have the same language and you may understand it if you will.

'Through pain we are born and in pain we die. Put pain into the crucible of high purpose and transmute it into the gold of bliss.

'Read the sign-posts on the road to eternity.

The direction is ever the same. Find thy own way, Find thy own way !

'Trust a true guide if you find one, but not the wisest of them can show you all the way. I have said that the staff on which you lean must be your own.

'Why are you alarmed at the prospect of the change called death? The sheath in which we are encased is perishable. If the flower were never to fade and the leaf never to fall we would complain of a dreary monotony. We die as the leaves fall and again sprout as new leaves on other trees.

'As day succeeds day and life follows life we approach nearer the goal or stray farther from it.

'Be tireless in endeavour and ceaseless in achievement. Raba never rests and rest is unknown to the planets and stars in heaven.

'Listen to the voice that is never still, that is heard in the wind and water, in the trees and mountains and proclaims itself in the large silences of space.

'That voice is a commandment of an eternal urge, impelling us ever forward.

'Our soul has a shadow even as a tree and we grope in its darkness while seeking our way. Turn to the light and let your shadow fall behind you.

'There will be no end to our comings and goings until we stand in the eternal light that knows no night and the road is done.

'There will be no further need of life and death when our quest is at an end and the truth stands revealed to us.

'Be not uplifted by the elation of joy nor downcast by the depression of grief. The tide flows and ebbs leaving the sea undisturbed.

'All the occasional commotions of nature help to emphasize the predominance of peace.

'Peace is not in action but smooth movement without jars and jolts. Peace unto you all, my brothers !

The Master ceased speaking and rose from his seat. Stretching forth his right hand he said, 'My blessings upon you, my brothers and sisters. Go your ways in peace.'

A great sigh of content and thankfulness came from the people who had been listening to the Master. They rose and bowed before him but did not press around him, and afterwards dispersed in silence.

The Master turned to Boras, 'Our ways part here, my friend. This has been a happy meeting.'

'May we not attend on you part of the way ?'

'I have my friends here with me. I must take leave of you here.'

Boras and his companions made a parting obeisance to the Master and took leave of us. In a few minutes we descended into one of the shallow fissures in the rocky ground and disappeared from sight.

It was nearly midday when we returned to the cave through which ran the secret passage to Raba and after partaking of the food which Hamar had in readiness for us the Master proposed that we should return to the hermitage and we left in the airship after bidding good-bye to Hamar.

### XXXVII

'You have seen Raba,' said the Master, 'as others see it and also as very few people see it. What is the impression left on your mind?'

Maruchi answered gravely, 'It is much too wonderful for words and we are not surprised that it is considered a holy place to be visited by pilgrims. But we are most thankful that it has been our remarkable good fortune and high privilege to see some of your marvellous powers. We could have never traversed the secret passage but for your help and what you did for us was a miracle.'

'Well, you said so when I helped you to see what is beyond our ordinary vision and I gave you the explanation. Anything that is considered impossible of accomplishment is called a miracle when it is performed. You may remember that I have had some conversation with you on this subject. If you have seen me doing some unusual things today it is because some of them were necessary and others because you have known me fairly intimately and are aware that I do not attach much importance to these powers that I or another may possess. If there are forces outside of us there are also forces in us of which we know nothing until we begin unconsciously to develop them. You know as well as I do that with the progress of time men have learned to control the forces of nature and they have made inventions of which no one could have dreamed in earlier times. Individually men display great disparity in various directions. Some develop a physical endurance which appears incredible; others become intellectual giants or astonish people with their powers of imagination. Yet others, and their number is the smallest, concentrate all their energies on the cultivation of spiritual powers. Part of the stimulus, in every instance, comes of the stored energy of previous incarnations. What are called miracles are nothing more than the manifestation of certain spiritual powers of which the great majority of people are ignorant.'

I remarked, 'Master, although you have made the matter clear even to our limited intelligence the wonder remains all the same.'

'That is inevitable, my son, for what you have seen is unusual. There are few men or women who possess such powers and they rarely exhibit them. We adepts are not jugglers and we do not seek the applause of the multitude. Narga admitted you to the ritual at the temple at Opi not because she sought your admiration, or wished you to witness an exhibition of her

powers, but because she felt you could be trusted with a secret and she knew you had successfully performed a feat which had never before been attempted. For the same reason I took you through the secret passage to Raba, of the existence of which Urin and other disciples are not yet aware. Neither have they yet seen any of the powers you witnessed today. Those who come to me for knowledge have to pass through a long course of discipline, every step of which is a test of their fitness for the next one. If at an early stage of their training they were to see an exhibition of psychic or spiritual powers their minds would be distracted and they would only think of the quickest method of acquiring such powers. That would be wrong for it would make them unfit for gaining real knowledge. The attainment of these powers is not an end in itself. Remember I have told you that they are incidental and not essential. I would give more to learn a fragment of truth than to possess all these powers. They come not to those who seek them as the end of their quest but to those who strive for higher things. I need hardly remind you that the scholars at the hermitage must know nothing of what you have seen and heard today for it is not yet time for them to do so.'

Maruchi said, 'Master, we quite understand and we are deeply grateful for the favour shown to us.'

'If you call it a favour you have deserved it. I have also had an experience that may not come in many lifetimes. I have a somewhat confused recollection of previous births but my memory in this particular respect is becoming clearer and the shadows are giving place to light. You come from a world that I must have known in a former incarnation, for there is nothing to prevent the round of births including a round of the planets. The many things that I have heard from you have been goading my memory, but it is not the ordinary memory that helps us to retain the occurrences of everyday life. As the senses can be taught to become more acute so the faculties can also grow keener if they are properly cultivated, and we cannot draw a line of finality anywhere. Let us now turn to the subject of your own wonderful expedition. It is a thing of which men may have dreamed on your planet and on this, but we dream of many impossible things. Yet you have done it and at this moment you from your own distant planet and I from mine are sitting together on a machine your people have invented and moving through the air as safely as if it were dry land. Would you not call this a miracle?'

'We may not,' observed Orlon, 'because we happen to know how it has all been done, but it is quite possible that others not in the know may consider it a miracle.'

'Exactly. To use your own phrase 'you are not in the know as regards the strange experiences you have had through my agency. To

me they are not miracles. Science is not exhausted by discoveries and inventions in the world outside. There is a science of the spirit which is the highest of all! Tell me now the object for which your most hazardous and perilous voyage was undertaken.'

Orlön was carrying on the conversation and we were listening. He said, 'For the sake of gaining knowledge, we suppose, and adding to the store-house of science, if possible.'

'Pardon me, but was not curiosity the strongest factor?'

We could scarcely deny that it was so.

'Tell me again,' pursued the Master, 'did you not expect as you approached our planet to find things and living beings, such as you had never seen before, creatures of different shapes from those you are accustomed to see in your own world, geographical and other differences and altogether a new world utterly unlike your own?'

To this question also we could only reply in the affirmative.

'Therefore, in some measure you must be feeling disappointed. Of course, you have seen new countries and new peoples, new conditions of life for there is nothing like mere duplication anywhere in nature. But you expected surprises, you gave the rein to your imaginations and you are disappointed that the reality has not fulfilled the expectation.'

'Master,' said Maruchi with considerable fervour, 'now that we have seen and heard you we feel ourselves amply rewarded.'

'It is good of you to say so, but you have had great teachers and others will come in course of time. Your arduous undertaking might or might not have been undertaken if you had previous positive knowledge of all about this planet. You have travelled in space and set your feet upon two planets. I have not seen much even of this world, but you may take it from me that nature does not revel in fashioning the fantastic; it is not her *metier*. You have seen that there is a great deal of similitude between this planet and your own, and much also which is different. If you could carry on your investigations further and visit another planet you may come across a race of beings different from yours and ours, not necessarily in outward shape but possessed perhaps of a different order of intelligence and ranking higher in the ascending scale of creation. We know that the resources of nature are inexhaustible and there is no limit to variety in creation. The conditions under which the existence of life is possible may vary in different worlds, but there is also uniformity which excludes freaks. Your feelings should be of satisfaction and not disappointment since you have found here a human race very much like your own and have met with sympathy and friendliness.'

'It is perfectly true, Master,' said Maruchi, 'and if we return safely to our own world we

shall carry back with us not a sense of disappointment but feelings of gratification and gratitude. Our imaginations might have run away with us while we were approaching this planet, but we hope we are now able to take a more sensible view of things. Moreover, the mystery of Raba will greatly interest our learned scientists. We have taken several photographs as in fact we have done at every place we have visited so that the men who sent us out on this expedition will have something more than our word to satisfy themselves that we have not failed. If you permit us the liberty we shall take your photograph before we leave.

The Master was rather surprised. 'You want to take my likeness? How can you do it?'

We were rather puzzled. Did not the Master understand what was meant by a photograph? He had seen us taking photographs at Raba but had asked no questions. In another moment we understood his meaning.

Maruchi's tone was apologetic when he replied, 'Master, I mean the physical appearance, for we can produce a likeness of the physical body only.'

'Ah, the shell which holds the self for a little while? When you make a picture of an oyster the likeness does not show the pearl within. If it will please you to take a likeness of my present shape you are very welcome to do so.'

We were flying straight for the hermitage of Ashan. The return voyage was done much quicker than the outward passage because Nabor now knew his bearings and there was no need for a devious flight as Raba was now behind us and we were not flying parallel to it. There was still an hour of sunlight left when we landed in front of the hermitage. Urim and the other novices were there to meet us. The Master silently passed into the cave and his own cloister, the machine was stalled and then Urim and his companions asked us numerous questions about what we had seen at Raba. We told them all that we had seen from outside, but we said nothing about the secret passage and the wonders and terrors of it, or the amazing powers displayed by the Master. On that subject our lips were sealed and the disciples learned nothing more from us than they could have heard from any pilgrim to Raba. But we mentioned the Master's discourse to the pilgrims and Urim made us repeat what Ashan had said.

The next day we photographed the Master and the disciples separately. No one could have looked at Ashan's photograph without being struck by the nobility of the figure and the features and the stamp of high thought and great spiritual powers on the countenance. When we laid a copy before him he looked at it quizzically and smilingly asked, 'You consider it a gilded cage for the bird?'

'Master,' replied Maruchi very earnestly and solemnly, 'we have never seen either in our own



world or in this a grander figure of a man, or a more distinguished-looking personality. I would not have ventured to say so to your face but you have emboldened me by your question.'

'So? Perhaps you are right, Maruchi. Nature is a cunning and skilled craftswoman and though she has not the making of the spirit she fashions the tenement in which the spirit dwells for a time and she sometimes builds so that she may turn round and say, 'See, this is my handiwork.' And the work does not end with her for the indwelling spirit reveals itself in the outward form, and a man's thoughts, the manner of his life, his passions and his exaltations are stamped on his features, on his brow and in his eyes, in the curve of his lips, and his demeanour. Such light as we may have, dim or bright, shines out. You told me of certain electric rays that pass through solid bodies. The ray of light inside us is more powerful and it penetrates our bodies and comes to the surface. As we traverse the cycle of many lives we either acquire more light or lose the light we originally had and in either case the light or the darkness shows outside. No doubt reports have come down to you of how your great Teachers looked in their lifetime, that is, in the particular incarnation in which they delivered their messages to humanity.'

'Yes, Master. No photographs were taken of them because photography was then unknown, though many images were afterwards made from imagination. But the books which contain their teachings and the traditions about them mention how their figures and faces were transfigured at times and a halo of light hovered round their heads and played about their persons.'

'It was the emanation of the light that the body could not wholly retain. They were the really Enlightened Ones.'

'That is how the Buddha was called.'

'A truthful designation. Such teachers are themselves blessed with light and they impart it to others. They are the lamps that illumine the darkness of human ignorance.'

'It has been our good fortune to see such another on this planet.'

The Master smiled. 'Whether that is so or not for you it is sufficient that you believe. We live by faith and as you believe so will you realize. The various worlds are not only governed by the same Law but they are also linked together by common thoughts. This has been your main achievement that you have found in another world a race similar to your own, with the same thoughts and the same ideals. You have proved conclusively that it is possible for a human being to travel from one planet to another even in the flesh. Who can fix the limits of the peregrinations of the soul? Do we pass through all our incarnations on the same planet, or does the spirit, freed from the fetters

of the flesh, flit from planet to planet? To such questions there is no answer and we are left to our own speculations.'

'Master, the most valuable lesson that we have learned is that the ultimate purpose of life is to break through the net that we weave in successive lives. In our own world we have succeeded in removing many of the errors of the past and we try to maintain a high standard as regards our ideals. But neither freedom nor tolerance can bring about the ultimate emancipation of our race.'

'That, my son, must always be reserved for the individual. What you have succeeded in attaining as a race is a very substantial gain. You have noticed that the tendency in this world is also in the same direction. Buddhas and Christs will come when any world needs them but they must always remain distinct from the race. Men can no more aspire to be a Buddha than the planets can expect to become suns. Humanity is formed of averages and aggregates and if the average is high there is every reason for thankfulness.'

The Master rose and retired.

### XXXVIII

In the privacy of our cave apartment we spoke of our coming departure from the hermitage.

Maruchi said, 'The Master has been very good to us and I am deeply thankful that I have been privileged to see and hear him. But it is now time for us to bring our visit to an end and also to think of returning to our own planet. Is there anything else you wish to see, or is there any reason why our departure should be deferred?'

'No,' replied Orlon, 'we shall never forget the Master, his wisdom and his wonderful powers. It is impossible for us however, to prolong our stay and there is no need of visiting any other place. We must, of course, pay a farewell visit to Opi since we have promised to do so and then we can make our final bow to Mars.'

As he said so I looked keenly at Orlon. There was about him a suppressed excitement which no one else noticed. Perhaps it was my fancy but I saw a sudden light of memory in Orlon's eyes, a slight nervous twitching of his fingers, an unconscious effort to hold himself in control. Before my mind's eye rose the twilight scene in the woods of Opi, the two figures of a man and a woman walking slowly side by side; I heard again the passionate and thrilling words and saw the two clinging to each other in a first and final embrace. Orlon was longing with all the strength of his strong nature to meet Narga again and I wondered how it would all end.

Maruchi noticed nothing and merely said, 'Of course, we shall go to Opi to take our last leave of Narga and the monks who showed us so

much kindness. I have also a feeling that we should start on the return voyage from the place where we landed. It will be a good augury.

We all agreed. We all felt that there was nothing more to keep us on the planet on which we had spent some months and our thoughts flew back to our own world which we had so long left behind. We had no special ties, no one of us had yet thought of marriage, nevertheless we felt a curious tugging at our hearts when we spoke of returning to our mother Earth.

When we next met Ashan Maruchi begged him for permission to leave.

'Certainly', replied the Master, 'You may leave whenever you please. You must be thinking of going back to your own world.'

'Yes, Master. Much as we should like to profit longer by your wisdom we have been sent out on this expedition by wise and learned men who are waiting for our return. There is nothing more that we wish to see here, although there must be many lands and many peoples that we have not seen. We have had an experience that has befallen to no other man in our world, and we see the hand of a higher Power in guiding our steps to your presence.'

'It will be a wonderful memory, my children, this visit that you have paid to my lonely hermitage. All around us is a realm of imagination. We see the firmament and the heavenly bodies and our imaginations set to work at once. But beyond all imaginings is knowledge that proceeds out of our own selves, the knowledge that has illuminated the minds and spirits of the Teachers. And here is this incredible astounding fact that the flesh, so often a clog to our striving, is no bar to the beings of one world holding communion with others of another world, not of the world hereafter, but of a world as tangible and as real as the other. In spite of the immense distance between Heperon and Lamulo you can see our planet, as we can see yours, and now you are sitting here with me just as if you had come from Sipri or any other city instead of through the immensity of space from a planet which is to us only a shining body in the sky. There is a great welcome awaiting you on your return to your own world, but you will remember what you have seen here and you will sometimes think of the people you have met here.'

'We shall think most often of the days we have spent with you and we shall treasure the wisdom we have learned from you.'

'The greatest discovery that we can make is in our own selves and not outside. Of this I have spoken to you. You can well wonder how the wisdom of the great teachers came to them. It was the knowledge acquired in previous lives that urged them to seek for more in this, and what they learned they taught. These are matters

to which you can give thought wherever you may be and neither distance nor absence is any bar to the communion of spirit.

'Master, we have not yet informed you that we have been successful in establishing communication between this world and ours. At the hill observatory on Zambo near Sipri we have set up an instrument which carries sound to any distance and we have exchanged speech and so have some of the scientists of Sipri with some of the men who sent us out on our present expedition.'

'This is very wonderful. You have an instrument that transmits sound without an air medium.'

'Yes, Master. Sound may be transmitted through ether and other media and messages may be conveyed by light.'

'You are a great people and have done wonders. But I am not surprised. Your men of science have demonstrated that there are many subtle agencies on the material plane unknown to people in other times. Your achievements are a record of triumphs and conquests on the plane of matter. You have travelled from one planet to another—a feat of which our ancestors merely dreamed. You have spoken to people you have left behind on your own world and have heard their voices. Who can say that the time may not come when the eye will accomplish as great a feat as the ear, and instruments invented which will make objects on this planet visible on yours? All these will be victories won through the senses. But there are sounds that the ear cannot hear and sights that the eye cannot see. High above the intellectual plane is the plane of the spirit and it cannot be reached by any instrument or any invention. It is not limited by time, nor enclosed by space. Conquests had been made in the world of the spirit before science had made much progress and they will be made in the future for the good of humanity. We are hemmed in by the palpable and the positive and hence most of our endeavours are confined to this sphere. But the searchings of the spirit are as old as humanity and it has always to be remembered that they spread over many lives. What your race has accomplished should be an incentive to spiritual advancement also.'

'Our world, Master, is very much better than it used to be in the past. Men had the same predatory instinct as the animals of prey, but this has been definitely abandoned. Men live cleaner and better lives than before, and there is a better understanding between the different races. It is true that men still concern themselves with the affairs of this world, but that in the nature of things is inevitable. On the whole, humanity is moving on the upward path and many evils have disappeared.'

*To be continued.*

# FEARLESS FIGHTER FOR INDIAN FREEDOM

## A PEN PICTURE OF VITHALBHAI JAVERBHAI PATEL

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

### I

**V**ITHALBHAI Javerbhai Patel always put me in mind of the honey-bee.

When I first met him in London in the summer of 1919, he was assiduously engaged in distilling nectar for nourishing our motherland. He appeared to live for that object—and for no other.

Toil did not seem to tire him, nor did he tire of it.

He had the bee's selflessness—and not merely its industry. Of the fruits of his toil he kept only a modicum for himself—just enough to supply his wants, simple even in that metropolis where life can be very complex and often is not easy to maintain.

I soon found—fortunately not to my cost—that he resembled the honey-bee in respects other than the absoluteless of his devotion to the welfare of the hive. He could also sting—sting with the speed and effectiveness of the tireless honey-distiller.

No hypodermic syringe fabricated by man could puncture the skin with the ease and efficiency that his tongue could pierce through the mental tissues. Never did a surgeon exist who was anywhere so deft with that instrument as was Patel with his weapon.

Like the bee, Patel's sting was employed only under provocation—only when the hive and the precious nectar stored in it was threatened. The sting, in his case, was, except possibly in very rare cases, only a weapon of defence and not one of offence.

The wound made by his tongue healed quickly and left no scar. Not always however. No bee used its sting to greater purpose in killing off drones when those drones had lost the biological necessity for which they were tolerated and even richly fed upon the precious nectar gathered by the workers, than did Patel in waging war upon the drones in the Indian hive, especially those that he regarded as lacking in loyalty.

Such was the case also with the wounds that he inflicted with the terrible weapon with which Nature had equipped him and which he took pains to keep needle sharp and polished, in persons whom he regarded as the enemies of the Motherland. Neither age nor sex counted. The only thing that mattered was that their hand—often hand unseen by eyes less discerning than his—was raised against the Indian hive.

He stung some of these adversaries of India so severely that they have been squirting black poison into the columns of the newspapers in England, even though their adversary has been removed from the field of his mortal labours. Perhaps it is just as well for us who have survived him that this should be the case: for it makes us realize that persons who prattle about speaking only good of the dead are often humbugs, especially when the dead devoted his life to ending the monopoly of power held by his calumniators.

### II

During the early days of my acquaintance with Vithalbhai Patel I was not quite sure that he possessed the instinct that enables the bee unerringly to seek flowers that are melliferous. I found, for instance, that he regarded Westminster as an extensive garden filled with blossoms that would yield plenty of honey for him to place at the feet of Mother India. In that belief he laboured there early and late during the greater part of 1919-20. To his intense disappointment even flowers that he had regarded as promising proved to be of little use to him and to the country he loved more than life.

I warned him. But he refused to be deterred. I might have succeeded with him but for the fact that some years prior to my settling down to work in London he had spent a brief period there studying at one of the Inns of Court. The illusion really had begun then.



He had gone there at a somewhat maturer age than do most of the Indians desirous of attaching the label of "Bar-at-Law" to their names for adding to their prestige or to facilitate their rise in the legal profession in India, or both. Not having relatives who could keep him in England at their expense, he had been compelled to find the money himself.

To secure the necessary capital he had to work hard in the courts of Gujarat, where he had been born and brought up. Briefs were scarce and fees were small. The comparatively small sum he accumulated for the purpose of carrying on his legal studies abroad therefore represented considerable self-denial.

The narrowness of the means at his disposal obliged him to exercise the most rigid economy while in London. Frugality, compulsory as it was in those days, had however no terrors for him, brought up, as he had been, in a *pattidar's* (peasant proprietor's) home. The pleasures of the flesh had no attraction for him. Simple fare and plain clothes satisfied him.

There were, moreover, compensations. The time that some of his fellows gave to hectic pursuits, he spent in studying the political institutions of the people amongst whom he had exiled himself for the time being and who held India in the hollow of their hand. The information that he then gathered was to be of great utility to him in years to come.

During this period he had formed the notion, as I learnt from talks I had with him subsequently, that if court were paid to Parliament, it would gladly yield to us the key that would unlock the door of India's freedom. Never was a greater illusion cherished by any people anywhere, except perhaps in Ireland during the Parnell-Redmond era.

Vithalbhair, I must hasten to add, was not the only Indian—leader or led—who thus erred. Nearly all our countrymen laboured under the same hallucination, more particularly the Indians who had spent some time (usually a short time) in Britain.

I recall many an Indian who regarded himself as great and sometimes was so regarded by others, who would make a bee-line to the House of Commons immediately upon arriving in England and would get himself introduced

to as many members of parliament as possible. More likely than not he would secure access to members who exerted little influence even within their own party and outside the ranks of that particular party and perhaps even without it, might be regarded as bores or cranks. They would seem to fancy that by talking with these M. P.'s as they walked up and down the corridors of the House of Commons two or three times, or on the terrace overlooking the Thames, or as they sipped tea or something stronger in the smoking room, they were carrying on effective propaganda in our country's cause and converting the British "statesmen" to our way of thinking.

Some of these Indian worthies also delighted in becoming members of the National Liberal Club, or, failing that, in cultivating the acquaintance of one or more members of that club in the hope that while they were at the breakfast or tea table they might say something that would lodge in the British politician's cerebral membrane and might, in course of time, influence that politician to persuade his fellows in the House to part with India in favour of the sons of the soil. As the decline of the Liberal Party set in these Indian politicians transferred their affections to the Labour Party but did not think it incongruous to use that Liberal stronghold besieging the out-houses of the Labour headquarters.

### III

Morley had killed Patel's faith in the good intentions of the Liberal Party. The Councils that had been set up under "Honest John's" dispensation had consolidated, if not augmented, the powers possessed and wielded by the high officials, mostly non-Indians.

A son of the soil in a very material sense, Vithalbhair longed to put the officials in their place—that of public servants instead of being master's over the public. But experience first in the local legislature in his own Presidency and later in the Legislative Council at the Indian capital (which change according to the quarter to which the sun shifted) he had discovered to his cost that his design was impossible of accomplishment so long as the Morley-Minto Act stood upon the British statute book in the form that it did. In

piloting through the Bombay Council the bill having for its object the broadcasting of education among our citizens of tomorrow, he had come to realize that until the money-bags came exclusively under Indian control *swaraj* would remain the pale shadow of Dominionhood that Britons who clung tenaciously to power in our country were determined it should be. No ambitious measure of social reform such as he would have liked to place upon the statute book of each province for driving illiteracy and conditions making for disease and poverty beyond the Indian shores could, for the time being, become dynamic actualities.

The Morleyan incapacity to grasp the Indian realities, or at any rate to grapple with them, had disillusioned Patel, as it had other Indians except those who afterwards delighted in the Liberal tag. The shock of his life came to the peasant-politician when an Administration in Whitehall in which the Liberals were strongly represented and in which even some Labourites were incorporated, endeavoured to deprive Indians of such freedom as existed through legislation professedly modelled upon the lines recommended by the Rowlatt Committee.

The work that he did in the effort to block that legislation had made a great impression upon my mind. Over 6,000 miles of land and water stretched between him in India and me in England: but such echoes of the fight that he conducted in the Imperial Legislative Council as reached me across that distance made me form a high estimate of his prowess and I warmly shook him by the hand when, a little later, upon his arrival in London, he was introduced to me by a common friend.

#### IV

This tendency to pay homage to British Labour instead of to British Liberalism had asserted itself long before Patel arrived in England to do what he could to advance India politically. It had originated so far as I have been able to discover with Keir Hardie's visit to our country in 1907. He was just the sort of a Briton whose general conduct, common talk, platform oratory and outlook that transcended racialism and

bigotry, would powerfully affect every Indian who came in contact with him.

Ramsay MacDonald followed him. Intellectually Hardie's superior, he lacked his fellow-worker's winsome ways: but he had the advantage of being accompanied by his wife, who had been brought up in a home of affluence and culture and possessed the goodness of heart and graciousness of manner that make people friends for life.

The Labour representation at Westminster was steadily increasing. As the Liberal edifice showed signs of rotting, M. P.'s deserted it and the Hardie-MacDonald group increased in numbers.

By a strange coincidence many of the Liberals who had manifested interest in Indian affairs transferred their allegiance to the Labour Party. Of them I must mention three, namely Dr. Clark and Dr. Rutherford, who both belonged to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress during Patel's visit but neither of whom had a seat in the House of Commons; and Colonel (former Commander) Josiah Clement Wedgwood, M. P.

In view of these circumstances it was inevitable that Patel should make common cause with the Labour leaders. For some reason that was inexplicable to me then and remains so even now, he chose to ally himself, almost inextricably, with a newly elected M. P., Ben Spoor by name, rather than with an older, better established member of that group, such as Colonel Wedgwood, who had manifested interest in Indian affairs ever since Hardie's return from our country and had contributed a minute of dissent to the report of the Mesopotamia Commission which had had a powerful repercussion upon India's rulers, both in Whitehall and at Delhi.

#### V

Spoor had been introduced to me almost immediately after he took his seat in the Commons by Wedgwood, who had taken a great fancy to the new member. I learnt that he came from the North country—Durham, if I remember aright—where his people were engaged in business as plumbers. Even as a boy he must have been out of the common run, having ideals and not merely ambitions

and not being afraid of talking about his ideals.

When the war came on he found himself in difficulty. To take part in wholesale murder, even for a patriotic purpose, was repugnant to his soul. Yet he could not bear to stay behind making money and leading a life of ease, while his fellows were cheerfully offering themselves as fodder for the enemy cannon on far-flung fields of battle. He finally solved the problem by going as a Y. M. C. A. worker, and laboured earnestly and diligently at and near Salonica, to provide cheer and comfort, be they ever so little, for the men, many of whom had been actuated by a high, if mistaken, purpose, to venture out of their own country into the maw of the military Moloch in lands strange to them.

I liked Spoor from the moment I met him; and he liked me. Upon the plea that he was new to the M. P. business and had no first-hand knowledge of India and yet was anxious to "do his bit" to help my people forward on the path of progress, he sought my aid, which he had learnt I was giving to several of his colleagues in the House. He came to our home in Herne Hill now and again, busy as he was; and we went to his home in Hampstead on a few occasions, and formed an attachment for his wife, who was in the last stages of pernicious anemia.

Great was my surprise, despite this friendly intercourse, when I learnt, privately at first, that Spoor had been chosen to represent Labour at the Joint Select Committee on the (Montagu-Chelmsford) Government of India Bill. There were others in that party with far better claim to serve on that committee. This was true especially of Wedgwood.

A little reflection however showed why Wedgwood had been passed over. He might have proved a thorn in Mr. Montagu's flesh and Mr. Montagu no doubt felt that he already had, in the Conservative chairman (the Lord Selbourne) and the Conservative members of the Committee from both Houses of Parliament, all the thorns that he could bear.

## VI

Spoor did not prove to be quite as accommodating as the Secretary of State had

expected him to be. He asked inconvenient questions in the open Committee and raised contentions in the private discussions. So I was informed by him and others.

Evidently Mr. Montagu, in making his moves, had let Vithalbhai Patel out of the reckoning. The Indian politician had carefully figured out that the only person in that Committee whom he might be able to influence was the Labour representative upon it. He therefore made it his business to win Spoor's confidence.

Only persons who knew Patel well could gauge, with any degree of correctness, his capacity for bombarding to a heart he wished to win and refusing to withdraw until he had battered down all defences, entered it and firmly established himself in it. The men who have been talking, whether with good intent or otherwise, of his mordant humour and biting remarks, evidently were unacquainted with the softer side of his nature.

On occasions his face would light up with a glowing smile that even men not known for their impulsiveness would find it hard to resist. Honeyed words would fall from his lips. Without abandoning the brevity of expression that characterized him he would allay suspicion, disarm opposition, make people actually ashamed of having criticized him, and win the object that he had at heart—an object usually in which his interest was patriotic rather than personal.

I write whereof I have positive knowledge. I saw him lay siege to Spoor's heart until that heart became an instrument he wielded to secure India's freedom, at least during the months in which the Joint Select Committee worked in "Room A" of the House of Lords.

## VII

That the report of this Committee came as a complete disappointment to Patel was neither a surprise to him nor did it daunt him. He carried the work that he had been doing privately with Spoor to the House of Commons.

A great deal of my time, in those days, was spent in the lobbies of Parliament and the rabbit-warren running under them and the "talk shop." I had friends among the



Ministers and also among the private members, some of whom evinced an interest in Indian affairs; and rendered them every assistance that lay in my power in the hope that it would conduce, in some small measure, to India's welfare.

Again and again I came upon Vithalbai Patel holding a whispered conversation with one M. P. or another in the smoking or dining room or in the lobby. On some occasions he joined me "under the gallery" and listened to the debate that was going on while waiting for some member to get through with an appointment he had with some one else.

Patel might just as well have saved himself the trouble. I, too. Nothing came of the amendments moved from the Labour benches at either his or my initiative.

Mr. Montagu was a cog in a piece of mechanism that controlled Parliament in those days. The majority worked mechanically—and ruthlessly. It annihilated every effort directed by Patel's or my friend's (often not the same individuals) to purge the Government of India Bill of some of its reactionary provisions and to broaden its scope.

I recall that during the concluding portion of the debate a friend of mine sitting upon the opposition benches received a note pencilled by Mr. Montagu. The hurried scrawl asked the recipient to halt his criticism at least at that hour and say something that would make Indians feel that they were receiving a political concession of great worth.

The friendly member brought it to me and asked me to keep it as a souvenir of the work that I had put in in the House of Commons without being of it. I showed it to Patel. I am afraid if I reported the language that the leader now gone to the Great Beyond used, the editor of this Review could not possibly print it.

### VIII

If the passage of the Montagu measure first through the Committee and finally through the two Houses of Parliament did not shatter Patel's illusion that he could gather honey from Westminster for the nourishment of our Motherland, the "Amrit-

sar business" must have done so. The details of the terrible deeds perpetrated in the Punjab in the spring of 1919 shocked him. He tried to awaken the British conscience to visit exemplary punishment upon the authors of the atrocities. Largely through his exertions a committee had been formed for the purpose. "Benjy" Horniman, then externed from India by Sir George (now Lord) Lloyd's Government, had persuaded his brother Roy, a playwright and author, to join it. I had also been asked to co-operate, but was present at only one meeting and then not till the end.

This committee had worked out a scheme for mobilizing public opinion in Britain by giving publicity to the harrowing details connected with the martial law regime in the Punjab during the spring of 1919. Statements had been prepared for publication. Interviews were to be given. Addresses were to be delivered.

To write a statement is one thing. To get it published in an organ under the exclusive control of one's political adversary is another matter altogether. Patel evidently was not aware of that fact. Probably he felt that most organs of opinion in Britain were edited by men and women who were anxious for light. Being in a position to enlighten them upon this and other subjects, he felt that he would be *persona grata* with them.

He was soon disillusioned. Some editors did take a very serious view of the situation created by the perpetrators of the foul deeds in the Punjab and printed leaders and leaderettes condemning the outrages. Others swallowed the bait carefully prepared for them by the evil-doers and wrote that the punishment, though terrible, had been thoroughly deserved by the Punjabis, who were depicted as rebels seeking to overturn British rule in that part of India.

Hysterical Britons—many of them men—took up the cry and lauded the Britons they should have denounced; considering them to be saviours of the Empire and protectors of the honour of British women in India. Among them were some persons who had been on terms of friendship with me. So I found to my sorrow.

Mr. Montagu did not lose his head; but

he despaired of inducing the Cabinet to take action strong enough to turn away the Indian wrath. He made a mighty effort, largely because he had the imagination to realize that the British failure to punish the authors of the Punjab horrors would have a disastrous effect upon the carrying out of his Reforms Act. Already his enemies were speaking of "Dyer-archy" instead of "Dyarchy."

Birkenhead was determined that Mr. Montagu should fail. He had got himself appointed as Chairman of the sub-committee the Cabinet had set up for considering this matter. He knew that the die-hard sentiment would support him in the obstructive tactics that he adopted. So he did his worst.

Mr. Montagu lost. Not long afterwards he was driven out of office and died. One of the last things he said to me was :

"The Congress have not kept their word with me. They said that my Act was rotten, but they promised to work it. Now they are non-co-operating with me."

Vithalbhair went back from London a changed man. He realized that if his people were to have freedom, that freedom would have to be won in India and not in the lobby of the House of Commons.

He also became convinced that any propaganda work for India that needed to be carried on in Britain and other countries would have to be done by Indians and not by Britons, in Indian pay or otherwise. Co-operation from British friends would be desirable, but not dictation from them.

The British Committee of the Indian National Congress, as it then existed, had been a great disappointment to every Indian of any independence of character. Balagangadhar Tilak had become so disgusted with it that he made up his mind to mend it or to end it.

When he left for India, Vithalbhair took up that work. He sawed away a great deal of dead wood. The Committee gave some signs of a new life ; but after Patel's departure for India a blight fell upon the young shoots and after a time it perished.

Among the Britons who co-operated with Vithalbhair while he was in London was a young man who had done a great deal of research work into the passive resistance

movement in Ireland and Egypt. He generously placed some of these materials at the disposal of Patel, who made very skilful use of it.

I had therefore every justification in feeling that when I would see him in India during my next tour (from December, 1921 to June, 1923) he would revel in non-co-operation. To my surprise however I found that when I actually met him in the course of my tour during the early part of the last decade he was far from happy.

One evening while I was puzzling over this matter, my mind suddenly reverted to the time when my friend used to haunt the lobbies of the Houses of Parliament. I immediately realized that he was at heart a parliamentarian. He believed in the use of the legislatures as a weapon to fight the bureaucracy.

Nature had, moreover, not endowed him with the qualities needed by a person to play with success the rôle of a subordinate. He was made to command—not to receive orders.

Even when in London I had noted that he played a "lone hand," as the Americans say so significantly. There was no dearth of Indian leaders there at the time—leaders belonging to the Party to which he gave allegiance—leaders with whom he was supposed to be working shoulder to shoulder and with whom he was, for all one could see, on terms of amity and goodwill. He let me see into the secret places of his heart and I realized that he really communed more with himself than with others and if thwarted in pursuing a line of action that he had determined to take, he would become sulky or resort to obstructive tactics.

No wonder that he found it difficult to fit himself into the machinery of non-co-operation that operated at the touch of another Gujarati-speaking compatriot.

## X

Not long after my departure from India in the summer of 1923 Vithalbhair Patel got the opportunity his heart craved to use, for the purposes he had in view, the most important of the legislatures set up in India under a statute that he had striven in vain to reshape while it was on the parliamentary anvil.

Indians of like mind had found a way to enter the legislatures without breaking away from the organization that refused to stand foursquare with non-co-operation.

As I had expected, Vithalbhai was in the front ranks of the Swarajists, as they were called and honoured in and out of the Assembly. He was not however at the head of them. There were others of ripier experience and longer service to the Motherland, who naturally took precedence over him in the national estimation and as a natural corollary of this, in the Swarajist *bloc* in the Assembly.

With so much gunpowder stored in the Swarajist cellar it was only to be expected that persons who lived above it, especially those regarded as men of advanced age, should feel nervous. Happily for Patel—and even more for the cause of our political progress—a quantity of explosive material was soon removed.

The term for which the Scot whom Mr. Montagu had elevated from one of the back benches of the House of Commons to the presidential chair of the central legislature in India, came to an end. An Indian, thanks to the opportunity generously provided under the benevolent dispensation of the Mother of Parliaments, could, in consequence, aspire to occupy that chair.

Accorded that honour Vithalbhai showed his greatness by accepting it without much ado. I am fully confident that he had, in his mind's eye, seen himself occupying that position long before it was actually his and had consciously prepared himself for it, so far as one can prepare in advance without being goaded by responsibility—the most exacting task-mistress in the world.

He was among the few Indians, unfortunately rare among us who could "learn by doing," to employ a figure of speech invented by an American educator who unselfishly gave the best part of his life to helping Negro-Americans. He burrowed deep into parliamentary lore of every description which he could buy or borrow. Later, when he could make the opportunity to do so, he set out on a pilgrimage that took him to legislative centres on two Continents, to learn from

personal observation all he could of the fine art of directing an assembly of which the director is supposed to be only a servant and dumb for the most part.

## XI

I never saw Patel in the wig and robe of his office and shall therefore say nothing about the manner in which he comported himself as the President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. I did however come across him while he was on an official tour of the provincial legislatures and we chatted about the old times and the new.

It was just about five years ago, almost to the day. Lala Lajpat Rai had just been hurled into eternity as a consequence of blows rained upon him while he stood on duty for the Motherland.

A piece of business had brought me from Colombo, where I was then sojourning, to Madras, where I was to stay less than twelve hours. The President of the local legislature—an Andhra of sturdy growth, both physical and mental—heard by chance of my presence in the city and telephoned to a friend asking him to bring me along to a luncheon that he was giving in the legislative building in honour of Patel.

I was given a seat next to the President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, so that we two could talk. And we made the most of the opportunity.

"President Patel," I began.

"President—bosh," he replied. "To you Patel without any handle, or better still, Vithalbhai, or Vithal. We are old friends. Why this formality?"

I was touched by his kind thought and thanked him.

He and I ate for a time without uttering a word. The food was delicious. For so many years I have lived abroad where I could have Indian food only very occasionally that Indian dishes are all the more delectable to me.

Suddenly Vithalbhai said to me: "Lalaji is gone."

"Yes. Lajpat Rai's loss is doubly hard to bear. A friend is gone—also a patriot." I answered.

"There is plenty of talk. No end of



mourning. But what living monument are we going to erect in his memory?" he observed.

"Is it not something that a subject people have not been struck dumb on such an occasion?" I asked.

No reply from him.

"Tell me," I enquired, "something about the Assembly."

"What is there to tell?" he parried modestly.

"There must be a great deal to tell to an exile like me here in India after many years' absence and then only for a short time."

"Who exiled you? You prefer to live elsewhere," he retorted.

After a pause, he added: "You must read the newspapers and must know what is going on in the country, even though you may be away from it."

Another pause and then: "Perhaps you are one of those newspaper men who have to write so much for the press that they have no time to read the papers."

He smiled wickedly as he levelled that thrust at me.

I was not however willing to desist, but pressed him for a reply.

The President's office, he told me, was honourable. It was perhaps meant that the man who occupied the office should be content with the honour that had been conferred upon him. That was not his conception of it.

He was jealous of the "rights" and "privileges" of the Assembly, such as they were. The officials were even more jealous of the powers that they had so far enjoyed.

There was bound to be a tussle between them and him. It was not in the nature of things that they should always triumph. Sometimes they did not. Then there was fun—but not for them.

And more in that strain. Audacious—humorous but guileless.

I did not know at the time that Vithalbhai Patel's voice would be stilled before I would meet him again and I would be penning these words in appreciation of the prodigal way in which he consumed the vital energy with which he had been endowed so that the people he loved may live and some day become masters in their own household.

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## THE BRATA DANCE OF RAJGHAT: ব্রতা নৃত্য.

By G. S. DUTT

10/7/52

THE fact that traditional dances of great national importance and aesthetic value are still practised not only by men of various castes but also by women of even the highest Hindu castes in several districts in Bengal is a fact of which the educated classes of the Province were hitherto curiously unaware. From his childhood the present writer has seen such dances being performed by ladies of Brahmin and Kayastha castes as well as of lower castes in his native village in the district of Sylhet which, till not very long ago, was an integral part of Bengal. When more than a year ago, he drew attention to the existence of indigenous community dances of great beauty among high-caste women of the village of Nalia in the Faridpur district and published photographs of these dances, it came as a surprise to most of our educated countrymen and country

women who had hitherto paid no attention to them. The late Rai Sahib Jagadananda Ray of Santiniketan, who was a veteran educationist, then wrote to him in a letter: "It is from your writings that we have, for the first time, become aware of the fact that such beautiful indigenous dances still exist in our country."

Almost simultaneously with the discovery of the women's Wedding and Brata Dances at Nalia, the present writer had the good fortune of discovering the Brata (ritual) dance practised by women of respectable Hindu families in the village of Rajghat in the Jessore district.

This dance is known as the "Ghat Olano" dance or the "Pot-Placing" dance. The village of Rajghat is situated on the bank of the river Bhairab. In a place called Buna not far from the village is an ancient temple of the Goddess Sitala (the Goddess who is believed to avert





Invocation Dance

smallpox). Under a spreading Banyan tree close to the temple is a place known as "Sitala-Tala" or the place of Sitala. Hindu women of all ages and castes, high and low, from about 60 or 70 villages of the vicinity go to offer *puja* to the Goddess at this spot. The women make "*manat*" or vows of giving *puja* to the Goddess for the fulfilment of their wishes for overcoming barrenness, averting smallpox, or for other desired objectives.

Three, five or seven days before the day fixed for the *puja*, the lady who has taken the vow arranges to hold the ceremony in her house. She herself observes a fast on that day. All the adult women of the village are invited on that occasion. After the



Bayena Dance

invited women have assembled, they march in procession to the *ghat* of the river or the tank, as the case may be, to the accompaniment of '*ulu*' cry (traditional community yell practised by Hindu women of all classes in Bengal on all ceremonial occasions). The lady who has

taken the vow places a brass pot over a *kula* (a bamboo winnowing tray) and immerses herself completely in the water, head and all, holding the *Kula* with the pot on it on her head. She then carries the *kula* and the pot on her head and marches home in procession with all the other women. On reaching home she places the consecrated pot in an appointed place in her house. The invited women keep vigil all night in that cottage. They while away the night by singing community songs without any instrumental accompaniment. The *Bandana* or invocation song is first sung. This song begins as follows :—

"First I invoke the feet of  
my holy guru,  
O my precious jewel, come thou to this  
gathering.  
Next I invoke the feet  
of Srihari (Krishna)  
etc.



Kuchamora Dance

Then follow other songs, two of which are recorded below :

1

A lotus seat (we offer), a lotus mat  
and a lotus throne,  
Satya Narayan (the true God) takes his  
birth in a lotus leaf

Why shakes the pot, O Goddess,  
why moves the seat ?  
Lo, here comes mother Sitala unto  
this gathering.

2

Through rain, storm and darkness  
Goes Gopal (Krishna) to the house of Nanda.  
Had she been thine own mother (O Krishna)  
Thy hunger she would allay with butter.  
Come to my arms. O Krishna dear.  
Let me take thee unto my lap  
And cool my seared heart.  
Had she been thine own mother  
She would dust thy dear body and take  
thee into her arms.  
Come to my arms, O Krishna dear.

.....



.....  
 Had she been thine own mother  
 She would have placed the flute in  
 thy hands.  
 etc.



Salutation Dance

For several days after this ceremony, the women and girls go in procession with the consecrated *kula* from house to house, begging for gifts of rice or cash to collect funds for performing the contemplated *pūja* in a befitting manner. As the procession enters each house in the village the lady of the house spreads out an *asan* or ceremonial seat of cloth in her courtyard.

After the *kula*, with the sacred pot on it, has been 'placed' on this *asan*, (hence the name of the dance: 'pot-placing' dance,) the processionists perform dances around it to the accompaniment of the *dhak* or drum played by a man of the 'Rishi' caste (one of the depressed classes whose profession it is to play on the drum). Thus the processionists dance in each house by turn in several villages in the neighbourhood for three, five or seven days as the case may be, after which they march to the shrine of the Goddess to offer the promised *pūja*.

Although performed in connection with a religious ceremony, the dances are not merely ritualistic in character. Many of the dances are undoubtedly of ritualistic origin. But to these have been added other dances which give simple and spontaneous expression to the joy of life. Some of them frankly profess to give mimetic representation of scenes and incidents

of village life and are richly impregnated with humour. The Invocation dance, Salutation dance, *Arua* dance, *Bayena* dance and *Kalkadar* dance belong to the ritualistic type; while the *Jor* (pair dance) *Kuchamora* dance, *Pipre-mara* (ant-killing) dance belong to the secular type. Among the dances with a distinctly humorous vein may be mentioned 'Khudiram's headache dance,' 'Plum-gathering dance,' 'Bairagi-calling dance' and 'Tobacco-burning dance.'

While the dances are in progress, the *dhuli* (drum-player) sometimes lends an additional accompaniment with a song sung by himself. Two examples of the *dhuli*'s songs are given below :—

1

The milkman has gone to the grazing  
 camp  
 Jashoda has gone to the *ghat*  
 (water step)  
 Finding the cowshed empty, Gopal  
 (Krishna)  
 robs all the butter.



Salutation Dance

Stick in hand the wife of Nanda runs after him ;  
 But up jumps Krishna to the Kadamba tree ;  
 Lightly he trips it from leaf to leaf ;  
 Treads he not on the branches.

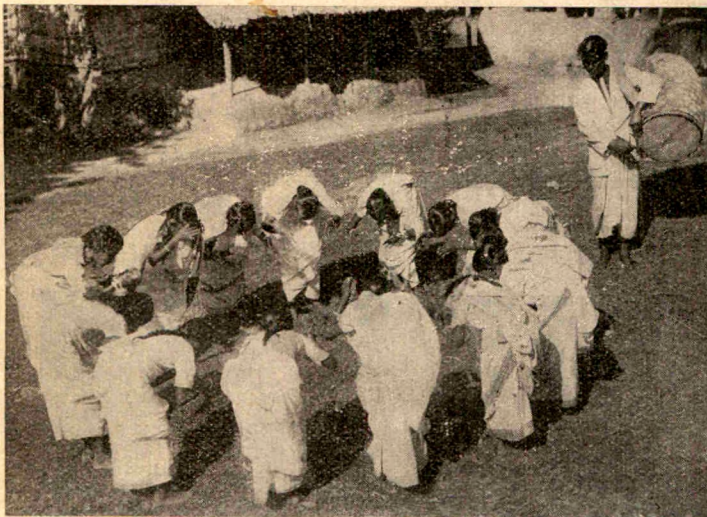
While Nandarani from beneath the tree  
 beats her forehead,  
 "Alight, alight, my darling, I'll pluck the  
 flowers for thee.  
 If the branch breaks thou wilt fall  
 and ruin two families."



'Tie me not O mother, tie me not  
 So tight again,  
 When thou tighest me my chest well-nigh breaks.  
 Tomorrow morn to my  
*mama's* (maternal uncle) house I'll go ;  
 Myself I'll sell and pay for thy butter."

## 2

The owl danceth, the she-owl danceth,  
 The owl's mother too doth dance ;  
 Auspicious yells rise from all four sides,  
 But in the middle there is none.  
 Leave my seat, O mother, go thou to other place ;  
 What more shall I say, mother ! I beseech thee  
 In the name of thy Siva.\*



Anjali Dance

The dancing is performed in a ring formation, the dancers moving slowly from left to right as the dance proceeds. There is a variety of movements from the waist upwards, particularly of the hands and arms but in most of the dances the step is a combination of slide and shuffle and the foot is not taken off the ground. The toes and the heels are joined together alternately in the process of slide and shuffle. In the salutation dance, a half step forward is taken with each foot, while the forehead is simultaneously touched with the corresponding hand and the other knee is slightly bent. The foot then returns to its original position and the movement is repeated with the other foot and the other hand. The movements are active and vigorous and the dancing is of a distinctly virile character.

\* This would appear to be an incantation prayer addressed to *Sitala*, the Goddess of smallpox, to leave the body of the worshipper and thus rid him of smallpox.



Dance in Pairs

On receiving information about these dances, the present writer personally visited the village, and brought a party of girls from there (several of them were accompanied by their guardians) to demonstrate the dances at the Folk Dance Festival which was organized by him in Galstaun Park, Calcutta, in April 1932. All who witnessed these dances were deeply impressed by their aesthetic value, virile and spontaneous character and, above all, by the spiritual expressiveness with which they were performed.

Mr. O. C. Gangoly, the well-known art critic who was among those present, wrote subsequently in a letter as follows in connection with those dances :

"It was not difficult to realize their innate grace and their spiritual expressiveness. We are really

indebted to you for revealing to us a phase of the cultural life of Bengal of which we had not the slightest idea, before you discovered them."

Apart from their high aesthetic charm these dances possess great value as forms of physical exercise for girls and women. Dr. Ramesh Chandra Ray, a noted medical man of Calcutta who witnessed the dances, wrote subsequently about them as follows :

"It was a treat and a piece of valuable education to me to see young girls going through a variety of difficult bodily exercises to the beating of *dhole* and in the fulfilment of their ritual dances. The poetry, the soul-stirring music, the aesthetic beauty and the purity of these dances were indeed sublime. I burn to see these ritual dances revived and extensively and compulsorily introduced into every girls' school in Bengal.\*.....

... "The young and the old will find in them a veiled form of excellent physical culture."†

\* "Body and Mind Building" † "Folk Dances" *Teacher's Journal*, May 1932.

*Teacher's Journal*, July 1932.

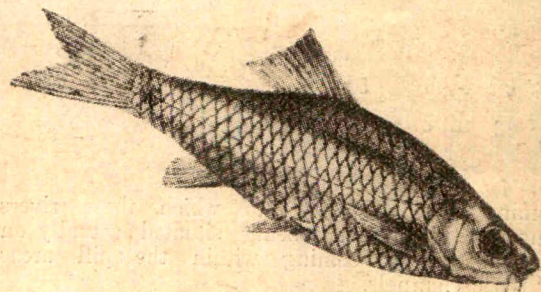


# BIOLOGICAL CONTROL OF MALARIA IN THE RURAL AREAS OF LOWER BENGL

By RAI BAHADUR DR. G. C. CHATTERJI, M. B., F. R. I. (LONDON)

A scheme for the control of malaria for sparsely populated rural areas to be successful, must satisfy two conditions: (1) it must be based on science; and (2) the cost of the scheme must suit the budget of the people of the locality. A malariologist employed by the State, whose strength lies in his superior laboratory methods, envisages the former but not the latter. So his scheme, being one-sided, ends in failure, and his advice to rural areas is one of despair.\* He advises them to wait till they become urbanized, when they can afford to have a public health organization to fight malaria, which means waiting till the destruction of the area takes place.

On account of this limitation and not knowing the condition of the rural areas, he is not in a position to give them advice by the light of the knowledge he possesses, or to take full advantage of natural larvicides in the shape of countless



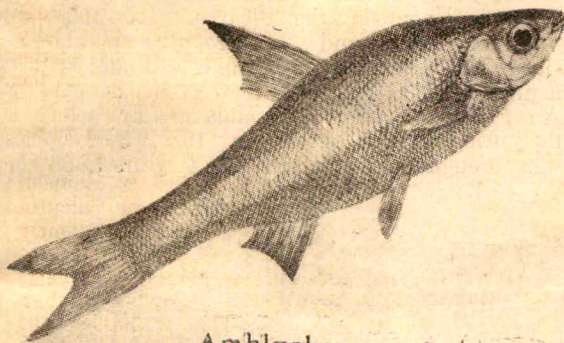
Barbus sopher

পুঁটী



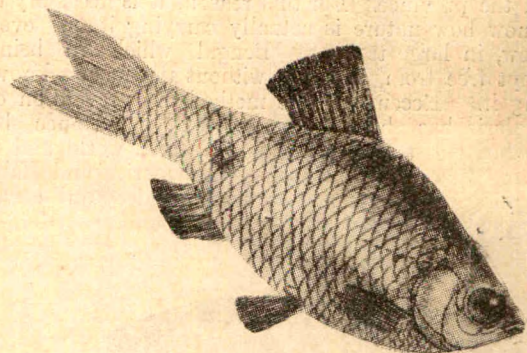
Panchax panchax

ভেঁচোখো



Amblypharyngodon mola

মৌরলা



Barbus ticto

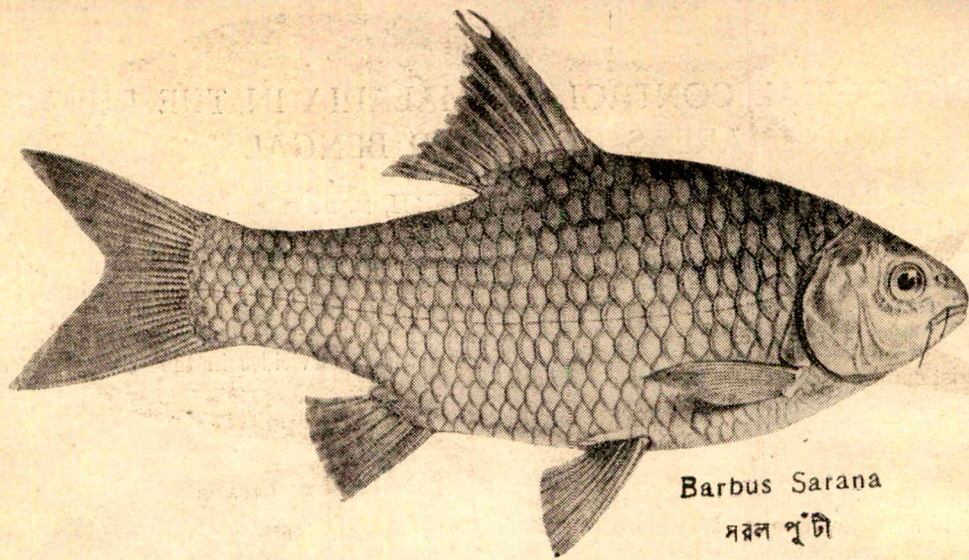
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larvivorous fish present in water courses of the rural areas of Bengal, for which no expenditure has to be incurred and in carrying out which employment of a laboratory man to distinguish a carrier mosquito from a non-carrier will not have to be requisitioned. In devouring the larvæ of mosquitoes, the fish makes no such invidious distinction.

Lower Bengal is fitly termed the "land of rivers"; there is hardly a village in this province which is not connected in some way or other with some of the ramifications of these rivers or branches of the tidal creeks

\* Lt. Colonel Sinton, the Director of Malaria Survey of India, writes in a note on the proposal for a mass treatment experiment to reduce the malarial incidence in rural area of Bengal: "I think it is generally accepted that, in our present state of knowledge, the widespread application of anti-mosquito measures for the control of malaria in rural areas in India is not an economically practical proposition."





Barbus Sarana

দরল পুঁজি

coming from below into which these rivers empty, either by their being situated actually on their banks or coming within the spill areas of those channels.

This method of prevention of malaria possesses this advantage over other methods that it can be carried out at no cost whatsoever by the villagers themselves anywhere in the rural areas of the province. For this reason, it is necessary to know how nature is actually carrying it out, even now, in large tracts of Bengal which are being kept free from malaria without the people knowing it. Recently, this method of prevention of malaria has been given great importance by malariologists in other parts of the world and is being practised extensively in America and Italy, being given preference over the older anti-larval methods by chemicals.

The biological method of controlling pests other than malaria is not altogether unknown to science. It is gradually coming more and more to the forefront, as scientific men are gradually coming to know more and more of the secrets of nature in this line.

#### BIOLOGICAL CONTROL OF PESTS OTHER THAN MALARIA

In the Fiji Islands, the cocoanut palm is one of the most important of vegetables. Towards the end of the last century, cocoanut plantations of Viti Levu, one of the two large islands of the Fiji group, began to fail. It was found to be caused by a little purple moth whose caterpillars devoured the leaves. It spread to neighbouring islands, destroying plantations (in 1923). The planters got alarmed and offered a prize of £5000 for the discovery of a remedy. An entomologist found in Malaya a fly which is the enemy of this moth. In 1925, 32,000 flies were brought to this place. Three years after, the



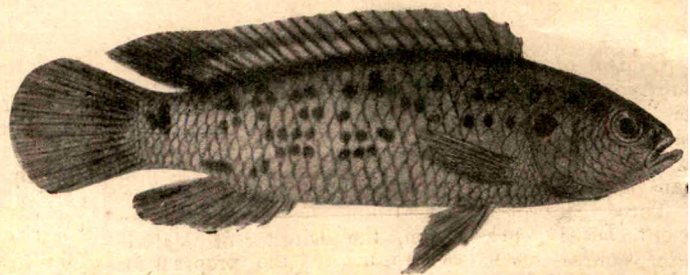
Rasbora daniconius

ডানকুনি



Esomus danricus

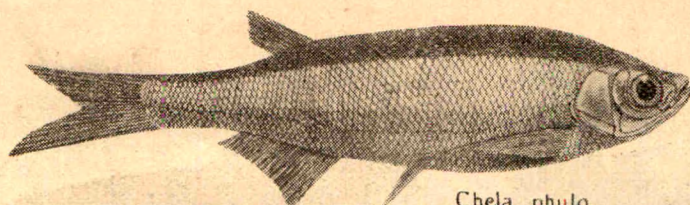
দাড় কে



Badis badis

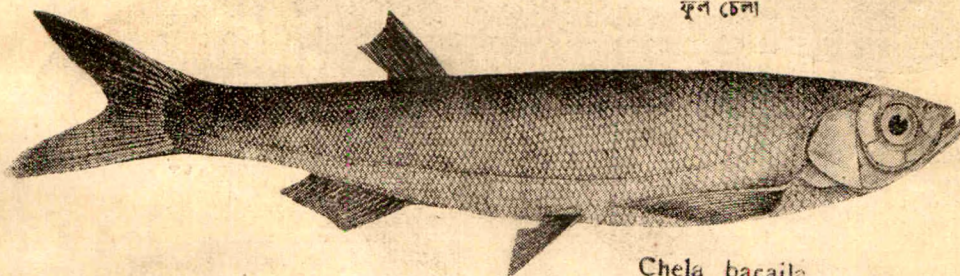
ভেদা





Chela phulo

ফুল চেলা



Chela bacaila

চেলা

moth became rare and so the industry was been saved from destruction.

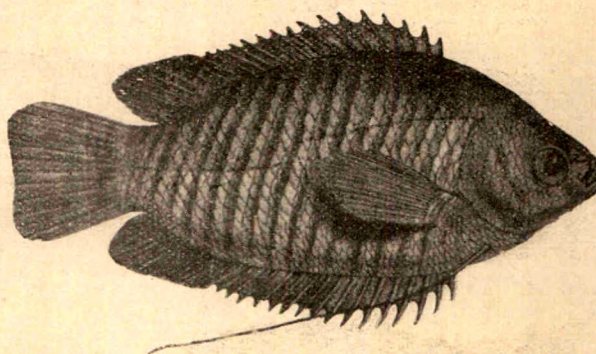
Sugar-cane borer caused immense damage to crops in Hawaii in the early years of this century. Muir found a parasite in Ambonia near New Guinea. The pest has since been controlled by its introduction.

Prickly pear was a Pest in Australia. In 1920, caterpillars of the moth *Cacto-blastis*, found in Texas in America, were discovered to make tunnels through the plant. With its aid as well as of similar other insects the unpleasant vegetable has been controlled.

The cabbage worm (*Pontia rapae*) is combated by an Ichneumon fly (*Apanteles glomeratus*) which has been imported from England to America, to fight the pest successfully.

Introduction of the lady bird, a beetle of the family of Coccinillidas has been made in America for the control of scale insects. The control of the brown tail and gypsy moths in New England has been effected by the introduction from Europe of the parasite of these moths.

larvicidal fish, and if they have the power of multiplying in such enormous numbers as has been credited to them, then why is here so much malaria and why are these not controlling the mosquito population. In reply it is necessary to state that they are controlling wherever and whenever they get a chance; they do not do it however when they are not given a chance.



Trichogaster fasciatus

খলসে

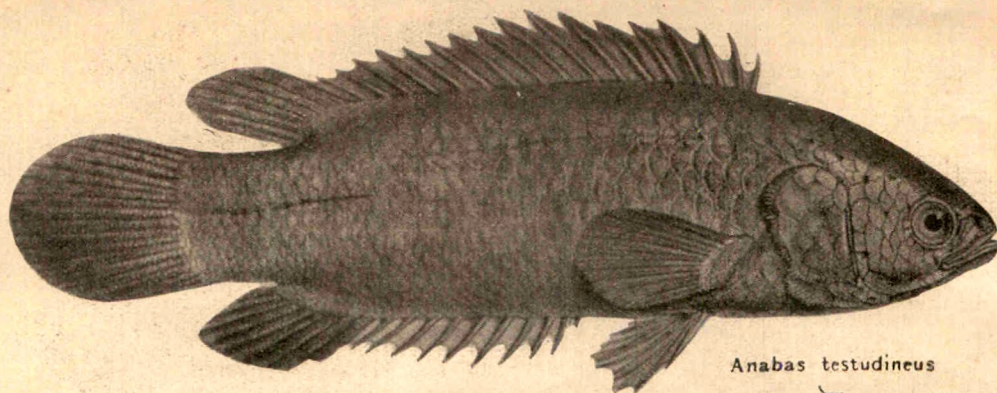
#### CONTROL OF MALARIA BY FISH IN THIS COUNTRY

Control of malaria in the rural areas of this country by fish does not require any training or expert knowledge and is much cheaper than control by chemicals (oiling or Paris reening). The effect is also much more lasting than that of chemicals which have to be renewed.

Three species of larvicidal fish indigenous to our country are very common all over our water courses and can multiply in enormous numbers, if given a chance. Want of an indigenous larvicidal fish cannot be held as an excuse for not using fish instead of chemicals for control of malaria here. Then comes the query, if we have got here the right type of

In Italy is found a species of *Anopheles* (*A. maculipennis*), which breeds in the running water of the rivers. In Assam also is found a species of anopheles (*A. minimus*) with similar habits. This is found in the running water of the hill streams. It appears also that there is no indigenous larvicidal fish in those places. These have created special difficulty of malaria control in those countries. But all the species of anopheles found in Bengal breed in stagnant pools, none being breeders in running water. Besides, we have got any number of larvivorous fish here, so that when these larvae get into the current of the rivers by chance, they are destroyed quickly by the fish present in





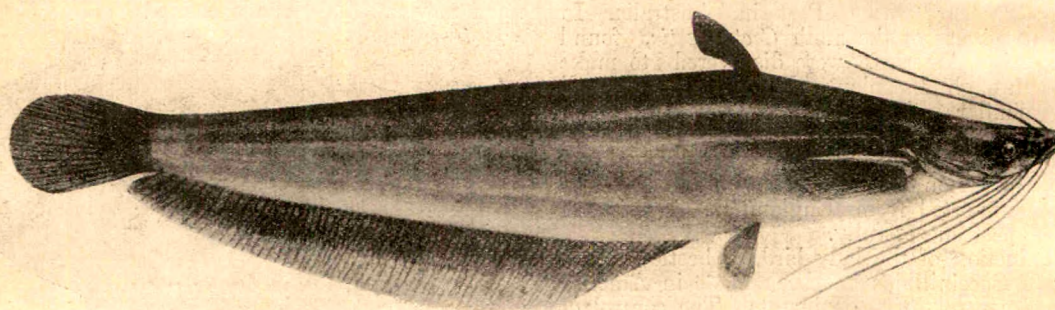
Anabas testudineus

ক



Clarias batrachus

মাগুর



Saccobranhus fossilis

সিঁড়ি

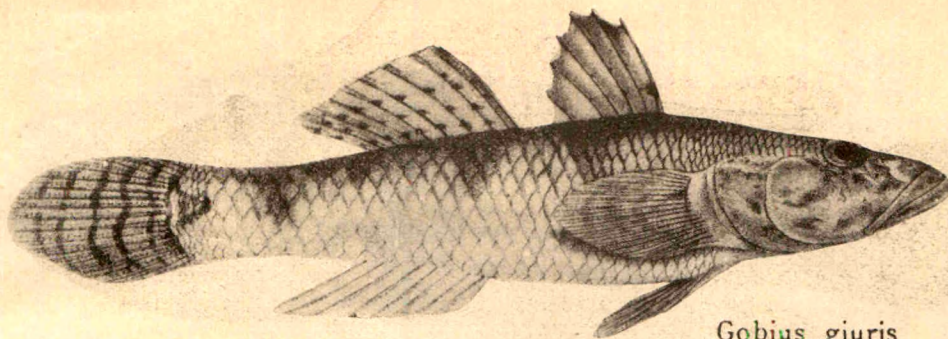
them. The instances which have come to the writer's knowledge are given below :

(1) An observation station was made at a village named Sukehur, 8 miles north of Calcutta situated on the eastern bank of the Hooghly. A thin-meshed net was fixed up in the river bed, for three months during the rainy season for three years between 1929 and 1932.

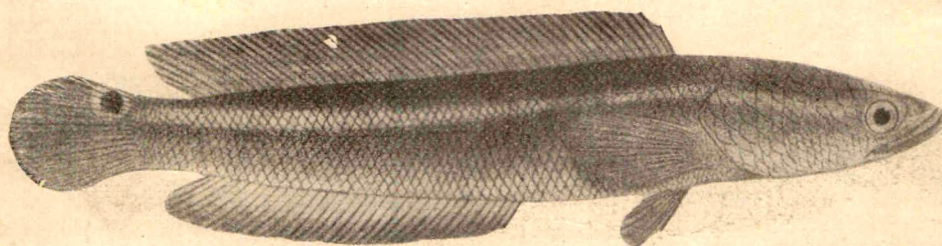
This type of double net is used ordinarily by fishermen for catching carp fish spawn. All the suspended solid matter brought down by the current of the river is caught within this net. The contents of the circular net are emptied every six hours throughout 24 hours into an earthen vessel and all the living contents of the earthen vessel are examined in an improvised

laboratory situated in the village. Then the contents are sorted and taken to the Zoological Laboratory of the Calcutta University where they are examined systematically by specialists in different subjects of zoology. This observation has been carried on successively for three years. Yet on not a single occasion have the larvæ of mosquitoes been found, not even an egg of any insect except that of caddisfly. Needless to mention, along with these were found numerous fries of carps, *corsula*, *bele* and other fish as well as millions of daphne and cyclops. A similar observation station was established on the pontoon off the Botanical Gardens, Shibpur, for one year, with similar results. A better test could not have been devised for showing that the river water is kept free from mosquito larvæ by fish.

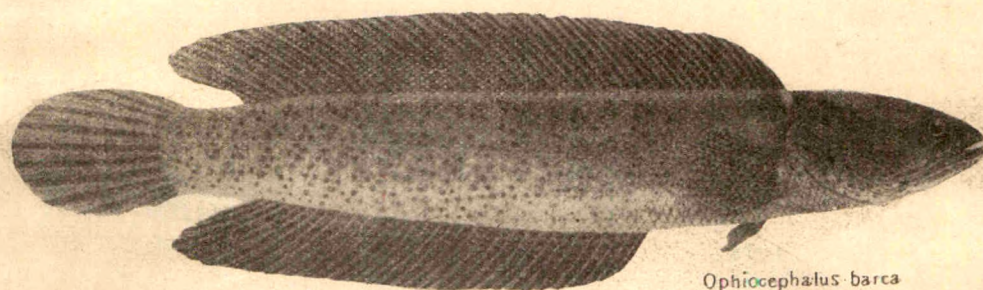


*Gobius giuris*

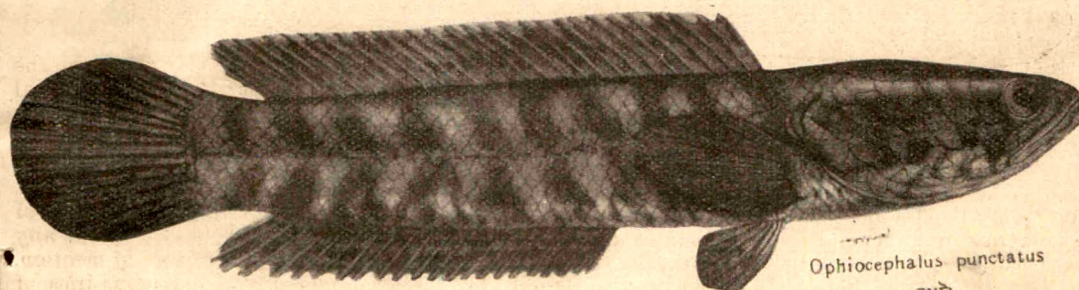
গবরেল

*Ophiocephalus marulius* (young)

শাল

*Ophiocephalus barca*

বড় চালা

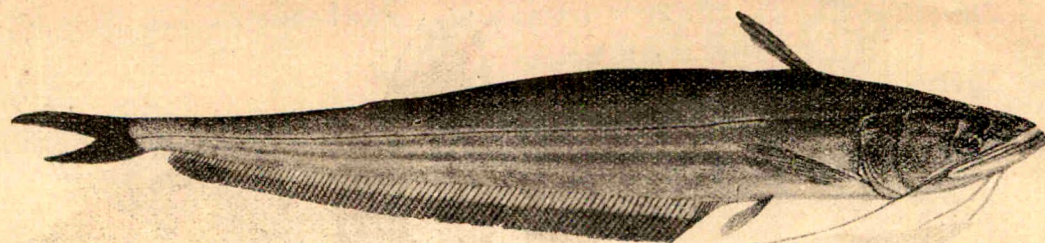
*Ophiocephalus punctatus*

লাঙা

(2) On systematically examining the big earthenware vessels of the dealers of carp fish spawn, containing water collected from the Gorai and other rivers which are branches of the Padma, large number of beetles and sometimes tadpoles were found but never larvæ of mosquitoes.

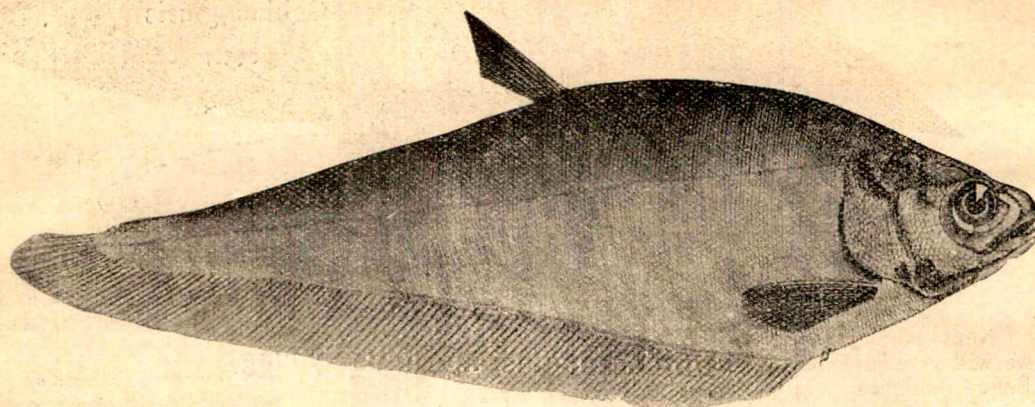
(3) A tank, the area of which is about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an acre was dehydrated completely and re-excavated. A heavy downpour filled up the tank to a depth of about 2 ft. Within a week, the surface of the tank became covered up with countless larvæ of anopheles. Kerosine was used for





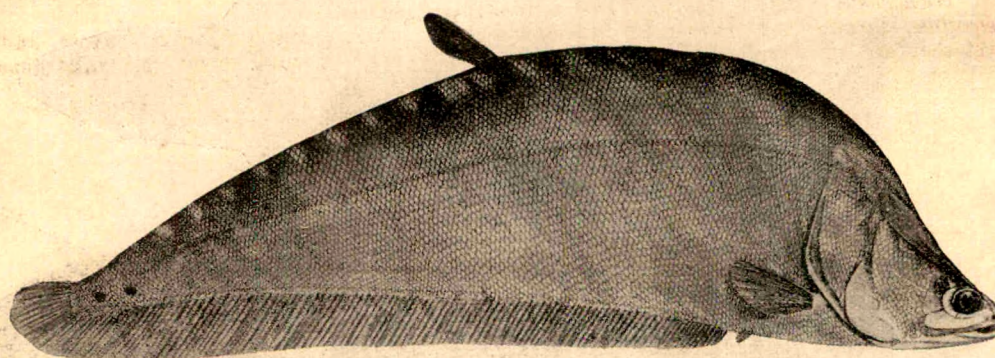
Wallago attu

বোয়াল



Notopterus notopterus

কলুই



Notopterus kapirat

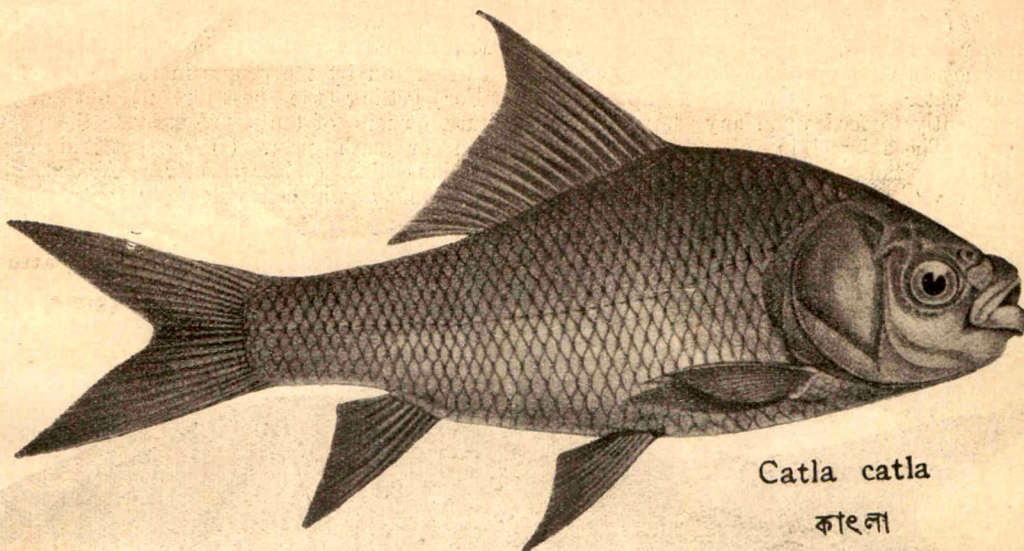
চিতল

destroying them ; though their number diminished, yet they were not completely eliminated. Fries of carps were put into the tank—the size of the fries being no bigger than the larvæ. By the end of the week, no larva was found by most careful examination. This was repeated next year in another tank with similar results.

(4) Four excavations were made in a field 3 ft. square and 3 ft. deep, in the beginning of the rainy season. All these became filled with water in no time. Bi-weekly observations were

made for finding mosquito larvæ as well as copepods by dipping an entomological net into them. In all of them larvæ of anopheles were found in large numbers. One was connected by a drain with a tank containing *Haplochilus* and *Amblypharyngodon*. In two *Haplochilus* was introduced. In the fourth fries of carp were put in. In all of them larvæ of mosquitos disappeared within two days. This condition remained up to the time these excavations became dried up.





Catla catla

কাতালা

#### ENUMERATION OF THE SPECIES OF FISH TO BE FOUND IN BENGAL

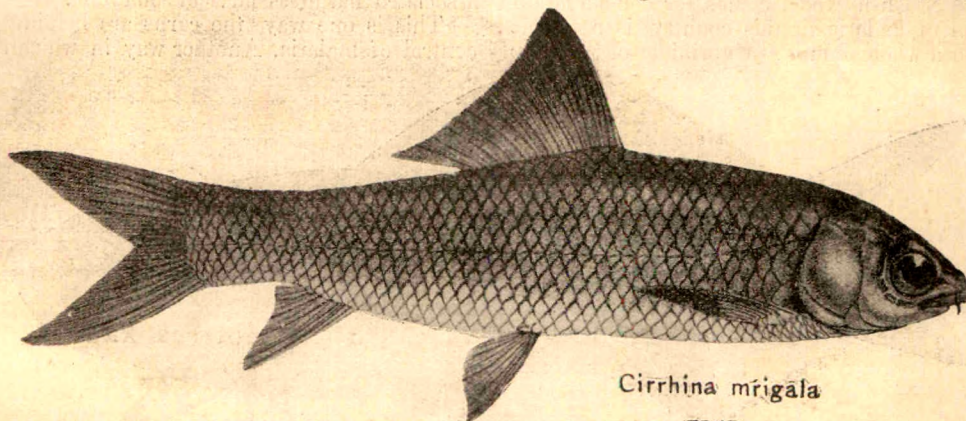
Next point is the species of fish to which we will give preference for the control of malaria. Before doing so, however, I will give a list of the known larvicidal fish. Of these the top-feeders will be given preference, such as (i) *Haplochilus*, (ii) *Barbus*, (iii) *Amblypharyngodon*, (iv) *Chela*, (v) *Esomus*, (vi) *Rasbora*, (vii) *Fries of Carps*.

*Trichogaster* and *Ophicephalus punctatus*, *striatus*, *marulius* and *gachua* are not top-feeders, yet they are efficient larvicides.

year in the confined water of tanks and so do not require renewal. These are pre-eminently surface feeders.

(2) *Amblypharyngodon* (Maurala). These are pre-eminently top-feeders and breed in the confined water of ponds and tanks in enormous numbers during the rainy season. The maurala does not breed at all in old neglected tanks, bottoms of which are full of decomposing vegetable debris.

(3) *Barbus* (*Barbus sophore* and *Barbus ticto*). For breeding them the tanks must be connected



Cirrhina mrigala

মৃগেল

The species of estuarine fish, some of which are available for control of mosquito, are the following:—

1. Khorsula (*Mugil corsula*). 2. Bhetki (*Lates calceifer*). Fries of the latter enter spill areas of tidal channels in enormous numbers and destroy the larvæ of mosquitoes.

(1) *Haplochilus*—(a) *Haplochilus melustigma*, (b) *Panchax panchax*. They breed throughout the

by a drain with a large open expanse of water. The fish migrate there for spawning and come back in enormous numbers to the tanks, filling not only these but also all roadside drains, if they can get access to them.

(4) *Rasbora* (*Rasbora daniconius* and *Esomus danricus*) has got similar habits as the *Barbus*. These fish frequent rice fields and keep them free from mosquito larvæ.

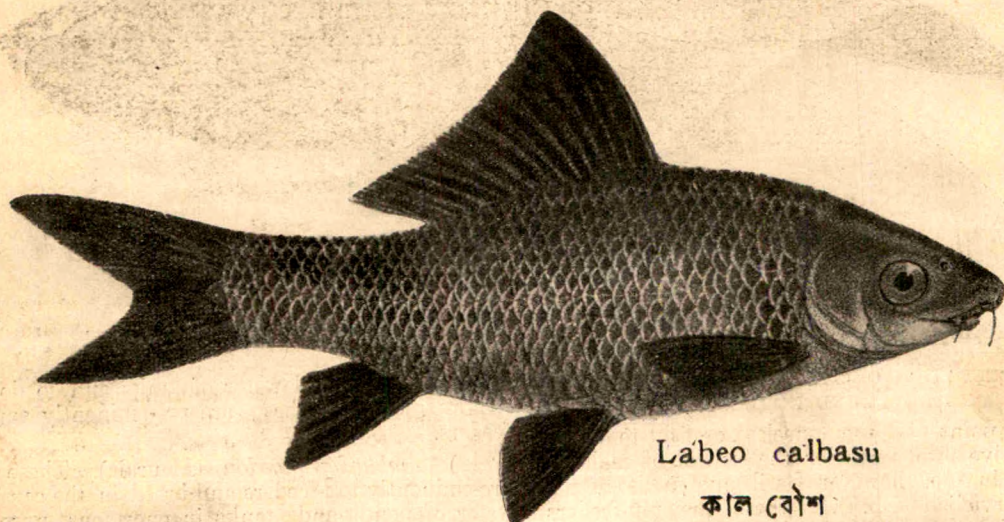


(5) *Chela* (*Chela phulo*, *Chela bacaila*) have habits similar to *Barbus*.

(6) *Trichogaster (khalisa) fasciatus*—a perch is a deep water feeder but comes up to the surface frequently to feed upon any larva to be found there. These breed in *bils* and marshy land, also in tanks. These fish stand transportation very well.

to the control of malaria in Bengal villages, specially under conditions in which carp culture is carried on by the people in this country.

For getting the best result out of carp culture, owners of tanks re-excavate them every eighth or tenth year, (i) to get rid of the predacious fish (*Wallago attu*, *Notopterus* or *Ophicephalus*) which accidentally get entrance



*Labeo calbasu*

কাল বোশ

(7) *Ophicephalidae*. As all the species of the family are predacious, it is not desirable to stock tanks with these in spite of the fact that in their fry stage, they are extremely larvicidal. Of these *Ophicephalus striatus* (lata) is the least harmful.

The next fish which comes for consideration for control of malaria in this country is not one species but a whole family. Cyprinidae or the Carp

into the tanks and make short work of the carps by making meals of them, and (ii) for getting rid of the accumulation of organic debris at the bottom of the tank which by producing acid reaction prevents their growth as well as that of the associated harmless larvicide maulala.

This is one way the carps are helping in the control of malaria. Another way in which they are



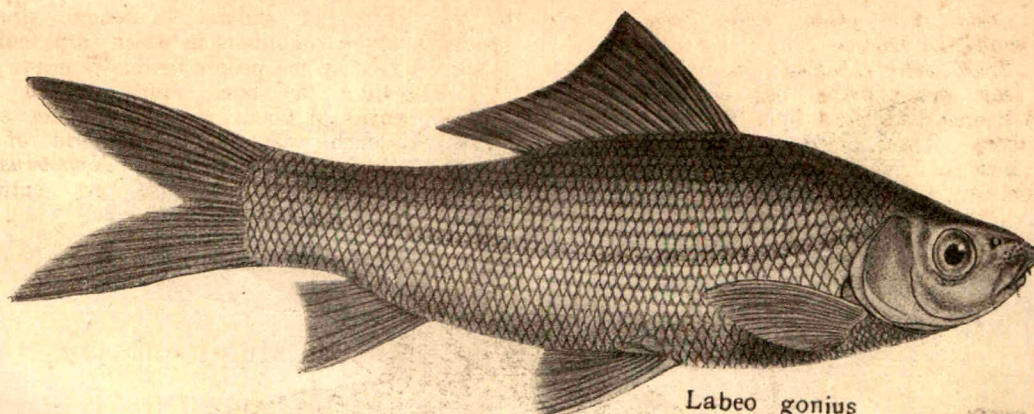
*Labeo rohita*

রুই

family containing several species (1) *Labeo rohita*; (2) *Catla catla*; (3) *Cirrhina mrigala*; (4) *Labeo calbasu*; (5) *Cirrhina reba*. These five are well-known species of the carp. All of them play a very important role in mosquito control, nay, the most important role in comparison with all other species to be found in this country; they are pre-eminently top the feeders and contribute materially

doing it and that on much more extensive scale, is as follows:—Carps do not breed in the confined water of tanks, like the *Haplochitus* or *Ophicephalus* nor do they breed, like the *Barbus*, by sojourning at a short distance in open water, courses like the *bils* near tanks. They travel a great distance up the torrential hill streams, where the adult female weighing a maund or so, lets out





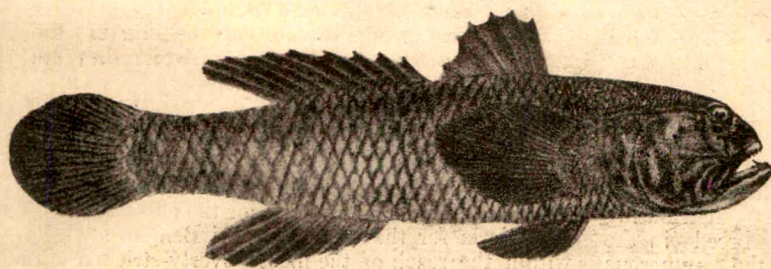
Labeo gonius

কুরচি

the ova, which are fertilized by the milt let out at or about the same time by the male adult which accompanies it. This occurs only at the advent of the rainy season. Four or five days after fertilization the fries come out of the ova. They travel down with the current to the rivers in the plains. These fries pass in countless numbers with the spill water of the rivers spreading out all over the country into the endless collections of water, big or small, present in the plains of Bengal. These countless hungry mouths feed upon the larvæ of insects including mosquitoes, irrespective of species, along with small crustaceans. As this occurs each year during the flood season on an extensive scale throughout

1. In 1912, Colonel R. B. S. Sewell and Dr. B. L. Chaudhuri conducted observations on fish near Calcutta in a stream that became partially dry in summer but was swollen during the rains. It was found that at the beginning of May, there were many larvæ which by the middle of the month had practically disappeared concurrently with the appearance of numerous small fish, chiefly *Barbus stigma*. (—*B. sophore*)

2. In a report published in 1917, H. C. Wilson, Piscicultural Expert to the Government of Madras, described the utility of fish as larvicides for swamps, stream beds, ponds, wells and other mosquito-infected areas. Even in the foulest of ill-kept water they do a certain amount of good and a careful observation will often see them (the fish) searching the weed and the debris for larvæ and seldom unsuccessfully. So he says, it is most unwise to put oil and cresol where fish exists, as they destroy not only fries of fish but also all small under-water life. Besides, action of oil is only of a temporary nature and, if not regularly repeated, ponds, etc., so treated becomes doubly dangerous mosquito-breeding grounds. From a piscicultural point of view the introduction of poisonous substances into water where fish can be used should be strictly prohibited.



Mugil carcula

খরসুলা

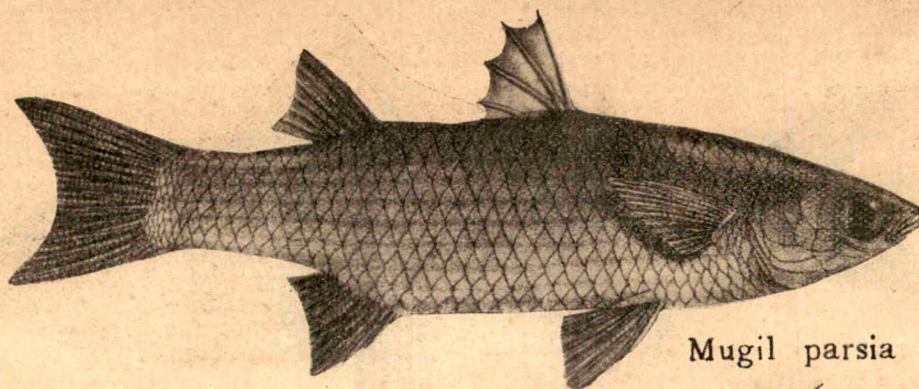
the country, this attempt of nature to control malaria on a colossal scale, which man cannot emulate, would have kept the province entirely free from malaria, had it not been for human interference. It did in the past before the railway bunds and embankments were made. It is doing so even now in places where this spill has not been restricted by embankments.

Now before we conclude, it is desirable that we should give here instances where control of mosquito and so, of malaria has been actually designed and carried into effect in this country.

3. In a report on malaria on the Sara Bridge works published in 1913, Dr. R. B. Khambhata, now Director of Public Health, stated that he found in the villages large number of swamps overgrown with weeds which were breeding *A. fuliginosus* but the six tanks used for carp culture were free from larvæ.

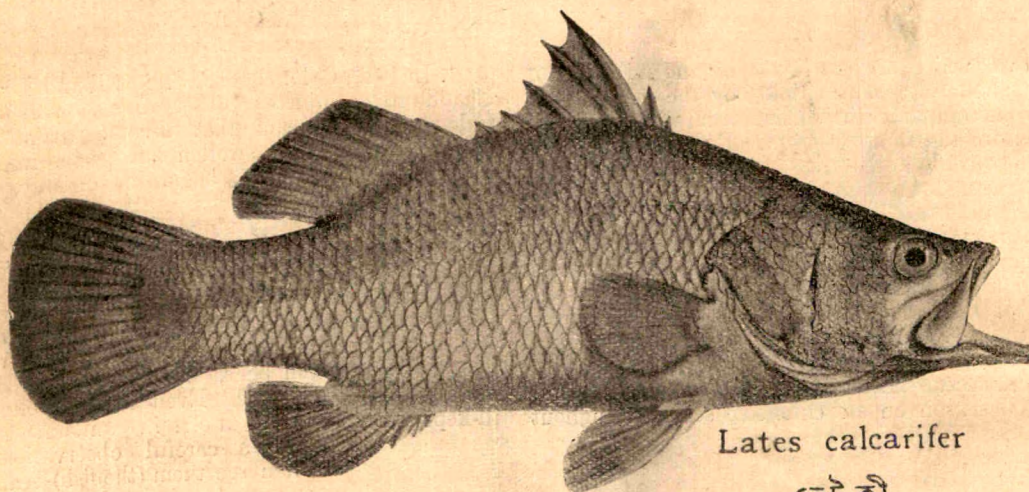
He stated further that when a tank or a borrow-pit was fairly deep with steeply cut edges, with no grass or weed growing and fish swimming in it, no larvæ of any species were found.





Mugil parsia

পার্শ



Lates calcarifer

ভেটকী

4. Wilcox-Bentley scheme of overflow irrigation for prevention of malaria:—It is evident that bringing the flood water of the rivers to spread over the land, which is the aim of the scheme will have the effect of distributing the numerous fries of fish which breed in the flood season in the rivers, into the numerous hollows, ponds and *bils* to be found in this deltaic land, and the will prevent malaria by controlling mosquito breeding.

5. Lastly, the Central Anti-Malaria Society which is instrumental in creating numerous village anti-malaria societies throughout the province has been consistently preaching, to these societies, since its inception, that to carry out their work of prevention of malaria of their respective villages, they should drain away or fill all unnecessary collections of water and kerosine those which cannot be dealt in these ways; but all large collections of water which cannot be drained away or are essentially necessary for their livelihood, as tanks, *bils*, *baors*, etc., should for the control of mosquitos be stocked with the right type of fish, after cleansing their edges and surface of vegetation. These should not be oiled or Paris-

greened on any account. Following these instructions many village societies have succeeded in solving their malaria problem.

So, basing on the above described facts, one can easily formulate a policy for the effective control of malaria for the rural areas of Bengal, at a cost within the reach of the most poverty-stricken rural areas, firstly, by making the water courses of the place, if it be within tidal reach, accessible to the countless varieties of larvicidal fish to be found in the estuaries, secondly, if it be situated within spill areas of the rivers which reach the delta from all sides of the province except the south, for their exit into the sea below, by making the water courses of the place accessible to the millions of fries of fish breeding in the waters of these rivers. Their breeding season coinciding with the flood season of the rivers, it is the easiest thing in the world to do so by allowing the spill to spread without any restriction over the flat land of the delta. At this season of the year the province used to become one sheet of water before the restrictions in the shape of bunds and railway lines came to be erected. Thirdly, for those big collections of water, which cannot be connected in

this way on account of their situation, encouragement may be given to the stocking of these with fries of carp which the inhabitants of the country are in the habit of doing from old times

on account of which there is a brisk business for sale of fries prevalent throughout the province, by a reduction of the railway freight charge.

## THE WOOD NYMPH

By SITA DEVI

ATUL'S father had high ambitions for his son. But unfortunately the son did not share them. He stuck fast in the mud of the Intermediate, from which neither his mother's reproaches nor the tutors engaged by his father were able to remove him.

Atul did not look at all sorry about this. He ate and drank and went about merrily with a borrowed camera. He took photographs of all his friends and relatives and soon became an expert hand at it. His friends praised him, his own people ceased to abuse him, and he even won some first prizes in magazine photo-competitions. Atul's joy knew no bounds.

His younger brother and sister always sided with him because they liked very much new photographs of themselves, every other day. Atul needed money now and then for new plates, printing papers, etc. These his able lieutenants always managed to secure from his mother on one pretext or another.

But his father remained adamant to the last. The artistic talents of his son, far from mollifying him, enraged him more and more. Old Rajani Babu let himself go one day and the strength of his language was such that Atul left his home, struck to the heart.

First he took shelter in the mess of one of his friends. They fed him and praised him and made much of him for the first few days. Then suddenly their ardour began to cool down. They began to hint at the desirability of Atul's finding some kind of an employment.

"Where can I get a job?" asked Atul, rather offended.

His friends answered that he might try his luck at offices, courts, schools and colleges, in short, everywhere. They even volunteered to help him in looking for it.

But Atul was hardly qualified for fitting any useful post. So jobs did not come rushing round him. He was in imminent danger of losing his prestige amongst his friends, when suddenly his mother appeared weeping and took him away forcibly with her. His father's reception of him was not very cordial. He neither spoke to Atul, nor looked at him. But he held his tongue, which was as much as Atul dared to expect of him.

But home was no longer the abode of peace and happiness for him. He could not forget his father's words. Even the fine dishes his mother prepared no longer tasted the same. He really began to look out for a job. But it was no easy thing to find one in the city of Calcutta. He was nearly in despair, when his youngest sister Bina made a brilliant suggestion.

"But why don't you charge something for the pictures you take?" she asked. "You can earn something that way. Why do you do it all gratis?"

The girl was right, thought Atul. But how could he become a professional all of a sudden? He would want a room, and all the paraphernalia for that. He had only a camera and that too a borrowed one.

There was a photographic studio very near to his own house. It was owned by a Bengali, though he had given the shop an English name in the vain hope that it might draw more customers. Atul presented himself to the manager.

After a good deal of talk he was engaged as a photographer on a small pay. Atul returned home content. He would not have now to ask his mother for every trifling expense. Even that was something. Atul's father struck his forehead in bitter despair. So that was the end to which his son had come! The son about whom he had cherished such fond hopes. But he did not say anything to Atul.

There were two other young men working in the shop. Atul soon found that he was no favourite of theirs. Atul knew his business much better than they did and this had made them rather sore. They took very good care to keep Atul in his place. These two young men served all the customers that came to the studio and sent out Atul on all the odd jobs that presented themselves. He had to go out for photographing dead people and for (such like pleasant works.) He felt very bitter about it, but he stuck to his job.

One fine morning just as Atul entered the studio, he heard that the chief photographer Gauripati was laid up with fever and would not come. The second man Shailen was busy



attending to the customers. He ordered Atul to get some prints ready, which was due on that date.

Atul's face turned as dark as the 'dark' room he entered. Still he must do as he was told, he began his work. If he had a bit of money, even two hundred rupees, he would have kicked at this job and set up on his own. But alas, he was not only penniless but also in debt. He could no longer ask help of his parents even.

Suddenly the manager sent for him. Atul came out blinking his eyes and asked, "Why do you want me, sir?"

The manager pointed to a gentleman and said, "You must go with him—"

"But sir," interrupted Atul, "the prints would be spoilt."

The manager shook his head impatiently and said, "Let them be. Shailen will look after them when he is free. This is more important. You must go at once, he cannot wait."

Atul had to obey. He took up the camera and his bag and followed the gentleman out of the studio. So much hurry could denote only one thing, death. Nobody is ever in such a hurry to get living persons photographed. They could wait. Atul felt tempted to ask, "Who is dead, sir?" But he forbore, fearing to give offence.

As they came out on the road, the gentleman asked, "Would the tram suit you?"

"How far is it?" asked Atul. "It is rather far off," said the gentleman. "We have got to go up to Barahnagar."

Atul's temper turned even more sour. "Then sir, you must hire a carriage," he said. "I cannot carry this load all that way."

A taxi rolled up to them at once. Atul arranged himself comfortably in it. Even a taxi would take an hour to reach their destination. He might even indulge in a short nap.

But the dust, the smoke and the terrible smell, nearly choked him. He was cursing his hard luck, when suddenly they emerged into open fields, and a gust of fresh sweet air smote on his face. He turned to his companion, trying to smooth his hair with both hands and asked, "Are we nearly there?"

"Yes," answered the gentleman and shouted to the driver to stop. They were really there.

It was quite a big garden house. The people must be rich, thought Atul, otherwise they would never come all this way in a taxi. A servant ran up to them and relieved Atul of his load. "This way," said the gentleman to Atul.

Atul followed him into a big and well-furnished drawing-room. There was a fair-sized lawn in front, and a well laid out garden. There was even a tennis court. The people had taste too, it seemed. The house was full of people, but everybody was talking and laughing and running about. It did not look one single bit like a house of mourning.

The gentleman who had brought Atul had gone upstairs. He came down after a few minutes and said, "They all want the picture to be taken in the garden. Do you think there is too strong a light?"

"Not at all," said Atul. "It is quite all right. Tell me where you want it taken, and I shall fix my camera there."

A small black hillock stood in one corner of the garden. A silvery stream of water gushed out of it and lost itself amongst the dense bush of ferns that surrounded it. It was a pretty and a picturesque place.

Atul was nearly certain now that he would not have to photograph a dead body. This beautiful spot would surely not be chosen for such a tragic affair. His temper, too, had cooled down a bit by this time. He finished arranging his things and waited. A few persons were seen approaching him. There were two men and three girls. The youngest was the prettiest and by far the best dressed. Atul felt himself compensated for all his troubles. There were still pretty faces left in Bengal then!

The girl was probably sixteen or seventeen. She had a beautiful figure and a dazzling complexion. But what first struck the eye of the beholder, was her amazing wealth of hair. Atul had never seen such hair outside advertisements for hair oils. The dark wavy mass looked like monsoon clouds that cover the sky in July. When the girl turned her back, she was completely hidden by her hair.

She was dressed in a green *sari* that had red borders and little red blossoms worked on the ground. Atul was glad to see that she wore very few ornaments. A long garland of flowers was thrown round her beautiful neck. On her wrists too there were ornaments of flowers.

A lady was leading the girl forward, she made her sit down on one of the boulders. Then she collected a big bunch of flowers and ferns and held it out to her, saying, "Hold it loosely, not as if you are holding a stick." Next, she put in a few fern leaves and flowers in the mass of her wavy black hair, then stood back regarding her work. She seemed satisfied.

"Look," said the gentleman to Atul, "do you wish anything changed?"

Atul did not want to change anything and began his work. He had to take three photographs from three sides. Then the girl's companions took her away.

When he returned to the drawing-room, he was bathed in perspiration. "It is terribly hot, isn't it?" asked the gentleman of Atul. "Shall I order a glass of lemonade and ice for you?"

"If you please," said Atul, wiping his brows. He was too preoccupied to be polite. The gentleman ordered a servant to fetch the lemonade. It arrived very soon and Atul drank it greedily. "May I go now," he asked the master of the house.

"How can you go in this terrible heat?" he said. "If you wait a bit, our car can take you straight to your studio. It will be here within a few minutes."

Atul's temper was quite calm and unruffled now. "If you will be so kind," he said. "You need not take me the whole way, you can drop me at Shambazar, I shall take the tram from there."

The car arrived, just as he finished speaking. Atul got inside with his camera. As the car started, he looked up expectantly towards the balcony of the first floor, but he saw no one there.

When he arrived at the studio, he found the manager alone there, Shailen had already gone out for his lunch.

"Then I am off," he said, as soon as he saw Atul. "You can go for your lunch when Shailen returns." He did not wait for Atul's reply but marched out at once. But when he had gone a few steps, he came back again and said, "These pictures will have to be delivered very soon, you know. They are going away. So begin work as soon as you can." He went out again.

Atul felt his anger rising again. What a place this world was! Work, work, work. He too was flesh and blood and needed rest and food. But everybody seemed to have forgotten it. But what was the use of sitting idle? He might as well work.

When he had finished developing the plates, he held them aslant, and looked at them. Very fine, very fine indeed! They seemed more beautiful than the handiwork of a painter. Atul himself had never done finer work.

He was too engrossed to notice that Shailen had come back. He started up hearing him speak. "You can go now," Shailen was saying.

Atul went for his meal, but returned almost at once. The manager too had returned by that time and was looking the plates over. Atul felt mad. He wanted to give him a slap and tear the things out of his hand. But it was the twentieth century, so he kept his wish to himself.

"Very fine," said the manager. "But you must hurry on with the prints. Gauripati is seriously ill, I don't think he will be able to turn up before a week. They might send for the pictures tomorrow. They want half a dozen of each."

Atul began to work as quick as he could. He did not even go out for tea, as Shailen and the manager did. But he was guilty of a misdeed. He stole three of the prints, one from each negative. Then he went home rather early on the plea of fatigue.

He finished the pictures next day and was ready to deliver them when a messenger called for them in the evening. He gave the best finish to the three prints he had stolen and mounted them on the most expensive cardboard and hid them in the trunk in which he kept his

clothing. He wrote the name "Wood Nymph" under each picture.

Then days went on as before. Atul would often take the pictures out when he was alone and gaze raptly at them, but he never dared to entertain any hope even in his imagination. A man if he is fortunate might look at a nymph once, but he can never hope to obtain her for his very own. Still he had gone to Barahnagar once again hoping against hope. But the garden house was empty, and the man in charge said that the family had gone off to Simla.

Thus three years passed off. Atul was getting better pay now. Poor Gauripati had never got well and Atul was senior photographer now. Shailen had left the studio in anger long ago.

Atul was waiting for his tea one evening. His mother brought it, and sat down by him. "Look here, my son," he said, "I am getting old. Shall I look after the household for ever?"

"What can I do mother?" answered Atul, pretending not to understand, "I cannot leave my work and come to help you in the kitchen, can I?"

"Oh you are a baby and understand nothing," said his mother in anger. "Don't try to put me off. The Gangulis sent the match-maker again today."

"But I hear their girl is very ugly," said Atul, rather irritated.

"You boys are all very silly," his mother said, "A Bengali girl cannot look like a fairy. She is tolerably good-looking, knows household work very well, and they promise a good dowry."

"You only understand money and nothing else," grumbled her son. "What is it good for, anyway?"

"Don't you know yet?" answered his mother, now quite angry. "But you need not be anxious. We won't take and spend the money but keep it for you. You can even give up your present job and set up on your own with it."

Her last words struck Atul. He was really tired of this slavery. But from what he had heard, the girl was rather too ugly.

He called his sister Bina, "Have you seen that girl of the Gangulis?"

"Haven't I though," said Bina. "She used to be in our school. When her father died, they did not send her any more."

"Is her father dead?" asked Atul. "Then so much for the good dowry. I can tell you, they won't give a pice."

"You care only for money," said Bina. "But you need not be afraid, they will really pay. Her father may be dead but her uncle is alive and he is a very rich man and childless. He will do whatever is necessary."

"Is the girl very ugly?" asked Atul. "Not at all," said Bina. "She is neither a celestial nymph nor a monster. She is just an ordinary Bengali girl." Atul had to remain satisfied with that.

His parents saw that Atul would not oppose the match very strongly now, so they rushed through the preparations and settled with the girl's family as quickly as they could. Atul was not enthusiastic and he did not want to see the bride. But still, with the help of Bina, he secured a photograph of the girl. He was really disappointed. Still he consoled himself with the thought of the dowry.

The wedding day arrived soon enough. Atul started, dressed gaily and to the accompaniment of festive music. When he reached the bride's house, the fussy reception made even his heart glad. For these few hours at least, he was like a king, the centre of all these festivities. What was the bride thinking of now? Her heart must be palpitating with mingled fear and joy. It was for Atul and for none else. The girl was dark, but her heart was as beautiful as that of the most beautiful girl. Thus Atul reasoned with himself. But his heart failed to respond.

He was called inside. The first part of the marriage ceremony is conducted by the ladies, men folk, excepting the bridegroom are shut out. Atul entered this kingdom of women, all alone.

He was made to stand on a painted and decorated wooden seat. Around him women moved, talked and laughed, women old and young, pretty and plain. Where was the bride, he wondered. He would not see her before the "auspicious look" and she too would not see him. Had she ever seen him before? Perhaps, she had, as she had been one of his sister's fellow students. She must have seen him once or twice, when the school bus called for Bina.

The *varan* began. But Atul's heart gave a tremendous bound as he looked at the face of the woman, who was performing it. She could be none else than his long-lost "Wood Nymph." How did she come here? Why was she taking part in the ceremony? Was she, by any chance, related to the bride? The vermilion mark on her forehead seemed to poor Atul like a streak of hell fire. Alas, what cruel fate had drawn her hither and at this juncture too? And she was taking a leading part in welcoming Atul, as the bridegroom of another. She was sentencing him to life-long exile from the paradise of his dreams. Perhaps he would henceforth lose even the right of worshipping her in his heart.

But the Wood Nymph had lost all her girlish charm and joy, she had become grave and sedate. She was dressed in costly silk, diamonds and sapphires, still she seemed but a figure of marble. One could not love her, one could only admire from a distance.

The ladies' ceremony was finished. He looked at the bride, but scarcely saw her. His heart was burning, the "auspicious look" had to be looked at the most inauspicious moment of his life.

But he was married off duly and truly. Nothing happened to hinder the wedding. The

bride's party was all attention to the guests and they paid the dowry promptly to the last pie. The bride's uncle was politeness personified. Atul's relatives sang his praises with one accord. Such a big and rich man, yet how gentle and polite! Only Atul hated him with all his heart, hated his big fat body, his dark bloated face and his accursed wealth. How ugly! The whole family was ugly. They had captured poor Atul with the snare of their wealth. He forgot for the time being that he himself had been mightily attracted by the thought of that wealth. =

The wedding ceremony was finished and the newly married pair was led into the bridal chamber. But Atul pretended to be unwell and remained silent with his face turned to the wall.

Next day Atul returned home with the bride. Atul's dark, frowning face struck a note of discord, in the gay and festive music that ran through the house. "The fool does not like his wife, because she is plain," said his father in anger. "These idiots only understand physical charm and nothing else."

Atul's mother spoke up for her son. "He is young after all and everybody is madly in love with beauty at that age. Don't you remember your own youth? You never ceased to taunt me with my plainness, even when I had borne five children. These things pass away with time."

The old man found himself in a tight corner and retreated.

Bina called her brother aside and asked "Don't you like your bride?"

"Would you like her, if you were in my place?" He returned angrily.

"Certainly I would," said Bina, quite as serious as an adult person, "if I saw that she was good and amiable. You are all silly and sentimental." She fled before Atul could reply.

On the third night after the marriage, Atul first spoke to his wife. The young ladies had left them alone very soon, as everybody had come to know that Atul's bride had not found favour in his eyes. The bride was lying absolutely still, she scarcely seemed to breathe. Atul placed his hand on her shoulder and whispered "Are you asleep?"

"No" replied the bride shortly. Atul remained silent for a minute or two, then he asked again, "Can you tell me who was the lady, who did the *varan*?"

"She is my aunt," replied the bride. Atul's hand slipped off from the girl's shoulder, as if paralysed.

She was the wife of that ugly, bloated creature. She was Atul's aunt-in-law, a person to be revered!

After a while he asked, "Is she your uncle's second wife?"

The girl looked straight at Atul this time, and said, "No, she is his first wife. She looks very young for her age."



Atul was too amazed to speak. Then he sat up on the bed and asked, "How old is she?"

What a bridegroom, thought the poor bride. Even on this night, he could think of nothing else to talk about than her aunt! She got up and went and sat by the window, saying, "Oh, she must be thirty-five at least, she is older than my mother."

"Has she got any children?" Atul asked.

"No" replied his bride, and turned away her face, to hide a smile.

Atul did not speak any more. The bride went back to her bed and soon fell asleep. Atul walked about restlessly, sleep did not visit his eyes that night.

The friends and relatives who had come for the wedding departed the next day. The children of the house felt too tired after the turmoil of the last few days. They either fell asleep or went out to spend the day elsewhere.

Atul saw that the bride was sitting alone.

He came in with silent steps as he wanted to see the end of the matter. He took out the three pictures from his box and held them up before her, saying, "Do you know these?"

The girl looked up at him rather bewildered. "These are my aunt's pictures," she said, "how did they come into your possession?"

"I was the photographer who took these," he said. "But have you ever seen them before? Where were they taken, and when?"

The girl nodded in assent. "My uncle was then in Mesopotamia," she said, "and he had asked for a picture of her. So these were taken. Aunt had just then taken part in an amateur ladies' play, as wood nymph. Everybody said she looked wonderful. So she dressed up like that again to be photographed."

Atul went out. Under cover of the shades of evening he went to the Chandpal Ghat, and threw the photographs into the water of the Ganges. The Wood Nymph was gone.

## ASIAN CULTURAL RAPPROCHEMENT

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[The subjoined paragraphs were written by the Poet on December 2, 1932, with reference to a resolution passed by the Hindu Mahasabha last year.]

**I**N the great age of India's cultural self-expression, the iridescence of her spirit not only touched with a glorious fulness every aspect of her national life, but shed its lustre on her neighbouring civilizations, uniting them with her in a common awakening of consciousness. Diverse alien lands, with widely varying traditions and cultures, shared her realizations, offering in return their own highest gifts of wisdom and inspiration. A living commerce of ideas was thus established between India and her contemporaneous civilizations, extending far and wide the zone of her influence in the arts, and the sciences, and philosophy, and laying the foundation of a great federation of cultures in which Asia found the supreme manifestation of her humanity.

Records of that great age lie buried in sand, and ruins; antique scripts and textual records testify through the depths of obscurity to the history of a mighty past. Scholars rescue from oblivion our heritage, which we have claimed with pride, but as yet have failed in our responsibility to

deserve and to justify in a creative urge of cultural reassertion.

Signs of a great renewal of India's nationhood are, however, apparent today, emancipating our peoples from the age-long enslavement of superstition and sectarianism, bred by our cultural isolation and the gradual impoverishment of our national resources. The time has arrived for us now once more to vindicate India's cultural magnanimity which, breaking through the fetters of communalism and rejecting a narrow ideal of self-sufficiency, will once more make India dare to trust to her instinct of faith and fellowship and to harmonize her deepest truths of humanity with those of other peoples and nations in the light of the modern age.

I welcome, therefore, the scheme proposed by the Hindu Mahasabha of holding a Conference in India where representatives from the different civilizations of Asia can meet to "revive the feeling of their fundamental unity and mutual relationship." It also support the idea of sending a cultural deputation from India to foreign countries.

*Santiniketan*

2. 12. 32

## COMMENTS & CRITICISM

### ✓ Mahatma Gandhi on the Morality of Threatening Suicide

[The article in *Harijan* in which Mahatma Gandhi discussed the question whether his fasts were coercive, was written because of an editorial note published in *The Modern Review* for September, 1933. For that reason Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has sent his article to us for publication, as we are informed that *Harijan* to which he despatched it on the 12th September last, has not published it. Ed. M. R.]

In an editorial article published in the *Harijan* and telegraphed to the daily papers Mahatma Gandhi has discussed the morality of threatening suicide. If suicide or self-murder by fasting or by any other means is morally right, then threatening suicide cannot be wrong. Therefore, the main question to be discussed in this connection is, whether suicide or self-murder is morally right.

The moral valuation of suicide varies considerably among civilized nations (see Edward Westermarck's *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*). We shall briefly refer to the views of the Hindus, Muhammadans, and European Christians. To begin with the Hindus, Manu in his Code (8. 49-50) provides the five following modes of recovering property from a debtor by a creditor:

"By, moral suasion (*Dharma*), by suit of law (*Vyavahara*), by artful management (*chhala*), or by the customary proceedings (*acharita*), a creditor may recover property lent; and fitfully, by force (*bala*)."

"A creditor who himself recovers his property from his debtor, must not be blamed by the king for retaking what is his own." (Bühler's translation).

It will be seen from this extract, that it refers back to a time when the creditor was allowed to take the law into his own hands. *Acharita*, "customary proceedings" is explained by the commentators of Manu as, "fasting, sitting at the door." Fasting to death is not contemplated by Manu in connection with fasting for the recovery of property. All forms of self-murder, including fasting to death, is condemned in the Brahmanic codes. The usual libations of water are denied to the departed spirits of those who commit suicide. It is provided in the *Vishnu-Smṛiti* (22, 47):

"The relatives of those who have been killed by (falling from) a precipice, or by fire, or (have killed themselves by) fasting, or (have been killed by) water, in battle, by lightning or by the king (on account of a crime committed by them), do not become impure."\* (Jolly's Translation).

In the *Vaikhāṇasa Smṛiti Sūtra* (5, 11), "the cremation of the dead body of one who dies by fruitless *prayopavesana* is forbidden. The reason for this and other injunctions is that he who commits suicide becomes an *abhisasta*, a great sinner and must suffer the consequences of committing a great

sin. Manu makes an exception for the *Vanaprasthas* or Brahman hermits dwelling in the forest. He provides (6, 31-32):

"Or let him walk, fully determined and going straight on, in a north-easterly direction, subsisting on water and air, until his body sinks to rest. A Brahman, having got rid of his body by one of those modes practised by the great sages, is exalted in the world of Brahman, free from sorrows and fear." (Bühler's translation).

Proceeding to the north-easterly direction while fasting is called *Mahaprasthanā*, great journey or last journey, and the other modes of getting rid of one's body are, 'drowning oneself in a river, precipitating oneself from a mount, burning oneself or starving oneself to death.' Medhatithi, the author of the great commentary (*bhasya*) on the Code of Manu, raises the objection that this rule permitting hermits to commit suicide is opposed to the following direct Vedic injunction:

तस्मादुह न पुरायुषः स्वःकामी प्रयात्

स्वर्गकलोद्देशेनायुषः प्राणयुर्वैशो न कर्तव्यः

—Vijñanesvara

"One should not put himself to death before the end of the natural term of his life for gaining heaven."

In reply to this objection raised by himself, Medhatithi replies that the Vedic injunction against suicide is not applicable to one whose body is reduced to skeleton on account of old age and who knows from his sufferings that his death is near at hand. But the better mind of India could not even tolerate suicide on the part of the decrepit and dying hermits. Raghunandana, the author of the standard digest of Hindu law and usage of Bengal, following Hemadri and Madhava, quotes passages from the *Naradiya* and the *Aditya Puranas* wherein joining the order of the *Vanaprasthas* (hermits in the forest) and *Mahaprasthanā* and other forms of suicide are forbidden in the Kali age. So it will be seen that the Brahman writers beginning with the *Rishi* who saw or composed the Vedic text quoted above and ending with Raghunandana who flourished four centuries before agree, in their disapproval of all forms of suicide including fasting to death.

Mere attempt to commit suicide is declared sinful and penances for attempting suicide in any of the ways referred to above are prescribed in the *Parasarasamhitā* (12, 5-8). Madhava commenting on these stanzas quotes the following stanza from the *Smṛiti* by *Vṛiddha-Parasara*:

अनाशकान्निवृत्तस्य चातुर्वर्त्यव्यवस्थितः ।

चण्डालः स तु विज्ञेयो वर्जनीयः प्रयत्नतः ॥

"When one belonging to one of the four castes gives up the fast (originally undertaken to commit

\* That is, they need not observe *ashaucha*.

suicide), he should be known as a Chandala and carefully avoided.

Such a sinner can only revert to his own caste by performing proper penance."

Professor Westermarck writes on the Muhammadan opinion about suicide :

"Islam prohibits suicide as an act which interferes with the decrees of God. Muhammadans say that it is a greater sin for a person to kill himself than to kill a fellow-man; and, as a matter of fact, suicide is very rare in the Moslem world."

For an exhaustive summary of the views of the Christian European writers of all schools on suicide I should refer the reader to Prof. Westermarck's great work, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*. Westermarck thus sums up the views of the early Christian Fathers :

"This doctrine, which assimilates suicide with murder, was adopted by the Church. Nay, self-murder was declared to be the worst form of murder, 'the most grievous thing of all.' Already St. Chrysostom had declared that 'if it is base to destroy others, much more is it to destroy one's self.' The self-murderer was deprived of rights which were granted to all other criminals .... It was even said that Judas committed a greater sin in killing himself than in betraying his master Christ to a certain death."

European opinion on suicide has undergone considerable change since the days of St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom. The influence of the religious argument that suicide is a sin against the Creator, an illegitimate interference with His work and decrees, is gradually diminishing in strength in Europe. But there is no unanimity among the sociologists relating to the trend of modern European opinion. According to some authorities the intended benefit of others and the despair that may fill his mind serve as a palliation of the wrong which the self-murderer may possibly inflict upon his neighbour.

Mahatma Gandhi's standard of moral judgment of suicide or proposal of suicide is quite different from the Brahmanic, Islamic and Christian standards. He writes, "In any examination of the moral conduct intention is the chief ingredient." Intention is no doubt an ingredient, but a moral judge cannot also ignore the method of giving effect to it. If a surgeon carries on an operation with a rusty knife, he is guilty of criminal negligence. *Satyagraha* may lead to the revival of the old *Dharma*, for *Satyagraha* is nothing but *Dharma* with an altruistic motive.

11. 9. 33.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

"Early Days of Hitler"—A Contradiction

To

The Editor

*The Modern Review*, Calcutta,

Dear Sir,

It is with extreme reluctance that I refer to an article which was given publicity in the "Foreign Periodicals" section of the *Modern Review* for November, 1933, under the title "Early days of Hitler."

I realize that this article is merely a reprint of an article which appeared either in July or August in the *New Statesman and Nation*, an English weekly

with a certain political bias, but in that you qualify the article as of unusual interest and in that the article is scurrilous, I am unable to take the responsibility for omitting to place on record a flat denial of most of the matter contained in it. That the assumptions arrived at are absurd and unreasonable is self-evident. I need only draw attention to the suggestion that the post of dispatch-runner "between regimental headquarters and the front line" was one of comparative safety, to show how grossly biased and unfair such statements are. But the facts themselves are largely either untrue or misrepresented. The then Private Adolf Hitler was decorated as early as autumn 1915 with the 1st as well as the 2nd class of the Iron Cross for a voluntary patrol against the French trenches which was successful in so far as he and another private succeeded in taking prisoner one officer and 20 men on that occasion. He received three other medals for bravery in action. In May 1918 the then N. C. O. Hitler was cited in the regimental orders for extraordinary bravery. He was severely wounded in 1916 and gassed in October 1918.

You may disclaim responsibility for the article referred to, and you may in justice claim that reprints from the English press are of interest to your readers, but unless you reprint articles of opposite intentions of which there were quite a number to be found in English papers—the article of Mr. J. M. Kumarappa in the same issue is the first of its kind and I am grateful to him for his desire to understand and to be just—I do not think that you are justified in including in your paper matter of such scandalous purport. Your responsibilities as one of the leading Indian-owned periodicals in this country are considerable.

This latest publication—as well as the reprint of a story of defaming content referring to the so-called Reichstag fire trial which is pending before the Supreme Court of my country—from the *New Republic*, an American weekly of communistic tendencies—make it rather difficult to resist the belief of those who argue that the *Modern Review*, one of the most highly respected foreign periodicals in my country where it has many readers, did not maintain an open mind regarding matters affecting the beloved head of the government as well as the supreme institution—the Supreme Court—of a nation which always has entertained and—in spite of many misrepresentations—will always entertain the friendliest cultural relations with the people of this country.

I, therefore, request the favour of your giving publicity to this letter, so that those readers who rely on the *Modern Review* for impartial information as to Germany's domestic affairs may not be misled by articles as unfair in assumption as they are untrue in fact.

Faithfully Yours

E. VON SELZAM,

Acting Consul-General for Germany

Calcutta, November 3, 1933.

[Our "Foreign Periodicals" section consists of extracts from the Press of the world. Naturally it is not possible for us to vouch for the accuracy of all the statements contained in them or publish contradictions to them. The exception we have made in this issue should only be taken as emphasizing the rule.—Ed.: M. R.]



# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

**PREHISTORIC INDIA—ITS PLACE IN THE WORLD'S CULTURES:** By Panchanan Mitra, M. A., Premchand Roychand Student and Lecturer in Anthropology, Calcutta University.—Second Edition (Published by the University of Calcutta.)

The book is, as its title indicates, an ambitious one but appears on perusal to be largely a compilation from other authors. Mr. Mitra appears to start with the assumption that similarity in appearance (either design or technique) of stone implements, cave paintings, etc. found in India to those discovered in Europe is sufficient ground for assuming a similarity of age, thus ignoring the fact that in this country there exist at the present day certain tribes who are still in the palaeolithic phase of culture. Only three finds can be actually dated with any degree of accuracy, viz., those from Yenang-yung and from the Nerbada and Godavari river beds in India. In all other cases there is no evidence of the age of the specimens. I am also of opinion that it is a mistake for Mr. Mitra to try and fit the whole of the finds in India into a scheme of classification that is based on the finds and excavations of Western Europe. Where the opinions of previous authors do not coincide with his own, Mr. Mitra at times so far breaks the ordinary rules of scientific controversy as to descend to ridicule.

I notice a number of misprints in the text, and the book—or at least the copy sent to me for review—has been very carelessly bound. Pages 369-376 and Plate XLVI have been bound in twice and pages 377-384 are missing. The arrangement of the plates leaves much to be desired. These are scattered throughout the book and in most cases are not in juxtaposition to the references to them, in consequence when wishing to refer to any one plate one is compelled to search throughout the book for it. It is also unfortunate that while figuring prehistoric stone implements Mr. Mitra gives no indication either in the text or plates, of the size of the object. A great deal more evidence, only obtainable by careful exploration and excavation (and not by the easy method of compiling from various catalogues and abstracts of prehistoric antiquities as done by Mr. Mitra) is necessary before an author can hope

to deal adequately with the subject of prehistoric India.

R. B. SEWELL

**LANDMARKS IN INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1600-1919):** By Gurnukh Nihal Singh, M. Sc. (Econ). *The Indian Book Shop, Benares City. Price Rs. 10. Pages XXX+711.*

The book under review is a useful and important contribution to our none-too-rich constitutional literature. It traces the gradual development of the Indian constitution from the time of the first advent of the British to the time of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919. It does not merely give an outline of the different parliamentary legislations which from time to time changed the governmental arrangement in this country but it describes also the events and forces which led to these changes and modifications. It does not merely place before us a measure as it was finally accepted by the British Parliament but it takes us behind the scenes and acquaints us with a plan when it was first mooted and points out to us the alterations which it subsequently sustained. The book again is not concerned only with the parliamentary enactments. It traces also the history of the local self-governing institutions in India, which were first introduced and later changed and amended by laws made in this country. In short, the distinguished author of this book has made an effort to place before his readers the gradual evolution of every branch of the Indian Administration.

Along with the evolution of the Indian constitutional mechanism, the book has given a detailed but graphic account of the rise and growth of the nationalist movement in India. The author appears to be at his best when he traces this "national development." These chapters are most interesting and scholarly at the same time. They constitute the best written part of the book.

By combining the constitutional history of British India with the history of the nationalist movement the author has indeed responded to the demands of more than one section of the reading public. But

it should be said that he has also increased his difficulties. The national forces of course compel changes in the constitution and as such they have a place in the constitutional history of every country. But it must be admitted that in a treatise on constitutional history such forces have to be dealt with only in a nutshell. There is no opportunity for an elaborate and detailed treatment. The rise of the nationalist movement is more a part of the political history of the country than of the evolution of its constitutional system. By combining the two the author has made it difficult for the students for whom the book is primarily meant, to distinguish the events of mere political significance from those of constitutional importance. There are again some topics which the author has taken care to embody in this work but which are neither a part of the constitutional nor of the national evolution. They are either mere incidents of political history or facts to be enumerated only in a treatise on financial and fiscal questions. The great Delhi Durbar which Lord Curzon organized and held in 1903 on the occasion of the succession of Edward VII to the throne of England and the money so lavishly spent on it are certainly important details of political history but they have no place in the constitutional history. The question of the cotton duties over which Lord Northbrook resigned the Governor-Generalship of India in 1875 should not have been given any prominence by the author while tracing the constitutional development. In course of detailing the history of the local self-governing institutions, the author has again been led into a long discussion of the policy of financial devolution which, advocated earlier, was initiated by Lord Mayo's Government in 1870. The resolution passed by this Government in this connection may have been referred to, as it has some bearing on the Government policy towards local self-government otherwise the whole topic should have been let alone.

The printing and get-up of the book are of the highest order. The work also is a storehouse of information on various topics. Besides advanced students, public men of the country will do well to consult it. It will serve the purpose of an excellent reference book.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

#### HISTORY OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN INDIA *By J. M. Sen.*

The book can rightfully claim the distinction of being, in the field of Indian educational history, a work at once pioneer and aiming to be comprehensive. An earlier book of much smaller size, entitled *Primary Education Acts in India—a Study*, by the same author, showed his keen interest in the subject and his capacity for laborious collection of historical data from various scattered publications. In this book also his old ardour for progress and earnest advocacy of the cause of popular education are in evidence, while there is much more of the spirit of patient and painstaking research and meticulous attention to details than in the smaller volume. The author has, moreover, in this work attempted the difficult task of giving a complete picture of elementary education in India from the earliest times to the present day, and for each province separately. The amount of toil and drudgery that the work entailed must have been enormous, not only in the search for the relevant material but also in the wise selection and

arrangement of the pertinent facts, in their skilful analysis and in the consistent marshalling of such arguments as can be based on them to support his main thesis that, without a resort to compulsion no State can ensure a general diffusion of education among its people.

If one may express any preference for some parts of the book over others, it would appear that of the six chapters the last one is the most thoroughly done, and the third chapter comes next. There is a slight suspicion that the other chapters have been added as an after-thought, being compiled somewhat in haste, and containing, in spite of every care, a few statements that would hardly bear close scrutiny. Occasionally too much reliance has been placed upon one source of information or one set of opinions to the exclusion of other sources or points of view. There is a tendency to scrappiness at times in these other chapters, which more careful investigation and deeper insight into the literature concerned would no doubt rectify. Here and there one also notices a regrettable tendency to undue dogmatism in the statement of debatable historical issues and in the enunciation of undecided social, political or educational doctrines. Wider study and experience and a more acute understanding of the problems involved, it is hoped, would do much to remove this defect.

The book contains 310 pages and has an excellent get-up, but the price of four rupees per copy seems to be too high for the man of average means who is likely to be interested in the book. It would undoubtedly form a valuable addition to the teacher's section of our school and college libraries; and it certainly should also find a place in the lists of books prescribed or recommended for the courses in education at our universities. On the whole, it is written in a clear, concise and easily readable, though somewhat dull and commonplace, style. The general reader too could dip into its pages with some degree of pleasure and profit, although its mass of details may not all be mastered except by careful and constant reading.

The author is to be commended for his energy and fervour in the cause of primary education, which have led him to write and speak for the last ten years and more on the subject dear to his heart and which are so forcibly displayed in the book under review.

J. N. GHOSH

#### THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S REVIEW OF EUROPE TODAY: *By G. D. H. Cole, Reader in Economics, University of Oxford and Member of the Economic Advisory Council and Margaret I. Cole, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 6s. net. pp. 864.*

The book is divided into six parts; 1. Historical Outline, 2. The Countries of Europe, 3. Economic Conditions in Europe, 4. European Political Systems, 5. European International Relations, and 6. The European Outlook. Eight maps are given and the usefulness of the book is enhanced by a bibliography and an index at the end. Thirty-eight tables, charts and diagrams are included.

The book is a storehouse of information and facts and is bound to prove very helpful to a student of modern economic conditions of the world and specially of the European countries. The subject-matter has been presented with an honesty of purpose that is refreshing; facts and tendencies have been set forth as objectively as possible. A serious student

of Internationalism can hardly find fault with the conclusions of the authors that "the disease from which the world is suffering is not a disease of each separate country but of the whole world, and demands a cure that can be applied only by courageous action on a world-wide scale."

The Indian problem, being outside the scope of the book, has naturally not been dealt with adequately. We, however, are tempted to quote the following lines from the brief note on India as illustrating how others, serious but unbiased people, see us:

"The rise of Indian Nationalism and the still unsolved problems which a new Indian Constitution presents have raised acute issues for the British economic system as well as for the British Empire as a political unit." "The Die-hards in Great Britain wish so to crush the Indian Nationalist movement so as to keep the Indian market open to British goods by force; but the majority of British politicians and the exporters interested in the Indian trade strongly doubt the practicability of this course, and therefore favour more conciliatory methods. It remains to be seen whether the Round Table Conferences and the further discussions now in progress for the elaboration of a new Indian Constitution will result in a working compromise. They may do so; for the Indians neither possess at present the coherent power required for open rebellion, nor agree in desiring an absolute and immediate withdrawal of the British. The Indians want self-government; but they are prepared to compromise if Great Britain will meet them half-way, and Indian opinion is so divided, especially over the differences between Mohammedans and Hindus, as to make at least a temporary compromise more likely than an open rupture, unless Great Britain becomes involved in a new European war. Moreover, the position of the Indian princes, who have no desire for democratic institutions to be installed in their territories under the regis of the Indian Nationalist movement, strengthens Great Britain in resisting the claims of the more intransigent Indian Nationalists. Nor can it be forgotten that Indian Nationalism is torn asunder by conflicting class interests as well as by racial and religious differences. The Indian Nationalist cotton employers have no desire to unloose among their exceedingly ill-paid workers forces too strong to be controlled; and this is a further factor making on the side of at least a temporary compromise."

N. B. M.

ST. ANSELM, A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY: By Joseph Clayton, F. R. Hist. S. Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1933. Price \$ 1.75.

Mr. Clayton has done useful work by giving to the English-speaking public the first complete biography of Anselm of Canterbury written in the light of modern research. This son of a Lombard nobleman, whose only ambition was to spend his life in study, was successively abbot of a great monastery in Normandy, and archbishop of Canterbury. He is one of the greatest figures of the Middle Ages, and a perusal of the work of Mr. Clayton will enable many to get a clearer idea of this period of history, about which so much has been written and which is still so little known. As a churchman and statesman, Anselm appears before us a champion of the rights of the people, as a defender of liberty against royal absolutism, and his defence was no mere lip-service, since we read that he suffered exile twice on that account. As a scholar,

philosopher and theologian he is the connecting link between the earlier Christian writers, especially Augustine, and the great Scholastics of the XIIIth century. Mr. Clayton gives a short but illuminating account not only of his life and labours, but also of his chief literary works, to which he consecrates two chapters. His work does not pretend to be more than a popular, if critical, biography for the general public, but we hope that he will some day give us the result of his researches in a more developed work.

C. GILLET

ELEMENTARY THEORY AND PRACTICE OF COMMERCE: By Sohrab R. Davar, Barrister-at-Law, Principal and Founder of Davars' College of Commerce.

This book has been written for students preparing for commercial and technical diploma examinations and covers a wide range of subjects. It deals with business correspondence, import and export trade, bills of exchange, banking, insurance, postal services etc. All important points, which one is likely to come across in the actual conduct of business, have been lucidly explained. In addition to commercial students it will prove very useful to business executives as a handy book of reference.

BANKS AND THE MONEY MARKET: By Prof. B. Ram Chandra Rau of the Departments of Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University.

The book is divided into two parts, the first part contains four lectures delivered by the author before the Institute of Bankers (Calcutta Centre) and the second part is a reprint of eight articles contributed by him in different periodicals.

The first part, namely, the four lectures, can be said to be directly connected with the title of the book, and the appendices, except in an indirect way, do not deal with the money markets of the country.

Indian economic literature is especially poor in depicting the function of banks and other agencies which are termed collectively as the money market. Dr. Rau's contribution will be useful in explaining the operations of the money market which are vaguely understood by many.

It is an accepted truth that without a Central Reserve Bank, regulating our currency and credit needs, order cannot be evolved out of the chaotic banking conditions of the country. The New Reserve Bank Bill is expected to be passed in the next session of the legislature.

Though a Banking Enquiry Committee was appointed after the withdrawal of the first Bill, and it reported before the second bill was introduced, yet the fact remains that this report has been virtually ignored in framing the new Bill.

It looks as if it is the intention of the authorities to reduce the influence of the people of India in the management and policy of the Reserve Bank to the minimum. Under the plea of reducing political control of the Indian people, the control of the Secretary of State, through the Viceroy, is sought to be tightened. Change in the exchange ratio will require the sanction of the Viceroy and as such sanction will require the consent of the British Cabinet through the Secretary of State for India, it is anticipated that the present artificial exchange ratio, which is extremely disturbing to the commercial and financial well-being of the country, will remain a disturbing factor.

It is not so much to the letter of the law, but the spirit in which the Reserve Bank will operate that



the future development of Indian Banking will depend. The feeling of distrust of Indians is predominant among the British governing classes. This has led to devising safe-guards after safe-guards which take away with one hand what is offered by the other. In such an atmosphere it is difficult to anticipate that the Reserve Bank, the establishment of which has been declared a condition precedent to grant of responsible government, will be amenable to Indian opinion.

In other countries central banks have rendered valuable service because they safe-guard the interest of only one party, namely, the nationals of the country. In India, on the other hand, the interest of foreigners and nationals have always clashed and if the Reserve Bank is dominated by non-nationals, the interest of the nationals is bound to suffer.

The author in the preface has remarked that "suggestions and new views are given in the final chapter which will repay study by the most experienced bankers, economists and business men." It is after all a matter of opinion and might have been left unsaid. Whether lectures one, two and three contain a "lucid description of the ideal money market and the features of our money markets" that also might have been left to the judgment of the reader. We have felt, in going through the book, that whenever the author has strayed from facts into realms of academic speculation, his exposition have lost a great deal of their lucidity.

J. C. SEN

ALBERT THE GREAT: *By Hieronymus Wilms, O. P. Burns Oates and Washbourne.*

It is difficult for us of the twentieth century to think our way back into the sympathetic understanding of great mediaeval saints for two reasons. In the first place, many of their fundamental presuppositions about life and truth are clashing inharmonious with the spirit of today; and secondly, we are fatuously convinced that no real enlightenment ever came to the mind of man before the Great War. Accordingly, it is with a certain effort of the mind and even of the will that we turn to a life of Albert the Great, the thirteenth century German saint and philosopher. But there is that in the book which will reward the effort.

Seldom can one so happily combine the two most common meanings of the word "catholic" as in the case of Albert. The amazing catholicity of his intellect, which ranged through and made important and original contributions to the fields of theology, philosophy, biology, zoology, psychology, and even geography, is exceeded only by the devout catholicism of his spirit. He was one of those rare men in whom what the French call an *idée fixe* (the final and unquestionable truth of the Christian dispensation as revealed in the creeds and councils of the Catholic Church) seemed only to liberate the spirit of inquiry, and never to restrain it.

If one is to select from the intellectual and spiritual treasures he bequeathed to the world, he will probably choose his service in reawakening the thinking of the Church to the importance and meaning of the philosophy of Plato, which had for centuries been obscured and nearly lost. And second would come the fact that he was the teacher and spiritual father of Thomas Aquinas, the outstanding figure of scholastic theology. But these high-points should never be allowed to detract from his bequests in many other fields.

Albert, among other things, was a devout member of the Dominican Order and, for a short time, a diocesan bishop. He was an appallingly prolific writer, an untiring preacher, and an indefatigable minister of souls. And, in accordance with the spirit of his Order, he was a great devotee of poverty. The type of life he lived, the kind of thoughts he thought, and the inner spirit he maintained, leave us wondering about the relative illumination of our own time and the so-called Dark Ages.

As for the technique of the book, it is a little uninspiring. Brought into English through Adrian O. P. and Philip Hereford, it is spotty and at times exceedingly dull, but such was the greatness of Albert that on almost every page a commanding personality comes through to us. Not many laymen, and certainly not many non-Christians will wish to read the whole book. But Mediaevalists, students of comparative religion, and devout Christians will find in it interest sufficient to hold them from beginning to end.

FRENCH SHORT STORIES *Selected and Translated by K. Rebillon Lambley. World's Classics Oxford University Press.*

It is not by accident that French literature is uniquely rich in superior short stories, for the genius of the short story is the genius of the French language, namely, clarity. In the history of human tongues no sharper chisel has been forged than French, and in the history of the short story no greater single treasure has been accumulated than by the French.

Mr. Lambley should be praised principally for his skill in preserving in the English something of the pithy sententiousness which characterized these stories in their original medium. He has given us twenty-one little vignettes of Gallic terseness, ranging in their dates of writing from the early eighteenth century to the immediately pre-war years.

Warning should be given to the prurient. There is very little in these stories which is related in any way to *La Vie Parisienne*. In fact (and little more could be said) they are as far remote from that journal as that journal is from French life as a whole. And when they go beyond French life, as in Theophile Gautier's "The Pavilion by the Lake" (which is Chinese) or Louis Pergaud's "The Punishment of the Usurper" (which is ornithological), they do not go beyond French literary canons.

In the translation of one of Anatole France's stories, "Mademoiselle Roxane", we come across a few lines which leave us wondering whether the original French could have been as graceful. ".....I found myself in the street with my dear Master on a wonderfully sweet summer night, that made me realize the truth of the old myths about the loves of Diana, and feel that it is natural to devote the silent, silvery hours to love. I made this remark to the abbe, who replied that love is the source of much evil." This partakes of something beyond merely mechanical translation, and it can fairly be said that, in so doing, it is representative of the work.

FRANK C. BANCROFT, JR.

SHRI SAI BABA OF SHIRDI - A GLIMPSE OF INDIAN SPIRITUALITY: *By Rao Bahadur M. W. Pradhan, J. P., and edited by R. A. Turkhud, B.Sc. Pp. 42. Price Re. 1 England 1s. 6d. America 35 cents.*

The author of these 42 pages is a Rao Bahadur and a Justice of the Peace and was a Member of the Legislative Council, Bombay Government (?).

The book has an introduction by the Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Khaparde, Member of the Council of State, India, and a foreword by the editor. There is an appendix by the author and an "Appeal to the Tourists of the West" by the editor. There are six illustrations in the book and it is dedicated to a High Court Judge. But the main theme of the book, viz., the life of the 'saint' whose name has given its title to it is confined to 26 pages (pp. 13-38) only.

It is apparently the biography of a 'saint,' who was regarded by men like the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde as 'God on earth' (p. 3). A saint's life is generally eventless and hence the story of this life also is briefly told. A man whose ashes even are worshipped and the water of whose bath was drunk with avidity (p. 32), must have something extraordinary about him to induce this attitude in others. In commenting on a matter like this, one has either to be frankly scientific, in which case he cannot help giving offence to the adorers of the saint, or, he must maintain an attitude of unquestioning faith, in which case perhaps he is untrue to himself. The wisest thing, therefore, is to refrain from making any comment whatsoever.

The book is written in a somewhat flamboyant style; and phrases have weighed more with the author than facts. The author (or authors) appears to expect a sale throughout the English-speaking world and has taken pains to note on the title-page the exchange value of the rupee.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**CARTELS AND TRUSTS:** By Dr. Roman Piotrowski. Allen and Unwin, pp. 376. Price. 15s.

This book may be described as a learned polemic, and though of value to the scholar, the general reader is likely to be frightened and bewildered by the numerous footnotes and the fierceness of the wordy war which the author carries on against those who differ from him. Dr. Piotrowski devotes seventy-five pages of his introduction to discussing what exactly is a *Kartell* (translated in English Cartel). The word 'cartel' is found in common use in German, French and English during the sixteenth century as a technical word describing the process of an exchange of prisoners of war; on the other hand, the word may very well be derived from the German verb *Karten* meaning to plan. Dr. Piotrowski unfortunately does inform the reader of the root of the word, but mentions that it was first used in the German Reichstag in 1879 in the course of a debate, when the problem of "dumping" in the railways was under discussion. Roughly speaking one may say that it means an agreement for modifying unlimited competition. Certain writers regard *Kartelle* as a German invention, introduced in modern business, but the theme of the book is that monopolistic efforts have been found in every trading community in the past, and that nowadays such efforts are done on a larger and often more successful scale.

The most exciting part of the book is where the author discusses the position of the Jews as traders. King Solomon certainly arranged monopolies, and the Jews in the Middle Ages often managed to get certain monopolies, but this was hardly their fault. The theory of the Just Price, that there was a certain price fair to both buyer and seller, and that interest should not be charged on money loans, since these were contracted only to meet misfortunes,

severely restricted the actions of the Christians. The Jews, however, not being Christians naturally escaped Christian rules, and as they were excluded from everything except trade they naturally became successful traders. Dr. Piotrowski enters with joy into the almost sanguinary battle between Professor Bretano and Professor Sombart as to the part played by Jews in the rise of Capitalism, and therefore in the rise of modern capitalistic effort. His main argument emerges gradually from his historical examples and excited comments, which the translator, Mr. William J. Peace, emphasizes with exclamation marks. Throughout the ages attempts have been made to check monopolies, but such attempts have always failed.

"For thousands of years continually persecuted with the heaviest penalties, capital punishment not being excluded, they (monopolies) did not disappear, but continually increased in number. And how could it be otherwise. The defence of free competition entailed the maintenance of monopolies. As long as we accept free competition, monopolistic combinations of competitors become inevitable."

The above quotation is a very fair summary of the past, and possibly also of the future. Indeed it is difficult to see how monopolies under the present system can be avoided. At present all big businesses need credit, and credit is in the hands of the banks, who therefore may be said to possess a stronghold on productive industry. Monopolies are an obvious advantage to whoever can control them, and since the banks possess both the interest to create the monopolies, and also the means to enforce them it is hardly to be wondered at if monopolies exist. By the granting or withholding of credits the banks can easily create monopolies, and therefore the conclusion would seem to be that, if one wishes to control monopolies in the interest of the consumer, one must control the banks.

**SOME ERRORS OF H. G. WELLS:** By Richard Downey. Published by Burns Oates and Washbourne, pp. 70. Price one shilling.

This pamphlet is a new and enlarged edition of a pamphlet written by the present Archbishop of Liverpool attacking Mr. H. G. Wells's well-known *Outline of History*. It was inevitable that Mr. Wells, who is certainly not omniscient, should be guilty of various errors in his history of the world, and Dr. Downey points out some of them. The real point at issue is whether Mr. Wells is competent to write about the position of organized religion in history on account of what are termed "his preconceived philosophical and religious notions." On the one hand, one may regret any tendency on the part of an objective historian to allow his personal feelings to influence his interpretation of events, but one must remember that only a person of strong character with a belief in his own ideas and abilities would have the courage to attempt such a herculean task. One should also remember that Dr. Downey is himself the able representative of an interested party, namely, the Roman Catholic Church, and may himself be accused of partiality on account of "preconceived philosophical and religious notions." One may say, therefore, that Dr. Downey shows that Mr. Wells is not infallible, but it is doubtful whether his pamphlet will seriously diminish the reputation of the *Outline of History*.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

# INDIAN AND CHINESE LABOUR IN THE AGRICULTURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

## EUROPEAN CAPITAL AND ASIATIC LABOUR

**I**N the Malaya Peninsula, the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines a sprinkling of European capitalists and overseers and the more energetic Chinese immigrants dominate commerce and industrialism. The Philippines do not permit any more Chinese to come there, for which reason the natural resources are very largely undeveloped because of the scarcity of labour. There are about 45,000 Chinese in the islands, and these in the main control industrial interests. Sugar-cane and coffee in Java, tobacco in Sumatra, rubber, spices and gums in Singapore are all grown under European financiers and managers, employing mainly Chinese labourers with skilled European overseers. Many of these products may be found in many lands, and, indeed, their region may possibly include the equatorial rain belt which encircles the world. But the kind of efficient and continuous labour supply which South-East Asia will provide is bound to locate the great tropical industries in India, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies.

## INDIAN AND CHINESE EMIGRATION TO BURMA

There is a considerable amount of emigration, especially, from South India to Burma.\* Of the total population, about 850,000 were Indians and 150,000 Chinese in 1921. In 1931 the Indians numbered 1,017,825 and Chinese 193,594. During the period 1907-1927 more than 6,500,000 immigrants entered Burma but many left her shores. About 1,300,000 became permanent settlers. Out of the total labouring population the Indians contributed 55 and the native races 36 p. c. in 1921. The Oriyas and Telugus are engaged mostly in unskilled labour, while the Bengali and Chittagonian and Muhammadans and the Chinese participate in both skilled

and unskilled labour. The Chinese work mostly in the silver and lead mines of Namtu and at the ruby mines of Mogok, and are engaged in small trade and handicrafts throughout Burma. Dudley Stamp observes: "Except on the frontier to the north-east, where Yunnanese and Chinese coolies are found as well as merchants, the Chinese belong to the artisan and merchant classes. In Rangoon the Chinese Chamber of Commerce has been sufficiently powerful absolutely to prevent the immigration of Chinese coolies or labourers, so that one never finds in Rangoon a Chinese in competition with an Indian coolie. Instead they form a distinctly higher substratum of society quite definitely marked."\* The Indians are settled chiefly in the delta regions, in Arakan and along the rivers and railway lines, supplying all the coolie labour in Burma except in the remoter districts, and working on the land in favourable areas. Many of the Indian and Chinese families are permanently settled in the timber-yards, tin and silver mines, and oil-fields of Burma, while others go backwards and forwards at very cheap rates to and from their homes in India and China. The conflict between the Andhra coolies and Burman labourers on the termination of a strike of shipping labour on May, 1930, in Rangoon led to loss of life on both sides, and the bitterness arising out of economic competition between Burman and imported labour does not augur well for the future of Indian labour in Burma. Many of the Indians as do not belong to the richer class of money-lenders and traders cultivate the soil in the interior, especially in Lower Burma, where the rice holdings of the Burmans are so large that a steady flow of immigrant Indian labour is maintained at each harvest season. In Pegu,

\* Dudley Stamp: Burma: An undeveloped monsoon country, *The Geographical Review*, January, 1930.

\* Census Reports of Burma, 1921 and 1931.



Amherst and also in the Delta Districts, the Indian labourers with the help of the Chettiars, have attained the position of landlords and are wealthy enough to employ numerous tenants and labourers including Burmans and Indians.\* As they are more hardworking and less extravagant in their habits they sometimes buy off the Burman peasants and become rural money-lenders. These are apt to excite indignation, especially in times of agrarian distress, which explains murderous attacks on Indians in certain districts in Burma.† On account of both agricultural depression and sense of insecurity, the total number of immigrants in Burma diminished from 418,698 in 1928 to 368,590 in 1931, while the number of emigrants increased from 333,006 to 399,276. For the first time since 1917 emigrants exceeded immigrants in Burma.

#### CHINESE DOMINANCE IN THE EAST INDIES.

While in Java with Madura, there is a population of 41,719,524 (a density of 817 persons per sq. mile), in Sumatra, Celebes, Dutch Borneo and the rest of the Archipelago the population is 19,011,501, the total density of Dutch East Indies being only 82.8 persons per sq. mile. The opening up of the low-lying virgin jungle in Borneo and Sumatra is in the main the work of the Javanese colonists. In the Medan area of Sumatra opposite Penang, some of the largest and most modern rubber plantations in the Netherlands East Indies are to be found, and these depend in the main on contract labour recruited in and conveyed from and back to Java. In Java there is if anything a superabundance of cheap, free and industrious labour from the villages. In fact, the Javanese government is anxious to encourage emigration from over-populated districts in Java to Sumatra and Celebes, but its efforts have not been successful. There is a large immigrant population in Java represented by the Chinese, Arabs and, to an important extent, Indians. Most of these are engaged in trade but many of the Chinese are also skilled artisans,

agriculturists and gardeners.\* In Sumatra, however, there is a real shortage of labour, and the labour supply is the bottle-neck of all development in the larger and potentially richer Island.† Such shortage of labour has not been met by the immigration on a large scale of Asiatic labour though the Chinese and Indians have penetrated everywhere in the mainland of South-East Asia. The Arabs and Chinese have long been settled round the Sumatra coast where there were once colonies of Bengalis and Klings. The Hindu-Javanese colonists were also established for trading purposes at an early date in Palembang and Jambi. But the Hindu-Javanese influence was little felt in many regions, and even Islamic culture failed to penetrate into the interior of Sumatra. A few Indians are now found here and there engaged in retail trade and money-lending. In Dutch Borneo the Klings of Madras have established themselves in the small trade of the towns, as well as on the plantations. Bali and Western Lombok are inhabited by descendants of the Hindu-Javanese and there is a handful of Indians in these islands. Slight intermarriage exists between Indian settlers and the Malayas. Thus a rather recent Hindu strain is evident in Java, strongly in parts of Bali, in some districts in Sumatra and others of the western islands of the Malaya Archipelago. The Chinese, however, have been found in much larger numbers on the frontiers of cultivation in these tropical islands. The official estimate (1920) of Chinese population in Dutch East Indies was 770,103. In Java and Sumatra they numbered 463,000 and 223,000 in the same census respectively. In 1930 the Chinese numbered 583,360 out of a total of 41,719,524. In the outer provinces (census of 1930) the Europeans were 48,754. Natives were 18,253,531, the Chinese were 650,496 and the other Asiatics were 58,720, of whom the Indians numbered 27,638.‡ Everywhere the Chinese have acquired economic dominance by peaceful penetration.

\* Peace Handbooks, Vol. XIV, No. 82, p. 54.

† Ormsby Gore : Report on Malaya, Ceylon and Java, p. 121.

‡ The number of foreign Asiatics in the Dutch East Indies increased from 287,890 in 1870 to 519,365 in 1900 and 1,053,120 in 1927.

\* A. Narayan Rao : *Contract Labour in Burma*, pp. 38-46.

† India in 1930-31, p. 136.

They are the best agriculturists, the best carpenters and smiths, the principal merchants, vendors, tailors, water carriers, and porters. They work and own mines, tobacco and pepper plantations and also engage themselves in retail trade. The agricultural improvement of West Borneo is due chiefly to the Chinese. Trade in many of the islands of the Dutch East Indies could not be carried on for a single day without the Chinese middlemen. Both the Arab and Indian immigrants also carry on small trade. The former intermarry with the natives and are gradually assimilated by the native society. The Malayas and to some extent the Indians do the fishing and small maritime trade. The former are also woodmen exploring the forest in search of its natural products, raisins, gutta-percha, India-rubber, oil-seeds, etc., but the Chinese are beyond doubt the most active, industrious, and enterprising elements in the population and, foremost in the inveterate vice of opium smoking, cause more money to circulate than the more sober Malayas, Javanese or Indians. In British North Borneo, while the Europeans and the Eurasians numbered 533 and 213 respectively in the census of 1921, the Chinese numbered 37,856, distributed amongst a variety of occupations. The Indians numbered only 1,200. In Brunei the Chinese numbered 1,434, and the Indians 37 only in the same census. The total population in British North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei has been estimated at not more than 900,000. The entire trade is in the hands of the Chinese, with the exception of the Chartered Companies, as the Borneo Company, which holds several important mineral and commercial trusts. Europeans cannot possibly compete with Chinamen in small trades and industries, the latter easily penetrate the interior and grow rich by exchanging articles of scant value but appreciated by the natives for valuable forest produce.

#### EARLY INDIAN INFLUENCE IN MALAYA

This leads us to a very significant feature of economic life in the region, *viz.*, the imperceptible and yet relentless conflict between Chinese and Indian labour. The Malaya Peninsula is the dividing line

between the Indian and Chinese seas and the Indian and Chinese races; consequently, in the Straits Settlements the Indians and Chinese are found meeting on Malayan ground.

Indian colonization and settlement in Malaya were far more ancient and historic than Chinese. The earliest stone temples in Java date as early as the fifth century A.D., and are early Dravidian in type. From ancient times the Malaya Archipelago came under the missionary influence of Buddhism. Mahayana Buddhism and the use of Sanskrit were introduced from Northern India in the eighth century, and during the succeeding century Java reached its apogee as regards indigenous culture and development. In the seventh century there also flourished in Sumatra the kingdom of Sri Vijaya, Buddhist in faith, which was the centre of Malayan expansion. Later the Javanese Hindu empire of Majapahit was extended not merely over Java but over other parts of the Archipelago and even to Singapore in the fourteenth century. In the same century, Malacca rose to importance as a port, and became the quasi-capital of the peninsula under Hindu influence. The Hindu influence in Malaya and the cocoa-nut-clad islands (*narikela dwip*) of the Pacific was the result less of conquest and more of settlement of Indian merchants and traders along the entire sea-route between India and the Spice Islands. The route lay through South of Sumatra and Java, and through the straits of Bali to the Spice Islands, which remained till the Middle Ages as the outpost of Indian civilization in the Far East. It is well known that the trade in nut-meg, clove and pepper was the chief source of wealth of Hindu merchants in medieval Asia. Further east, in Indo-China the advent of the Hindus was even much earlier. Thus the Hindus established two colonies at the beginning of the Christian era—one in the south-eastern corner of Indo-China (the Champa), and the other on the lower Meakong. They were both absorbed, though a few survivors still retain their national characteristics under the name of Chams.\* The Arabs arrived in this region

\* Peace Handbooks, Vol. XIII, (1); French Indio-China, No. 78, p. 7.

from the Yemen and the Hadramaut and established their influence in Achin and the northern part of Malaya by the fourteenth century. The European navigators reached the eastern seas in the sixteenth century. Gradually the Hindu traders were superseded by the Arab, Portuguese, Dutch and British merchants, while the importance of the spice trade in the Archipelago has now greatly declined as compared with the trade in the minerals and tropical raw materials.

#### CHINESE DOMINANCE BEGINS

Throughout long centuries, the Chinese played an insignificant part in the development of wealth and commerce of the East Indies. It was not before the foundation of Malacca, Penang and Singapore under the European suzerainty that the Chinese began to migrate to Malaya. But of recent years Chinese immigration has far exceeded that from India, and has reached formidable dimensions as the following table shows :

#### CHINESE IMMIGRATION INTO BRITISH MALAYA

Year.	Number.	Percentage of	
		Increase.	Decrease.
1919	70,912	+21.4	
1920	126,077	+77.8	
1921	191,043	+51.5	
1922	132,886		-30.4
1923	159,019	+19.6	
1924	181,430	+14.1	
1925	214,692	+18.3	
1926	348,000	+61.6	
1927	359,000	+ 3.1	
1929	293,167		-18.3
1930	242,149		-17

#### CHINESE AND INDIAN ACTIVITIES IN MALAYA

Thousands of Chinese are employed in the tin mines of Perak, Seremban and Selangor, (Malaya Peninsula) and Maliwun (Burma), the gold mines of Borneo and the French coal mines in Tonquin and Annam, but their energies are not confined to one channel. In 1927 Chinese supplies of tin from Malaya were about 56 per cent and European supplies 44 per cent. They not only work, but are owners of most of the mines. They own also timber yards and rubber estates, while they have also been the

pioneers of manufacturing enterprises in Singapore. They are the principal importers of all kinds of goods, the chief shopkeepers, house builders, artisans, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, cart-drivers, rickshaw pullers, domestic servants, laundry men. A few thousands are engaged in cultivation, and recently the experiment has been made of importing the Chinese with their families to form agricultural colonies. The immigrants who are nearly all Chinese or Indians, though there is a small element of Javanese, provide practically the whole of the labour force, since the native Malayas will seldom enter into long or permanent engagements. The Europeans are, as a rule, Government servants or planters, and the Eurasians and Indians are employed chiefly as clerks, or in the lower grades of the Government service. The majority of the Indians, Tamils, from Southern India, are, however, employed on the rubber estates or in the construction of railways and other public works. The Tamils make the best and careful tappers, and, in fact, the rubber industry of Malaya is dependent on the continuance of a stream of voluntary labour passing backwards and forwards between Madras and Negapatam in India and Malayan ports.\* It has been estimated that 60 per cent of the estate population is Indian, 25 per cent Chinese, and the remainder as yet to attract a sufficient number of Indian families, since the wage rates hardly sufficed for family subsistence and the Indian women cannot obtain on the estates certain amenities of life which they need. During recent years the number of Chinese employed on the estates in Malaya has been on the increase. In one estate, Negri Sembilan, the number of Chinese rose from 15,075 in 1916 to 22,261 in the following year. The Chinese have during the last few decades emigrated in far greater numbers than the Indians and are now the dominant race in the Straits Settlements, outnumbering by far the original Malaya inhabitants. In 1926-27 there was a net increase in the Chinese population of British Malaya of over one-quarter of a million. Formerly only a certain proportion of the

\* Ormsby Gore : Report on Malaya, Ceylon and Java.



Chinese immigrants remained in the country but now the tendency is for the Chinese to settle permanently in Malaya.\*

#### CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CHINESE AND THE INDIANS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

As traders and workmen they are everywhere to the fore, while the Indians, mostly Tamils, are chiefly employed as estate coolies or on the construction of railways and other public works in Malaya, Borneo and the Dutch East Indies. A few are employed as school masters and as clerks, while the Sikhs are largely found in Malaya as policemen and drivers of bullock-carts. The money-lenders and small shop-keepers of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies also come from India, especially Bombay and Madras. A considerable number of South Indians is also to be found in the adjoining French territory of Indo-China. The number of Indians is estimated at 6,000. The Chettis from Southern India along with the Chinese middlemen, finance agricultural operations, while the Parsis from Bombay are engaged in import trade. The Chinese, however, far outnumber the Indians. They are 560,000 in Indo-China, where they do not come to work in the plantations or rice-fields but have acquired a practical monopoly in the pepper and market-gardening in all branches of small trade and are taking an increasing share in manufacturing enterprise. Transport is also their monopoly in Cochin China where traffic is almost entirely by water. They are also artisans and handicraftsmen, while they are to be found in every stage of trade from the small pedlar to the commission agent for the big French exporting firms. "The sales of Cochin China rice, of fish and Cambodian skins and of such local products as cinnamon in Annam are entirely in their hands."† In the whole of south-eastern Asia, the Chinese very much outnumber the Indians who are relegated to the ranks of unskilled labour and less remunerative lines of occupation. In Siam the pure-blooded Chinese number 500,000,

the Chinese and half-Chinese representing one-fifth of the total population. As many as 1,39,612 Chinese arrived at the port of Bangkok in 1927-28 as compared with only 279 Indians. The total number of Indians is estimated at only 5,000.\* The Chinese penetrate everywhere in Siam, but are found mostly in the cities. Bangkok, the capital, has about one-third Chinese. In Siam as in Malaya, Borneo, Cochin China and Cambodia where Chinese agriculturists are not very numerous they have, however, contributed materially to agricultural prosperity by their cultivation of special crops and garden vegetables in which they have a practical monopoly. In fact throughout this region the Chinese have penetrated everywhere as the pioneer planter, market-gardener, the skilled artisan, the entrepreneur, and the contract or capitalist with his Kongsai or guild, and their role in the countries' economic development has been the same as in British Malaya and the Straits Settlements. The clearing of the forests, the sawing of timber, are the works of the Chinese in Burma or Siam, in Sumatra or Borneo. The skilled artisans of the railway workshops, the vegetable gardeners, the pioneers of rubber planting, the entrepreneurs of industrial manufacture in Singapore and rice manufacture in Cochin China and the Philippines are Chinese. Mulberry-cultivation, pepper, fish and market-gardening are entirely in the hands of the Chinese in Cochin China and Cambodia, and, indeed, in most parts of South-East Asia. They have a practical monopoly of transport in the Mekong delta and have worked up sea-fishing as an important industry in Java. A great portion of the international trade in Malaya, Dutch East Indies, Indo-China and the Philippines is in the hands of the Chinese who are to be found as pedlars, grocers, wholesale merchants and commission agents of British, Dutch, French or American exporting firms. Where the Chinese do not produce by offering facilities of credit they control production. Thus life in South-East

\* E. S. Parker: *The Economy of Chinese Labour*, *The Economic Journal*, June, 1904.

† Etienne Dennerly: *Asia's Teeming Millions*, p. 142.

\* Statistical Year Book of the Kingdom of Siam, 1927-28, p. 44. Dr. Lanka Sundaram, however, puts down 100,000 as the total strength of Indians in Siam on the basis of a rough estimate of the British Consulate.

Asia has been transformed and dominated by the varied energy of the Chinese. "Nowhere, however, is the passionate individualism, the industry, the ambition, the adaptability, the inherent acquisitiveness, the self-reliance of all classes and types of Chinese more clearly demonstrated than in Malaya."\* Sir Hesketh Bell truly observes: "In Tonking, Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Burma and Malaya a peaceful, unarmed host of sturdy toilers is gradually spreading from the poverty-stricken, overcrowded region of China into every district in which work and profit are to be found. Such steady infiltration is progressing almost imperceptibly and it is difficult to see where it will stop. It seems probable that the present rulers of all countries in the Indo-China and Malayan peninsula, and perhaps even further will awaken one day to find themselves peacefully replaced by the overwhelming numbers, wealth and all-pervading influence of the invaders."†

If the Indian immigrants be compelled by economic pressure and competition with the Chinese to occupy only the lower rungs of the economic ladder in Malaya, Indo-Chinese

and East Indies, the necessity for finding outlets for them in South and East Africa will be realized all the more.

The great current of migration which has been flowing in recent years from South-East China and India to the rapidly developing tropical regions of Burma, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and, less important at present, Indo-China and the Philippines has received a set-back due to the agricultural depression and fall of prices of rubber, coffee, and tea in particular. The net gain of Burma immigration in the year 1928 was 418,700, but by 1931 there was a net loss by emigration of about 66,000. Similarly the Straits Settlements which showed a net gain by immigration in 1926 of 336,916 showed a net loss of 123,652 by emigration in 1930. The following table shows the decline of net immigration in South-East Asia during the years of agricultural depression which have also seen measures of restrictions by all the Governments concerned.

	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
Straits Settlements	336,916	271,478	118,166	190,803	2,328	215,021
*Dutch Indies	39,411	43,565	45,128	39,806	34,741	
Ceylon	33,819	69,075	55,808	3,831		31,581
Indo-China	19,407	32,026	30,879	29,397	17,597	
Philippines	12,470	12,274	9,982	8,499		

\* Ormsby Gore: Report on Malaya, Ceylon and Burma; and Etienne Denery: *Asia's Teeming Millions*, Ch. V.

† Foreign Colonial Administration in the Far East, pp. 92-93, 216-218.

\* No figures of emigration exist.

† India in 1930-31, p. 62.

## HOW BRITISH IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA IS CARRIED ON

BY AN INDIAN IN LONDON

**A**BOUT three years ago many letters appeared in the correspondence columns of the British press complaining about the lack of British propaganda concerning India. It was pointed out that the Britishers had a good case, but owing to their apathy it was not being presented to the world. The complaints were bitter about the United States particularly; it was said that a number of Indians and Americans had been poisoning the minds of the American public against Britain.

John Bull once roused to the importance of this field of activity organized it with thorough efficiency. The *London Times* published three articles from the pen of Mr. Edward Thompson criticizing J. W. Hall's

*Eminent Asians* and Dr. Sunderland's *India in Bondage*. These two books had been widely read in America and were supposed to have done a great deal of harm. The attack was particularly directed against the latter, and by pointing out two or three minor inaccuracies of dates, a perfectly sound book was shown to be unreliable. These articles were printed in a pamphlet form and circulated in America in large quantities, and a reprint was issued. At the time it appeared as if these articles would have no effect in changing American opinion, but gradually British propaganda has percolated and one hears little nowadays about American support for India.

The late Mr. V. J. Patel on his return

from the United States pointed out in an address in London the widespread nature of the misrepresentation of India in that country. He said that since 1919 no less than 1100 British lecturers had visited the States. Their avowed purpose was to bring about the union of English-speaking people, but their main object was to point out the excellence of the British Empire and the benefits it had rendered to the subject races. Mr. Patel urged Indians to take steps to counteract this insidious and persistent propaganda. During the last three years the number of British unofficial ambassadors to the States has increased. One reads a short report of a speech by Sir John Simon or Lord Reading which gives no idea of the harm which these accomplished diplomats do to the cause of India abroad.

More subtle propaganda is done through receptions and parties. An average person would not realize that better work can be done at a small dinner party than at a large public meeting. In the sociable atmosphere people feel more charitable and become more receptive. Consequently, opinions change easily. American hostesses vie with each other to arrange receptions for British notabilities. One sees the process here at work in London in a different way. An Empire rests on moral prestige as much as on physical force, and brilliant parties add to its prestige. Indians go to receptions, etc., at the Buckingham Palace, unconscious that in the eyes of the world they appear a set of loyalists, whatever their private opinions. A Frenchman may well say afterwards, "What is wrong with India, did you not see so many Indians at King George's garden party yesterday?" In ordinary times we can be sociable, but when struggle is going on between two countries we have to see how our little acts are used against us.

Lately the Imperialists have left no stone unturned to run down the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi. They know that there is the organization and the man they are fighting. When Gandhiji was in London John Bull published a centre page article on "Gandhi and his Capitalist Friends." This

was meant for the consumption of millions of working class men, the motive being obvious. At the time one made light of the ignorance of the writer, but gradually the man who is the greatest friend of the down-trodden, is made to appear a tool of capitalists among many workers in this country. The pervasive force of a falsehood for the time being is as remarkable as that of truth in the long run. But truth may be a long time in coming, if its protagonists make no effort to bring it to light. Today George Lansbury in the Labour Party stands for self-determination for India, but many a Labourite in his heart doubts this profession because newspaper propaganda has made him feel that India is not yet ready for self-government. The Congress is represented as a particularly vicious and extremist organization with which it is impossible to come to terms. The Labour man feels that there is no other practical solution and what the Government is doing may be right after all. It is folly to let such friends as we have slide away for want of information.

Curiously enough it is the Communists who lend a hand to Imperialist propaganda quite unconsciously. To them Gandhi and the Congress are anathema, and they go up and down the country, carrying on propaganda against the man whose life is a daily service for the masses. Indian Communists join hands with the English and try and discredit the only body of men who are putting up an effective resistance to Imperialism. Among a certain section they have done a great deal of harm to India's cause, and Imperialists ought to be grateful to them for this service.

The purpose of this article has been to show how propaganda against India is carried on and its wide-spread nature.

If the moral support of the world and of the masses in this country was of no consequence to British Imperialism and if it relied merely on brute force for keeping India in subjection, enormous sums of money would not be squandered by people who know the value of a good investment. Let us hope that our countrymen will turn their attention to this important field of work.



# THE BOSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

By BOSISWAR SEN, B. SC.

## I

THE Bose Research Institute enters the 16th year of its existence on the 30th November.

It will not be inappropriate on the occasion to recall in a few words, the ideals and the objects with which the Institution was founded. The present generation is not aware of the prejudice which existed in the past in regard to Indian competence in exact science, and how difficult was the task to remove that prejudice and create a tradition. It was the original research carried out in Prof. Bose's modest laboratory in the Presidency College forty years ago that for the first time led to the recognition of India's power of contributing to the advancement of world's science.

Prof. Bose's discoveries in the field of electric radiation so greatly impressed Lord Kelvin, that as far back as 1896 he submitted a representation to the Secretary of State for India for giving suitable facilities to Prof. Bose to continue his investigations. Sir J. J. Thomson, one of the most eminent physicists of the century and for many years President of the Royal Society, in his foreword to the *Collected Physical Papers* of Sir J. C. Bose, refers to these discoveries as "marking the dawn of revival in India of interest in research in physical science; this which has been so marked a feature of the last thirty years is very largely due to the work and influence of Sir Jagadis Bose."

## II

After his retirement from the Presidency College, Calcutta, there was no place for him to work, but he had plans for founding an Institute of Science where not only he could be able to carry on his own researches, but would also be able to train a band of young scientists to carry further the work initiated by him. In taking this bold step, he himself contributed about five lacs for land, building and equipment as well as one lac in G. P. notes as a nucleus for the permanent endowment fund, which was subsequently raised by generous benefactions from public-spirited men. Sir J. C. Bose's residuary property of more than six lacs has also been placed by him under a special trust for utilizing the income in advancement of knowledge through the Institute, the condition being that it carried out the object of its foundation. The Institute is a registered body under Act XXXI of 1860, all the properties of which have by deed been transferred to the governing body and trustees, among whom were Lord Sinha, Hon'ble

Mr. B. N. Basu and Dr. B. L. Chaudhuri. The present members of the governing body include men like Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Dr. D. M. Bose, Mr. S. C. Mukerjee, I.C.S. (retired), Mr. J. N. Basu and Mr. K. C. Neogy of the Legislative Assembly. Mr. J. C. Mitter, the Retired Accountant General of Bengal, is the financial adviser of the Institute.

## III

While carrying on his investigations on the response of his metallic receivers to the stimulus of electric radiation, Prof. Bose was struck by the similarity of such responses to those of living tissues. An account of this is thus given in a well-known German encyclopaedia:

"At the International Science Congress at Paris in 1900 [Bose] announced his discovery of the response of inorganic matter to stimulus, and the effects of fatigue, of stimulants and of poisons on the response of metals. Advancing further along this path Sir J. C. Bose established the identity of physiological reactions in plants and animals."

These discoveries have been regarded as of such importance that the Royal Society conferred on him the distinction of its Fellowship. An equally important acknowledgment of the value of his work was made by the Academy of Sciences, Vienna, by electing him as their corresponding member.

In full recognition of the value of scientific work carried out at the Institute, the Secretary of State for India and his Council sent a despatch in December, 1920, guaranteeing the payment of a permanent Imperial grant to ensure the permanence of the Institute on condition that the original object of the founder was maintained and a high standard of scientific activity continued. During Sir J. C. Bose's lifetime his presence as director is to be accepted as guarantee that this condition is fulfilled. After his death, a committee consisting of five eminent Fellows of the Royal Society which was appointed, is to report whether honest efforts are being made at the Institute to advance scientific knowledge.

The names of the members of this committee are:

1. S. H. Vines, F.R.S., formerly Sheradian Professor of Botany, University of Oxford and one of the foremost authorities on Plant-Physiology (Chairman)
2. Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S.
3. Sir John Farmer, F.R.S., Professor of Botany

and Director, Biological Laboratory, Imperial College of Science.

4. F. W. Oliver, F.R.S., Quain Professor of Botany.
5. J. B. Cohen, F.R.S., Professor of Organic Chemistry.

According to the Secretary of State's despatch, a more competent authority could not be selected to judge the scientific importance of the researches. In this connection it will be interesting to read the following account which appeared in the *Times* of November, 1923 :

"The Government of India has recognized the claims of the Institute to special consideration. Accordingly a subsidy for securing the permanence of the work, under conditions which will ensure adhesion to the ideals of the founder, has been guaranteed. In this matter the Government voices Indian opinion, which is gratified to see so great an undertaking brought about by Indian initiative and carried out under Indian administration."

#### IV

The investigations carried out by Prof. Bose for several years afterwards related to the establishment of the important generalization of the essential unity of physiological mechanism in plant and animal. Many of these new results necessitated the modification of conceptions held by the upholders of the older and orthodox theory. The shortcomings of the older theory were due to the fact that it had not hitherto been possible to detect the inner activities of the plant, which was only revealed by the invention and construction at the Institute of a battery of apparatus of extraordinarily great sensitivity, the performance of which was at one time regarded as incredible. Many who still regard with some scepticism the reliability of Sir J. C. Bose's instruments, may read with profit the following account which appeared in *Nature* of May 6, 1920 :

"Sir Jagadis Bose's Crescograph is so remarkably sensitive that doubt was recently expressed as to the reality of its indications as regard plant growth. A demonstration in University College, London, on April 23, has, however, led Lord Rayleigh and Professors Bayliss, Blackman, F. G. Donnan and others to state in the *Times* of May 4th: 'We are satisfied that the growth of plant tissues is correctly recorded by this instrument, and at a magnification of from one million to ten million times.' Sir W. H. Bragg and Professor F. W. Oliver who have seen similar demonstrations elsewhere, give like testimony that the Crescograph shows actual response of living plant tissues to stimulus."

How important has been the advance made in the knowledge of plant-physiology by the work carried out in the Institute will be evident from the opinion expressed by some of the greatest authorities in plant-physiology. Prof. S. H. Vines, F.R.S., the President of the Bose Research Committee of the Royal Society wrote :

"It seems that you have revolutionized in some respects, and very much extended in others our knowledge of the response of plants to stimulus. I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that the publications of the Transactions of the Institute, represent the best work done in plant-physiology during the period of existence of the Institute. Few endowments of research can have realized so striking a return."

Sir John Farmer, F.R.S., Director of Biological Laboratories of University of London, wrote :

"By your wonderful apparatus, you have given a new organon to those who pursue exact methods of physiological and physical investigations."

Timiriazeff, the eminent Russian plant-physiologist and foreign member of the Royal Society, wrote in his classical work :

"A very remarkable example of the application of exact physical methods to the physiology of plant is afforded by the labours of the Indian savant, whose work must be acknowledged as a classic in the field of physiological research. His has been a true triumph of scientific physiology in contrast with the mysterious theory of vitalism."

Prof. Némec, the eminent plant-physiologist of the University of Prague, wrote :

"Your original methods in studying plant-reactions and growth means a new epoch of plant-physiology."

Prof. Molisch, at one time Director of plant-physiology in the University of Vienna, visited the Bose Institute and gave an address in which he said :

"Though the Bose Institute is held in very high esteem as an important International centre of science yet my expectations have been greatly surpassed by what I have actually seen. I saw the plant writing down the rate of assimilation of its gaseous food. I also observed the speed of the impulse of excitation in the plant being recorded by the *Resonant Recorder* which automatically inscribes intervals of time as short as a thousandth part of a second. All these are even more wonderful than fairy tales; nevertheless, those who have the opportunity of seeing the experiments, become fully convinced that they are laboratory miracles revealing the hitherto invisible reactions underlying life."

And he was himself able to confirm and repeat with invariable success the crucial experiments which demonstrate the existence of excitatory impulse in plants. (*Nature*, April 13, 1929).

A memorial was submitted to the Viceroy from intellectual leaders of Great Britain, including such eminent scientists as Sir Charles Sherrington, President of the Royal Society, Prof. E. H. Starling, F.R.S., Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S., Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., Sir St. Clair Thomson, President of the Royal Society of Medicine, Sir Humphrey Rolleston, Prof. F. G. Donnan, F.R.S., J. B. Cohen F.R.S., S. H. Vines,

F. R. S., Sir John Farmer, F. R. S. and others, in which special reference was made to the

"recognized position in the scientific world which has been attained by the Bose Institute for the advancement of science, and to add the expression of our high appreciation of the work achieved and the new methods devised there, to the universal interest which they have excited. We admire the ideal of the Institute where a number of post-graduate scholars are being trained to devote their lives to the single-minded pursuit of scientific investigation for its own sake and for the benefit of humanity. We welcome the co-operation of the East with the West in the advancement of knowledge, and believe that a further expansion of the activities of the Institute will lead, as they have, in its short past, to results both scientific and material, which will redound to the credit of India and her Government."

## V

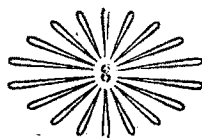
Sir J. C. Bose has always been a believer in the advancement of science in general and has never been parochial in his interests. Though his first investigations were in the domain of physics, it has been the chief aim of his life to dismantle the barriers that artificially divide the various departments of science. Accordingly the activities of the Institute has been extended to include biophysics, zoology and human biology, for which there is an unique field in India. For taking charge of systematic investigation of the biological problems relating to man, with the help of Lt. Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, Director of the Z. S. I., a highly trained scholar was appointed a few years ago to undertake important researches in this line.

Similarly two of Prof. Meghnad Saha's most advanced students have been appointed to carry on investigations on determination of constitution of chemical compounds by the characteristic absorption spectra. I understand that a fuller extension of this department is in contemplation, and when fully developed is expected to lead to important advances in this particular branch of modern physics.

## VI

Besides the discoveries of Sir J. C. Bose, a considerable amount of independent work has been done by the scholars of the Institute. Since the foundation of the Institute, not less than fifty original papers have appeared in their names in the Transactions of the Bose Institute. Special mention may be made in this connection of the researches of Mr. N. C. Nag and his Assistant Mr. H. Banerjee on "Proteolytic Enzymes in plant and oilsoluble vitamins," which have been highly spoken of by European Scientists. Mr. Guru Prasanna Das's work on "Action of drugs on animals and plants" and Mr. Surendra Nath Das's study of the "Nervous impulses and rhythmicity of plants" are also noteworthy. In the recently inaugurated department of Human Biology the investigations of Mr. Provash Ch. Basu is already attracting considerable attention from anthropologists in Europe and America. Dr. Arun Kumar Datta and Mr. Suresh Ch. Deb have just completed two papers on "Absorption Spectra of Silver Halides and Lead Halide Vapours," which have been very highly spoken of by competent authorities who have seen their works. It will not also be out of place to mention here that some of the men who received training in the methods initiated by Sir J. C. Bose at his Institute are also continuing their studies in their respective places. The investigations of Prof. L. N. Rao of Mysore and of my humble self may be mentioned.

The above will indicate, though inadequately, some of the recent activities of the Institute associated with the name of Sir J. C. Bose, and his ideals and labours for the cause of science in this country. The Institute, founded by him, with all its assets belong to the Indian nation, and if the present and future generations of Indians learn to regard it as such and strive to further its cause, the life and labours of Sir J. C. Bose will not be in vain.





## LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

### THE FAILURE OF THE "NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT.

#### DISARMAMENT

**L**AST week Mr. Ramsay MacDonald protested about the scare talk about munitions of war and other "untruths" which opponents of his Government were indulging in, he alleged, for the purpose of catching votes. The whole of the National Government, he assured us, were in favour of peace and disarmament.

These good things, like many other things that they profess to approve of, they damn with faint praise. In the Disarmament Debate in the House of Commons the other day Mr. Seymour Cocks, M. P., pointed out to the Prime Minister that in one sentence of his speech in the debate Mr. Ramsay MacDonald used these words:

"No Government can compel another Government to take risks they feel too great for them, and for our part we say that we cannot extend our obligations in order to induce them to do so."

In that one sentence, as Mr. Seymour Cocks pointed out, "the Prime Minister destroyed the Disarmament Conference and made the fortunes of the armament firms." Mr. Seymour Cocks went on to point out that large supplies of spelter, nickle and scrap iron are being poured into Germany by British capitalists and the capitalists of other countries and that she is being aided by British armament firms who are advertising in Germany arms that are forbidden to her by the Treaty of Versailles. Mr. Cocks was challenged from the Government benches to give the name of the firm, which he at once did, and pointed out that they were advertising tanks for sale in Germany.

#### GOVERNMENT HELPS ARMAMENT FIRMS

The Fulham by-election result, where there was a turnover of something like 20,000 votes from the Government, has been described by the Prime Minister as an "amusing incident." It was, however, a revolt against these armament firms who, with the consent of H. M. Government, are thrusting into the hands of Germany and Japan the very weapons by which civilization may be destroyed.

On Tuesday, 14th November—only two days ago, and the day after the Government had professed to be so keen on disarmament—the President of the Board of Trade was asked if he would withhold further licences for the export of arms and munitions, to which he gave the short and decisive reply: "No Sir."

#### GOVERNMENT LOSSES IN BY-ELECTIONS

The Prime Minister is aware that many of the Conservatives who sit behind him are by no

means impressed or satisfied with his leadership. They realize that if the Government goes to the country as a "National" Government it is heading for disruption and that in this disruption the Conservative Party may be absolutely defeated and disorganized. The recent by-election results are very significant. The Government vote in the Clay Cross election dropped by 45.5 per cent. At the East Fulham by-election the Government vote dropped by 45 per cent and at the Kilmarnock by-election by 42 per cent. But for the split in the Labour vote at the last of these by-elections the Government candidate would not have been returned, as he was, on a minority vote.

#### GOVERNMENT'S MUNICIPAL DEFEATS

The National Government has failed and still fails to appreciate the mind and temper of the country. This was further brought out in the recent municipal elections. The Labour Party had a nett gain of 242 seats in England and Wales, having won 261 seats and lost only 19. While the Conservative Party hardly gained a seat anywhere and lost well over 100.

The Scottish elections took place about ten days later and told a similar tale. The Labour Party had a nett gain of 50 seats, having gained 54 seats and lost only 4—the Conservative seats falling to Labour as inevitably as in the English and Welsh elections.

#### CONSERVATIVES WANT MORE ARMAMENTS

The Conservative Party do not believe in the possibility of disarmament and this explains their luke-warmness at the Conservative Conference. At their Annual Conference they passed a resolution recording their "grave anxiety with regard to the inadequacy of the provisions made for Imperial defence" which the *Times* pointed out meant an instruction to the Government for "an immediate measure of re-armament by this country."

#### CONSERVATIVES' LOW AIMS

The Air Minister, the Marquess of Londonderry, speaking on disarmament only about ten days ago, said: "We might have aimed too high. Some might have believed it was possible to obtain a Convention that might eliminate war. But that was an idealistic conception. I do not know whether we can avert war. What we can do is to urge the people to use their influence in every part of the world *so that war shall be postponed* as long as possible. I am not sure it is possible for anyone to eliminate weapons of war."

So that all we can hope for from the Conservative Party is not the abolition of war but to postpone it "as long as possible." Peace in *our* time—if possible—but let us prepare for war whenever it may come! Good Tory doctrine!

#### POISON GAS TO GO ON

In this year's estimates we have provision for a sum of £1,385,000 for 'experimental services.' Much of that is being used for experiments in poison gases. The horror of the effect of this barbarous prostitution of science it is impossible to express in words—and that sum that we spend in a single year is as much as we have contributed to the League of Nations since it was founded!

In the old days war was more or less confined to professional soldiers. Chemical warfare, poison gases, are to be directed on the large towns and centres of industry—to wipe them out and kill civilians, women and children, in the most horrible agony. The really safe place in the next war will be in the front line trenches if there are any!

#### GOVERNMENT'S WEAK CONCESSION

The Government gave no reasons to induce their followers to vote against the Labour Vote of Censure in the House of Commons on Monday and, as one of the London Liberal newspapers point out, "the only people who shone in the Commons Debate on Disarmament were the Labour Party and the few Liberals who followed Mr. Lloyd George into the Lobby against the Government."

A good deal was made of the fact of France's fear and her demand for security. This was the reason apparently that the draft proposals, submitted by the British Government at Geneva were modified from a four-year period to an eight-year period—during the first four years of which Germany would be subject to rigid inspection, but no disarmament whatever would take place either in this country or in France!

Even the *Times*, on 15th November, was impelled to admit in a leading article that "there is an uneasy feeling that at the last moment the British delegation slipped, and that, just when consummation seemed within reach, an untimely concession in Paris gave Germany the excuse to reject what was substantially a fair offer."

That is a distinct condemnation of Sir John Simon and the National Government from a source that usually picks out and emphasizes anything that can be said in their favour.

#### GOVERNMENT'S PRESTIGE GONE

It is little use for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Sir John Simon trying to pretend as they do that the country is behind the National Government. *The Manchester Guardian* points out, with regard to the municipal elections, that

"the trend of these elections confirms the view that the Parliament by-election in East Fulham was

by no means a flash in the pan. None of the favourite excuses for that result will serve here. The defeat is a severe one for the Conservatives, and cannot be explained away."

#### CONSERVATIVES APPROVE AIR BOMBING

And the Conservative Conference last month passed another resolution congratulating the Government upon "its foresight in retaining the use of Air Police in outlying areas." France, Germany, and other countries have pleaded that this air bombing should be done away with. But Mr. MacDonald and Mr. MacDonald's Government stand firm. The Financial Secretary of the War Office, Mr. Duff Cooper, voicing no doubt not only the views of the War Office, but of the Government said:

"No one has ever been able to explain to me why chemical warfare is more barbarous than warfare by gunfire. In fact, chemical warfare is more humane. To rule out one particular kind of warfare and to permit another has always seemed to me illogical. I am of the opinion that if war does come every weapon will be used. We cannot, by a too hasty advance in the policy of disarmament, improve the condition of the world and make the security of peace any greater than it is today. You would not find any foreign country raising a protest if our naval estimates went up by a million pounds."

#### BIGGER BATTLESHIPS FOR BRITAIN

But the strongest comment on the Government's pretence in the Vote of Censure debate on Disarmament on Monday that they are in favour of peace, and disarmament is the fact that on the following day in the House of Commons the First Lord of the Admiralty pointed out that Japan and the United States were building larger battle cruisers and said that

"with much regret we propose to revise the 1933 programme so as to include two cruisers of a new type of about 9,000 tons with increased armament, and one cruiser of the 'Arethusa' type about 5,200 tons. This alteration will not involve any increase in the cost of the 1933 programme."

Are we expecting to be at war with either of these Powers? They are apparently setting the pace for us. Where is it to end?

On the question of expenditure no doubt he wishes to reassure the voters in this country that this does not involve more taxation *this* year. The reason is simple. Most of the expenses of these cruisers will be incurred in next year's Budget.

#### POOR RELIEF FIGURES INCREASE

We have been told this week in the House of Commons that the "cuts" on teachers' and other salaries cannot yet be restored as the Chancellor of the Exchequer assures us that we must not "assume prematurely" that normal conditions and prosperity have been established. Certainly for the very poor these conditions have not been established. On September 26, 1931, just before

the Labour Government left office, there were 786,771 people in receipt of out relief in England and Wales. By October 21, 1933 this number had been increased, after two years of National Government, by 320,100 to 1,106,871—more than half of the insured unemployed are at present being subjected to the Means Test.

#### MORE MINERS UNEMPLOYED

In a recent broadcast talk Mr. Baldwin made a statement, which he had to withdraw afterwards, that there were more miners now in work. The fact is that the number of wage earners in the mining industry has decreased by 57,700 under the National Government, comparing the figures for the week ending 26th September, 1931 with the same figures of 28th October, 1933.

#### MORE "ECONOMICS" FOR THE POOR

But the Government have not finished yet. They are hoping to reduce the Income Tax and Sur-Tax of the wealthy in the next Budget, but to enable them to do so they are depriving tens of thousands of people of the medical benefit that they have hitherto been regarded as entitled to. In Wales alone this will affect some 35,000 to 40,000 people and, instead of this being a national charge, the districts which have suffered most will have to bear the greatest loss under the Government's proposals. They will have to rely entirely on the old Poor Law provisions.

#### APPALLING TORY ARGUMENTS

We have just celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of the Armistice which followed the Great War and in Great Britain alone we are paying about £1000 a minute we live for past wars and to provide "defence" against future war.

The most naive excuse for our armament firms supplying foreigners and potential enemies with arms was given in a recent issue of the *Army, Navy and Air Force Gazette* where we read:

"The system which permits British armament firms to supply possible enemies with offensive weapons constitutes a definite defensive measure for ourselves, for what could be better for us than that our enemies' sources of warlike material could be cut off automatically on the outbreak of hostilities?"

A more futile argument has surely never been put forward and we have Tory M. ps like Lord Lymington, M. p. for Basingstoke, who apparently has never heard that the Founder of our religion taught "Blessed are the peacemakers." For Lord Lymington tells his constituents: "Personally I should like to tell the whole lot of these damned pacifists to go to Hell." And still Mr. Baldwin tells us that the Tory Party is in favour of peace and disarmament!!

#### GOVERNMENT'S AWFUL RESPONSIBILITY

War, spreading from the Far East, would be much less possible today had Sir John Simon

and the National Government followed the lines urged in the House of Commons in September, 1931 by Mr. George Lansbury. Japan broke her obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations. She refused to honour her signature of the Kellogg Peace Pact and of the Nine Power Pact. Great Britain should have given a lead to put economic pressure on Japan, not merely to prevent her from going further into Chinese territory but to compel her to withdraw. We are told that there would have been great difficulty with regard to this. But when the National Government wanted to put economic pressure on Russia, they were able to do so immediately. The British Empire, the United States and China take nearly 70 per cent of Japan's export trade. But instead of doing anything like this we went on supplying both Japan and China with arms and munitions. Others did the same with the result that whatever industries are depressed, it is not the munition industries—as the value of their shares show in going up by leaps and bounds.

The Bishop of Chelmsford pointed out recently that "as long as private persons are able to make a profit from armaments, so long will you have a solid body of people who will be interested in the increase of armaments." And he continued: "I can never understand why the nations of the world should allow great companies to be engaged in the making of armaments."

We stood practically alone at Geneva in insisting on the right to bomb from the air. It is true that we said that we intended to use this for police purposes in outlying areas. But if we insist on this right to bomb from the air, other nations are not going to give up this right. France was anxious to have this kind of horror stopped, but could not persuade the representatives of our National Government to take her view. The result is that the French Air Ministry have just placed orders for 60 new fighter aeroplanes.

The responsibility of the National Government is indeed heavy.

#### DISARMAMENT. LACK OF SUPPORT

Great Britain is strong enough and has influence enough in the League of Nations at Geneva to carry great weight for any attitude she cares to take up. Mr. Arthur Henderson, as Foreign Secretary in the Labour Government, represented Great Britain at Geneva. His work for the peace of the world was so outstanding and so well recognized by all the other nations that he was chosen by them to be President of the Disarmament Conference.

Now Mr. Henderson is threatening to resign from the Disarmament Conference on account of the lack of support that he is getting from the British and other Governments.



#### CONSERVATIVES AND PLEDGES TO INDIA

With regard to India the Conservative Party is no more to be trusted than it is in any other sphere of our national, international, or political life. No one has promised more, or in more definite clear and concise terms than Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and no one has done less than he when he has been at the head of the Government.

Lord Irwin, when Viceroy, referred in June, 1929 to the aims of India regarding Dominion Status and used these words:

"I earnestly pray that, as the future unfolds itself, we may see the sure realization of this hope."

On 31st October, 1929, he made his famous declaration that it was

"implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status."

That statement was made, as the Secretary of State explained in the House of Commons, "for the removal of India's doubts," and "to issue a clear declaration of existing policy."

Before the Joint Committee, on July 18, 1933, Lord Irwin tried to minimize this "clear definition" and to bring another series of doubts by saying that that declaration "dealt only with the realm of ultimate purpose. It made no commitments whatever as to date."

Lord Rankeillour, one of the pillars of the Conservative Party, who was for many years Deputy-Speaker of the House of Commons, cares so little about pledges given in the name of the King-Emperor that he said: "These were the words of the Viceroy. They can be over-ruled by Parliament." And the Marquess of Salisbury, another Tory pillar, said: "Let there be no mistake. We do not admit any pledge except a conditional pledge."

Mr. Winston Churchill, of course, went further than any of them. He said that

"It seems therefore wrong for the high servants of the Crown, whether Ministers, Viceroy, or Governors, to use this phrase ('Dominion Constitution') or hold out hopes based upon it, unless they see their way to its practical realization within some period of time to which living men can reasonably look forward. If they have ideas that India may become a self-governing dominion like Canada or Australia *within one hundred or two hundred years*, and that is all they mean by it, they ought not to use such a phrase without also explaining that it cannot be achieved in any period which men can foresee."

If the Prime Minister, the Viceroy, and even the King-Emperor himself, in making declarations to India that India must have *full* responsibility for her own government had the reservation in mind that this could not be attained "within a hundred years or two hundred years" that does not tally with the statement made by the Secretary of State for India in Parliament when he said that the statement of the King's Representative was made for the purpose of removing Indian doubts and to make "a *clear* declaration of existing policy."

Again the Conservative Party, in the words of Lord Lytton's historic dispatch of 1878, would have us laid open to the charge of having "taken every means in our power of breaking to the heart the words of promise we have uttered to the ear."

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that it may be a Labour Government—a real Labour Government—and not the present unprincipled lot, who will have to pilot through Parliament the Bill that will give real, responsible self-government to India.

London, 16th. November, 1933.



## MY FIRST DAY IN LENINGRAD

BY NITYA NARAYAN BANERJEE

THE train stopped at Leningrad after a long run of fourteen hours from Helsinki or Helsingfors. It was a cold winter morning of January, 1933. Snow was falling incessantly like white feather; green was blotted out of the earth; the severe winter had sucked out all green—the emblem of life—and left the earth bloodless, wan—pure snow-white. Fields were white, the roofs of the buildings and huts were white, ever-green trees were white and bent down under the heavy weight of the snow. Oh, it was a terrible morning—a morning which one feels through every nerve, and remembers for life—the temperature was 20 degrees below 0° centigrade. The train emptied itself within a few minutes. I had one English-speaking gentleman in my compartment, whom I requested to help me by finding out the “Intourist” man who was to take charge of me under the arrangement with the “Intourist,” the State tourist company. The gentleman asked his porter to bring down my luggage too and searched for the man who I was told by the Intourist-in-charge at Copenhagen where I had booked myself for Russia, was sure to come and wait for me at the station. We waited for about five minutes—which was enough to freeze a man from a tropical country. My hands were aching, the toes had grown numbs, the ears turned red, the handkerchief became wet and nostrils swollen—it was terrible for me but I was almost helpless. I could not speak the language, but that was no great hindrance;—the very thought that this was a country having laws quite different from others, a land where the rich were the unfortunates, the menace of society barred me from hiring a taxi or calling a porter. Who knows how to pay the porter—if I paid him direct I might be found guilty by the socialist State but what to do in that horrible cold? I just walked up and down the platform. My companion went to find the Intourist man. Walking kept me a little warm: I was cursing this new country for their bad management,

for this cold reception to a newcomer who was coming under State arrangement.

A young lady stepped before me and asked in quite good English, “Are you coming from Copenhagen?” “Yes, are you the Intourist agent?” “Yes,” and without any apology for being late she asked a porter



Nicolai Lenin

to carry my luggage to the car which was waiting outside the station. Her very sight was a consolation for me. I felt myself secure. We went up to the car. The porter was given a chit not cash. The car moved on and anwe began to talk like old friends. Seeing



us talking and laughing anyone would have hardly believed that we had met each other just a few minutes before. Her ways were charming. She wiped out the Russian picture I was cherishing so long in my mind—a hard, rough man without a hearty laugh or sense of humour and art. The Russian seemed to me the same man as I had seen in the other civilized countries of Europe. I said, "It seemed to me the number of porters in the station is insufficient." She smiled and said: "Yes, because nowadays every one carries his own luggage. There are no bourgeois now who require a porter to carry an attaché case."

"But in case of heavy luggage a porter is needed."

"Yes", said she, "and there are some for that. You see we require so many labourers in our factories and fields that we can spare very few for this sort of work."

As the car passed through the streets of Leningrad some incomplete houses came to my notice. I asked the reason. She replied, "In winter it is difficult to do outdoor work. Now they are all working in factories and some are sent to collective farms. During the summer they will be called out to do all this outdoor work." I paused a while and asked, "In summer your agricultural work too goes on in full swing, you require outdoor labourers for all these construction works and surely your factories do not sleep in those days. So, if all the workers are accommodated in factories now and if they are taken out in summer either your factories suffer for want of labour or you can't really employ all the workers in the factories."

She exclaimed, "Oh yes, we are in great need of labourers. We have not got enough." I again asked her, "Well, now you have plenty of work to do. You are creating a new country. You are converting an agricultural country into an industrial one. You have many waste lands to dig and make mines, new plants to erect, new roads and buildings to construct. So, you can give employment to so many labourers. But one day this progress must come to an end. New creations must stop when consumption will be less than production as was the

case in America. What will you do then? How will you employ so many workers who are working now. On that day the unemployment question will be as grave a problem for you as it is now for the capitalist countries."

She replied with her characteristic smile, "No, certainly not. Russia is not America. This unemployment has been caused by the exploitation of the capitalists—but here there is no exploiter—none is eager to make profit at the cost of others' labour. If we see we are producing more than we consume by working a seven-hour day we will not cut down the labour but the working hour. We had an eight-hour working day. Already we have made it seven and when possible we may reduce it to 6, 5 or 4 hours."

We passed through a narrow gate which she pointed out as the old main entrance of the town proper. Beyond this gate rich merchants used to live in the Tsar's time. The people seemed to be poor in terms of capitalist countries. All over Europe except this "new country" the smart and genteel appearance of the people, their neat dresses, shining cars, streets lined with glass shop windows at once tell about the wealth and the standard of living of the people there, but Russia seemed different—very different.

The tram cars—two, three or sometimes four, connected together were running along the streets with several passengers hanging on the foot-board holding a rod. Seldom does a motor car come in sight. Not a single shop with a fine display came to my notice. The road was slippery as the snow was pressed down hard on them.

The car reached its destination—the "October Hotel", a palatial building with a modern revolving glass door, a fine staircase and spacious well-equipped rooms. I was taken to the Secretary of the Hotel, a young educated man. I did not like to miss this opportunity to have a talk with a Russian youth. I asked about the system of Government. I came to know that everyone is paid by the State





Modern Architecture in Leningrad

according to his merit—an engineer gets more than an ordinary factory labourer, the manager of a hotel earns more than the steward, and the only difference with the capitalist countries is that they do not allow any private business or private property. I could not grasp the idea and asked, “If the difference in remuneration exists how can you wipe out classes? It may be you have abolished all classes of the Tsar’s time but you are sure to create another series of classes.”

He said, “You mean some will have more money than other’s, but how can it create classes?”

—“As it did in the past. Europe had no religious class distinctions. Money made it and you know it pretty well.”

With burning eyes he replied, “But, my friend, money has lost its value in Russia unlike other countries. Suppose anybody earns and reserves more money than others. But what can he do with that? He can’t float a business of his own, can’t buy a building of his own, can’t have a pleasant drive in his own car, can’t make any provision for his son to eat on idly; only things he can do are that he

can go to the cinema or opera thrice or four times a week, may have three pairs of good shoes, instead of one, a good dish of dinner, or three or four chairs and two tables and that’s all. And even then after his death all the unnecessary property will be confiscated by the State. So how can a class grow again?”

—“But you can’t deny that still two distinct classes remain—one of you and her (pointing to the guide) having nice clean dresses, good shoes, fine fur coats and a smart finish and the other of the proletariat, as you say, having dirty, patched clothes, overcoats of sheepskin, torn shoes and brown faces, strong iron arms with so many nerves prominent on them.” He seemed to get excited and said, “We are the proletariat.” I laughed and said, “Oh, I don’t admit, you are of upper class and you have class distinctions.”

—“Yes, but you know,” he confessed “we are not yet communists but socialists. When we will have communism there will be no cash exchange—none will be paid in cash—every one must work—must give the community what he can and he will get what he needs neither more nor less. Socialism is a



step to it, the means to the end, not the end. We have to train the people, to train their brains to accept this new idea. So our progress is bound to be slow. That day there will be no classes amongst us."

—"Well, when do you expect to have it?"

—"After fifteen, thirty or fifty years—none can say when, but we must have it one day." His eyes sparkled—his face had lines of determination.

I asked, "Do you think it will be possible to supply everyone's needs? Suppose I want to have a—evening drive daily in a car—will the State allow it?"

—"Oh yes, if the State has sufficient cars to supply everybody—otherwise one car may be given to three or four families or they may get the car every alternate day—every thing will be given equally to every member of the community."

—"Well, if I see that my necessities will be supplied by the State why shall I labour?"

—"Oh, you will be forced to do it—unless you work you will not be helped by the State—you must starve."

—"If I am forced to work," asked I, "it is quite natural for me not to work with my full capacity."

—"Yes, but that is your capitalist mentality. We are creating a new generation who will love to work, who will think of the idle as a traitor, a menace to society, who are taught that their only religion is to work for society."

My guide intervened and said, "Well, Mr. Banerjee, you should now go to the dining hall and be ready so that I can take you out as early as possible."

The secretary gave me several tickets for meals and asked me not to lose any as it meant the loss of one meal. I was accompanied by my guide to a room where I found several other tourists. They were leaving Leningrad that day. Amongst them three came from America, one of whom was a thin young lady, and one was from Australia.

I asked them, "How did you like Russia?"

All of them exclaimed unanimously, "Wonderful." The gentleman from Australia moving his bald head and swinging his strong long muscular arm in the air said, "You see they have no unemployment. Isn't it wonderful—they have done miracles."

—"But you see they ruthlessly suppress the public opinion against them—the people have lost their individual independence and how can you praise it?" was my question. The lady replied, "That happens in every country. They allow only that much liberty which they think will not do any harm to the existing Government and not more. Look at the shootings on the unemployed in our country, look at the treatment by the British police of the hunger marchers, look at the Fascists in Italy, the treatment of the Nazis by the German Government (at that time the Nazis were declared an illegal body in Germany). What do you see in all these so-called democratic countries? Only party rule and Russia is not an exception."

—"Well then, what can Russia boast of? What new thing has she given to her people? What has she gained at the cost of so much bloodshed?"

—"Masses are the masters of the country instead of a handful of men, and that's a great achievement," said she.

—"And those handful of men are now ruled, exiled, and hung like beasts," added I.

The Australian gentleman shouted, "That's natural." I was surprised to see what influence Russia had on these people of America, the hot-bed of capitalism. Their guide came in and intimated that 'the car was ready.' They bade farewell and went out. The Australian gentleman said, "Hope to meet you again in Moscow."

I took my dinner—one of the worst I had in my life. Only things I could take were pieces of boiled potatoes and one slice of brown bread and that was without butter. The black bread was rancid and I doubt whether dogs could relish it. I said to the in-charge, "I do not take beef or pork." So, please arrange for fish, fowl or mutton." Fowl and mutton were out of the question—the only thing I got was a piece of tinned fish vying with the salt itself for saline taste. I enquired if milk was available. The reply was in the negative. Even 'Chai' or tea was served without milk. The dining hall was quite clean. The stewards were well-dressed. There was an orchestra party. Some well-dressed gentlemen came to my notice in the restaurant. They did not look



like foreigners. Later I came to know that my guess was true. So, now in Russia some can come and have their meals in a good restaurant accompanied by sweet music while others are labouring hard outside amidst the snow with ragged sheepskins on their bodies and with shoes about to swallow anything with their greedy jaws. Still they say, "We have abolished classes."

This October Hotel was originally a hotel in the Tsar's time. It is situated just before the Moscow station near the post office. It has steam-heating arrangement. Every room has a bath-room of its own and all modern comfort.

I was waiting for the guide and getting impatient with her for wasting my time. She came at about three in the afternoon with another lady whom I had seen before with the American party. The young lady said, "Now I shall bid farewell to you—my sister will show you everything." I felt it like a loss to lose a pretty companion in a country like Russia, but there was no help. She was only to receive visitors from the station and take them to the hotel. Her duty ended there. My new guide also could speak good English and though she was not pretty she had a laughing face and keen intelligence. She too made me an old friend within a few minutes and asked what places I would like to see. I replied, "Everything but specially your society, your factories, agriculture and art."

"Well then, let us go to the opera today as there is scarcely anytime to visit any other place. Almost all the places of interest will be closed within half an hour or so. So it will be useless to go anywhere else."

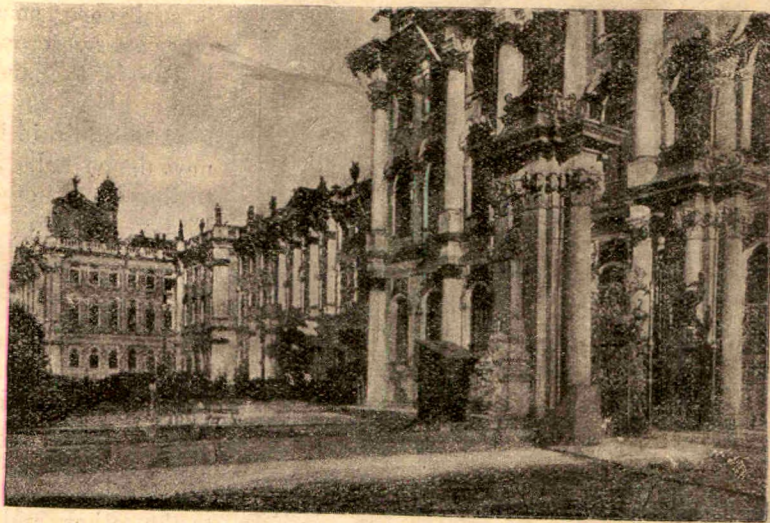
"But I think I shall have to pay extra for it, probably, it is not included in my inclusive tour."

With a smile she said, "I am afraid it is not—you shall have to pay for it and it will be convenient for you to have a taxi which will wait for you there and bring you back to the hotel."

"Aren't you coming with me?" asked I.

"I am very sorry, I won't be able to keep late hours as I am feeling too tired today. I have had to rest on my legs practically the whole day with the American tourists."

As I did not want to waste any time there and had a desire to see the Russian theatre I agreed to go to the opera. She said, "Then I should go now because I shall have to make arrangements for



The Museum of the Revolution  
(Formerly the Winter Palace)

your seat in the opera. It is not always available." She went off. Sitting beside the glass windows I was looking over this new city of Leningrad, the mother of Leninism. This is the city where Marxism first got root and flowered—it was in this city that the revolution was first declared.

In the evening the guide accompanied me in a taxi to the opera. She had got the ticket beforehand but she had to run from one door to an other to get admission. Though I was given a ticket no seat was empty—an extra chair had to be brought in for me. The guide bade good-night.

The stage was a huge one. The auditorium was a eight-storeyed building. The spectators of the highest storey could hardly be recognized.



The stall, ground-floor and all the storeys were packed. I had to pay more than one pound to secure a seat almost in the last row. But that was because I was a foreigner and did



MADONNA LITA

After a painting attributed to Leonardo da Vinci  
now in the Hermitage Gallery, Leningrad

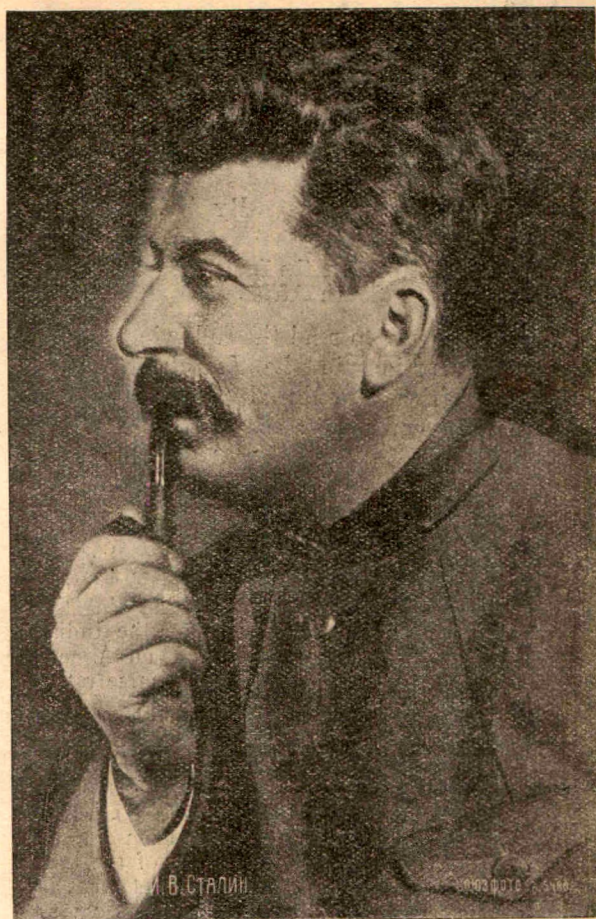
not hold the "labour-ticket." The labourers have special concessions everywhere—in theatres, cinemas, retail shops, dispensaries, schools, factories, food-stores, hotels. They pay eight or ten times less than we or the "Nepmen" do. I have seldom seen any theatre on the Continent with such a huge auditorium and so packed. I recalled the foolish people who had said that Russia did not love art and had destroyed it. What other country has brought art so near to the masses as Russia? The people here in the auditorium seemed different from those whom I had seen in the streets. Here almost everyone had decent dresses—some young ladies had even eye-veils, cosmetics on their faces and opera-glasses in their hands. Some youths were dressed in the full evening dress.

During the first few years after the revolution Russia had banished all sorts of amusements. I was told dance halls were forcibly closed—fox-trot was a great offence, none dared to go to the restaurants which were mainly for foreigners, as they might be marked by the terrible G. P. U., the secret police department, as bourgeois. But nowadays as Russia has brought the situation under control, the people think themselves out of the danger zone. There is now very little chance of losing what they have earned with their blood, and amusements and various means of recreation are gradually making their way into Russia. Nowadays Russians throng in the dance-halls like bees though the number of the halls is still very small. Theatres are packed, cinemas overcrowded, night-life can be seen in Russia, the land of the terrorists. During one of his recent speeches Kaganovitch who is next to Stalin in influence, has declared that new dance halls and amusement houses are to be constructed in course of the Second Five-year Plan.

I could not understand a single word of the play. As it was an opera, there were plenty of songs, and some of the singers had beautiful voices. The orchestra was one of the finest I have ever heard. About fifty men were playing on instruments of different types creating a pathetic low tune which vibrated and resounded from one wall to the other and that was really a dream. Though the scenes were not gorgeous yet they were beautiful. I had never seen such a realistic and beautiful full moon and blue sky on any stage. It was bathed with the soft blue of a moon-lit night. One thing readily attracted the notice of a foreigner—the wonderful discipline of the Russians. There was no noise during the intervals in the auditorium, though there were several thousands of spectators there. There were no hawkers crying "chocolates, cigar, cigarettes," no brisk collection of tea cups or beer glasses. There were no half-naked ballet girls with dresses which coincided with every curve of the body. No attempt was made to show the woman's figure in its naked form, and no scene exciting sexuality was shown during the whole play as is very common in other parts of the Continent. We



say Russians have no morals. Yes, much is the judgment according to our standard of morality, but in some respects they are more moral than the people of the West and even of the East. The Russians hate the display of naked female figures in the shop windows as is common in Paris, Berlin, London, Rome or in any city of Europe. They dislike the idea of keeping shop-girls to attract customers, they never display indecent pictures in the monthlies or dailies to increase the sale. The State is strongly advocating temperance. They have almost abolished prostitution, not only by law as the case in England but by practice. Many prophylactoriums or correction houses were built to which prostitutes were taken and treated and given work. They are taught something so that they might earn their livelihood independently. For one year they are not allowed to leave the house permanently, by which time the Soviets claim their mode of living and mentality are changed. But during this one year they are allowed to join any festival or gathering. They are confined but corrected. After a year or so jobs are found for them and they are employed. Those who pursue this line from habit are again taken in hand and corrected. Formerly prostitution was legalized. They had "yellow tickets" which enabled even Jewish girls to stay in the town. At the beginning of the Five-year Plan in Moscow there were 4,000 prostitutes in five prophylactoriums. Now the number is 575 and only one such institution is existing. Is it not a proof of how they are eradicating immorality? Can the countries which legalized and licensed prostitution claim to be more moral than Russia?



Stalin

At the end of the play no girl came to my notice standing by the gate with a longing look for prey as is often seen in London and Paris.

The car was ready—I recognized it by its number and drove towards the hotel.





# INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

## Unjust Attack on the Indian Agent in South Africa

We are sorry to read the following extract from an article in the *Indian Opinion* of South Africa, reproduced in the *Servant of India* of November 23 :

"If the Agent has succeeded in doing something substantial in this country, he has certainly succeeded in bringing about a cleavage in the community which never existed. Officialdom in India is well versed in the art of *divide et impera* and if we were to experience a repetition of that in this country, it will be a sorry day for the Indian community and the creation of an Agency in this country will have been a curse rather than a blessing."

Commenting upon this the *Servant of India* says :

"This is the unkindest cut of all, for which there is not the slightest excuse. The Indian Agent is not the ruler of the land nor Indians the bulk of his subjects that he might conceivably profit by divisions among them. Not even the wildest desperation can condone such a wanton charge against the Agent."

We entirely agree with the *Servant of India* on this point. We have been in close touch with Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh since 1924 so far as the problems of Indians overseas are concerned and we have followed minutely his activities in Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad and East Africa where he was sent on deputation by the Government of India.

In all these places he tried his utmost for bringing about unity among our people. In fact, this patriotic and straightforward policy on his part brought on him the wrath of some reactionary Europeans at home and abroad. He has gone to South Africa at considerable self-sacrifice. To charge him with creating a cleavage among Indians is really cruel. We in India have always regarded the

*Indian Opinion* as a journal well-known for its sturdy independence and sobriety of views. The names of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Polak have been associated with it and we expect greater decency and better judgment from the *Indian Opinion* than what has been displayed in its recent issues. We can quite appreciate the difficult times under which our countrymen in South Africa have been passing but this is all the more reason why they should not lose their sense of proportion and ; shall we add, sense of justice and fairplay ?

## The Hindu-Muslim Problem in Kenya

A tragic drama in the public life of East Africa is being enacted at Nairobi and it may have far-reaching consequences. Hindus and Muslims of Nairobi have quarrelled among themselves and by their mishandling of the whole situation have brought humiliation not only to Indians in Nairobi or Kenya but to our people in East Africa generally and we have to hang down our heads in shame at the unhappy turn that the events are taking in that East African colony. Up to this time the Indians in East Africa were free from the communal poison and their solidarity was an example to their countrymen at home. But now they have fallen on evil days and if things are allowed to drift as they are drifting these days there will soon be a repetition of the Hindu-Muslim dissensions on a vast scale and the whole public life of our people in East Africa will be destroyed. How this problem originated has been very ably explained by Mr. A. B. Patel, BAR-AT-LAW, of Mombasa. It is an important document that puts the whole thing in a nutshell and deserves to be quoted in full. Here is Mr. Patel's analysis of the whole situation taken from the *Kenya Daily Mail* of 25th October.



## HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENTS

## PAST HAPPY RELATIONS

1. The relations between Hindus and Mohamedans were exemplarily happy and cordial in this country until 1931. This view is supported by the following facts:

(a) At no time was there any trouble or strained relations between Hindus and Mohamedans in the Indian community of East Africa. They acted as Indians first and Indians last.

(b) Political fight and particularly agitation for common roll was carried on in this country unanimously by both communities.

(c) Out of twelve sessions of the Congress held, eight were presided over by local men, six of which being held under Mohamedan presidents.

(d) Almost all Indian deputations to England or India were led by Mohamedans.

(e) Mombasa Indian Association was generally presided over by Mohamedan Merchants, the prominent amongst them being the late Sheth Abdul Rasul Allidina Visram, Mr. Ahmed Jamal and Mr. A. H. Kaderbhoy.

(f) When the Mombasa Indian community co-operated with and sent members on the Mombasa Municipal Board first time, out of seven Indian members nominated six were Mohamedans and one Hindu. And it never struck anyone that it was so, as all used to think in terms of Indians and not in terms of Hindus and Mohamedans.

I can multiply instances but this is sufficient to prove that no Hindu-Moslem question at all existed until 1931.

## REASONS OF SUSPICIONS

Following were the circumstances which rightly or wrongly created suspicions in the mind of some of the Mohamedans that they were not receiving a fair chance to represent the Indian interests on public bodies:

(a) In January 1931 session of the Congress was held, as is well known now to upset a unanimous decision of a standing committee as regards delegation to Joint Parliamentary Committee.

There were widespread feelings in the mind of several prominent persons that the Congress had lost its old prestige and force and its working was not safe in the hands of Mr. Isher Dass and his friends.

Persons with such feelings desired that at least for some time Mr. Sham-su-Deen should take charge of the Congress organization and become a general secretary, not because, he was a Mohamedan but because they thought that he was the right person. The first day of the session revealed that the majority in

the session supported that view and the election of the subjects committee reflected it. Knowing fully well that most of the prominent Hindus and many Hindu delegates supported Mr. Sham-su-Deen's Secretaryship. Messrs. Siri Ram Nob and N. S. Mangat played their last card to avert the change in secretaryship, and preached at night to Sikhs and Hindus that it was a Hindu-Moslem question and the Mohamedans desired a Mohamedan Secretary of the Congress. The tension thus created ended in a fracas which broke the congress session and for the first time in this Colony sowed the seeds of Hindu-Moslem distrust. But let it be said to the credit of the most of the prominent Hindus that they stood by the side of Mr. Sham-su-Deen.

## A DUMMY CANDIDATE

(b) In the same year an attempt was made to heal up the wounds and when Mr. R. D. Deshi resigned his seat from the council. Mr. Sham-su-Deen stood as a candidate declaring his allegiance to the Congress. Messrs. Isher Dass and Mangat put up a dummy Hindu candidate against him who had no public service or other qualifications to support his candidature. Mr. Sham-su-Deen, in disgust, did not contest the election. Most of the Nairobi Moslems felt that the Congress (Messrs. Isher Dass and Mangat were, in my opinion, erroneously taken as Congress by Mr. Sham-su-Deen and many Moslem friends) was prepared to support a dummy Hindu against one of the ablest Mohamedan candidates. I did not then approve of the action of Mr. Sham-su-Deen in not contesting the election. Any way that incident confirmed, in my opinion not correctly, the suspicions in the minds of Nairobi, Moslems.

## A GREAT DISSERVICE

(c) The Nairobi Executive of the Congress Messrs. Isher Dass and Mangat were prominent members they not only did not take any serious or practical steps to remove the bad feelings created but on the contrary they mishandled the Nairobi public life in such a manner that they drove the Nairobi Moslem community to non-participate with the congress and to deal with political problems through the Moslem Association, Nairobi.

Personally even now I feel that whoever advised the Nairobi Moslem community to adopt that course acted most unwisely and rendered a great disservice to the whole Indian community.

I admit there were reasons for provocation. But instead of adopting that suicidal policy the leaders of the Nairobi Moslem Community ought to have, with the help of many prominent Hindus who were with them, carried on

the work within the Congress and I am sure that the public support must have in the end come round. The policy of Moslem Association Nairobi was interpreted as unpatriotic and carefully considered it stands that interpretation.

(a) Finally Nairobi Moslem community mostly stood away from the Congress and members of the executive committee stupidly made no serious attempts to bridge the gulf.

#### THE MOMBASA ARRANGEMENT

3. All honour must go to Mombasa for serious attempts made to bridge the gulf between the Congress and the Nairobi Moslem community.

(a) A peace conference was convened at Mombasa in the year 1932 by Mombasa leaders which did not succeed as the Nairobi leaders remained absent and showed no signs of co-operation.

(b) Efforts were made at Mombasa Congress Session in April last to secure co-operation of Moslem Association, Nairobi.

Finally an arrangement was arrived.

The *Servant of India* observes in this connection :

As in India so in Kenya a section of the Muslims was the first to cut away from a united national policy of the local Indian Congress and go over to the Government. The Muslim Association of Nairobi sought seats in the Council for Muslims even before the Congress, as a body decided to lift the boycott. And its action to some extent precipitated the decision of the Congress. And now they insist on a share of the Indian quota of seats in the Legislative Council to be reserved for them; failing which, they will non-co-operate with the Congress and co-operate with the Government. Rather, they will insist

on a Muslim quota in any event; it was open to the Congress and the majority community to gracefully and tacitly, if not openly, agree. Otherwise, they will openly divide the Indian community and prefer their claims direct to the Government. Faced with the ultimatum and the dilemma, the Congress nationalists compromised even as the Indian National Congress did at Lucknow. They agreed to the Muslim quota. Only they did it tacitly and not openly; by a "gentleman's agreement" and not a resolution of the Congress. They went the length of persuading a sitting non-Muslim member to resign and create a vacancy to be filled by a Muslim. The diplomatic plans of the Congress miscarried. A non-Muslim contested the seat along with the Muslim nominated by the Congress; and he won the election. The Congress could not deliver the goods.

Mr. Sham-su-Deen who has been defeated is one of our ablest workers in East Africa and those who have conspired to bring about the defeat of this Congress nominee have really done a great disservice to the cause of our people in East Africa.

We earnestly request the Muslim Association of Nairobi not to play into the hands of the reactionaries. If they decide to cut away from the Congress they will splinter the Indian community into bits. At the same time we must whole-heartedly condemn the Indian voters of Nairobi—most of whom are Hindus—for their perversity of judgment. They have stabbed the Congress and cannot be forgiven for the great harm they have done to the public life of our people in East Africa.



## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Women's Tribute to Raja Rammohun Roy

*Stri-Dharma* writes :

As the courageous champion of the women's cause, he has surpassed any reformer, ancient or modern. You can examine the history of any nation. You will not find a type like Raja Rammohun Roy. His ardent and devoted labour for the abolition of "Sati", the very cruel and inhuman custom of burning widows alive, whether young or old, whether willing or not, on the funeral pyre of their dead husbands, his vehement protest against that custom by his writings, by his speeches, by his appeals and his petitions to the authorities, which form a precious document, will alone make him immortal and will entitle him to the eternal gratitude of the entire womanhood of the world. At a time when not a single woman, in the east or in the west, could raise her voice against such an oppressive custom he dared to challenge his own sex to prove that women were in any way inferior to men, and that women deserved such treatment at the hands of men. His own estimate of women is seen in one of his famous paragraphs which is the sacred duty of all women to study so as to pay their respects to the one who has felt for their lot, for their sufferings and for their inferior position in society a hundred years before.

Equally strong and convincing was his advocacy against polygamy and child-marriage. In his will, he has stated that if any one of his heirs should marry more than one wife, he should be disinherited of his property.

His essay on the "Ancient rights of females" shows that if he had lived long enough he would have reformed the Hindu laws of inheritance so as to give a share to the wives, to the widows and to the daughters from their ancestral property. When we, women, are now in a position to demand equal opportunities and equal citizen rights and adequate representation in the future constitution of our country, it is incumbent on us, nay, it is our sacred duty, to express our love and gratitude, our reverence, to that great personality who was the first to raise the banner of revolt against all oppressive customs that hamper the women's progress and has so ably advocated sex-equality on our behalf.

### Viscount Grey as a Book-Man

Readers will find elsewhere in this *Review* an interesting memorandum by Viscount Grey on the taming of squirrels. Viscount Grey was also a lover of books. Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma stresses this aspect of his character in *The Indian Review* :

Whatever Viscount Grey's reputation be in the political field, it cannot be doubted that he will be remembered as a lover of Nature and of books. And

in this connection he will present a strange contrast to many politicians, contemporary as well as those who will follow him. For it should be remembered that it has become almost a fashion to say that politicians are not generally interested in literature. For instance, it is said about Hitler that he reads novels by Edgar Wallace to recover from the exhausting effects of his fiery orations. He finds these books very useful, for they restore his emotional equilibrium as well as stimulate his imagination. Mr. Lloyd George is also known to be a lover of detective stories and even Mr. Churchill and Mr. Baldwin, lovers of literature as they are, have been responsible for ensuring the reputation of such writers more than once. This only shows that interest in politics and a love of sensational and exciting literature generally go together. But this was not the case with Viscount Grey. He was interested in great literature as is shown by his address on the 'Pleasure of Reading.' In that address he made a forcible plea for cultivating a habit of reading. But by this he did not mean that we should read trashy literature of fleeting importance but large still books from which we can derive abiding pleasure. In this matter he had his own preferences, and they were right preferences too. He placed the study of poetry above everything, for he believed that it stimulates one's intellect as well as rouses one's emotions. His own favourite poet was Wordsworth whose poetry is a school for serenity of mind, strength of character, tranquillity and fortitude. But he was not averse to the study of novels, though he liked those novels most in which the character is unfolded slowly and gradually. At the same time he loved to read novels of adventure and those in which humour was a pleasant ingredient. He, however, bestowed his affections on great histories, great biographies and books on Nature also. His advice to those who wanted to indulge in the pleasure of reading was : "The great books have stood the test of time, because they possess in an unusual degree the power of satisfying human needs and giving sustained human pleasure; and it is a great mistake to let new literature divert us from reading the old. Isaac Disraeli says somewhere that great books lead us to a proper perspective and sense of the values of life. The sentence is something to this effect : "He who is not familiarized with the finest passages of the finest writers, will one day be mortified to observe that his best thoughts are their indifferent ones."

### Errors in Examination

For good or evil, examinations play a very important part in the modern system of education. A writer describes the various errors of examinations in *The Educational Review*. Some of them are given below :

If the examiner is acquainted with the boy who submits his paper for evaluation, the impression of



the examiner regarding the student's ability will undergo a sudden change, in spite of his spurious sense of accuracy. Ballard has recorded a humorous instance of two students who were being trained under an English tutor. One was a Welshman and the other an Englishman. Since the tutor's predilections for the Englishman were very strong, he used to mark his paper as "good" and the Welshman's inevitably as "bad." One day, the students conspired and interchanged their papers while submitting them for correction. The tutor, as usual, marked the paper carrying the name of the Englishman as "good" and the other as "bad." This is, of course, an extreme example of the supine indifference and incapacity of the tutor to judge things correctly.

The next point we have to consider is the standard of the answer expected. With regard to the answers expected, there is no agreement among the teachers themselves. The different elements in the essay are differently weighted. One will be impressed with neatness of handwriting, another will be carried away by the "stylish" English of the candidate in which some students couch their ignorance and a third will place emphasis on the subject-matter and so on. The various elements which go into the perfect answer of the essay present to the teacher a very complex and bewildering picture. Still the examiner undertakes to measure these various elements at the same time and inevitably fails to arrive at equitable results. Hence, this difficulty accounts for the considerable difference among teachers in evaluating the answer papers of the students. If we take up, for instance, a History paper, the various elements that enter into its performance are chronology, sequence, vocabulary, character study, sense for discriminating evidence, etc. The attempt to judge all these elements at the same time is not only impossible but unjust.

### Revival of Hedonism

Mr. C. E. M. Joad contributes a thought-provoking article on the revival of hedonism in *The Aryan Path*. These extracts are made from it:

In the first place, the tendency to regard our own existence, and as a consequence the universe in which we exist, as a means to our own pleasure, cannot but have the effect of robbing both the one and the other of colour and of interest. The man who subordinates everything to individual gratification will not only regard self as the centre of the universe, but will come to think of the universe as having for its sole function the placing of himself in the centre. Bringing all existence to the test of its ability to minister to his individual desires, he will fashion the universe upon the model of his needs, and devoid alike of the will to subordinate self to a moral ideal or the capacity to lose it in an external interest, will barter all the richness and variety of the world around him for a shade of feeling or a thrill of pleasure. A universe whose centre is a state of feeling and whose circumference is ringed round with a set of desires, is neither an exciting nor even an interesting place; nor are the attempts of those who define the object of existence in terms of self-satisfaction to attain the satisfaction they value, noticeably successful. A life devoted to the satisfaction of the self is a tired and a tiring life; the wretchedness of men and women who have

found it intolerable from lack of occupation, far exceeds the misery of those who have been miserable from an overplus of tasks and duties. There have been more suicides from boredom than from overwork.

It is for this reason that the so-called hedonistic cults, so attractive on paper and eagerly embraced by the young, have in the past been abandoned in disillusionment and disgust when called to the bar of experience. An early acquaintance with ethical systems reveals to the student of philosophy the arbitrariness of moral standards and the baseless and divergent dogmatisms of ethical philosophers; a short training in argument enables him, by joining the ranks of the philosophers, to dispose of the standards of his predecessors. Having passed the rapier of his newly acquired dialectic through the ribs of a few lay systems and let out some bran and a little sawdust, having knocked the bottom out of moral obligation and dethroned the categorical imperative from its pedestal, the young philosopher proceeds to the business of enjoying himself without qualm or scruple.

Believing that the only way to get rid of a temptation is to yield to it, he surrenders his mind to every credo that may tickle the reason and his body to every pleasure that may enthrall the sense; holding that not the fruits of experience but experience itself is the end of life, he withholds himself from nothing that will afford a fresh measure of emotion, provoke a sensation hitherto unfelt, or cause him to thrill to the pulsing of a more exquisite excitement. Striving to "burn with that hard gemlike flame" recommended of Pater, he will seek in art and sensuality the means to keep his experience always at white hot intensity. Unimpeachable in theory, the doctrine fails somewhat unexpectedly to work in practice. The recipe for the production of pleasure does not produce pleasure, and servitude to the senses is found to be a more burdensome and exacting form of slavery than servitude to conscience.

### How to Improve the Drug Industry

In a paper on "The Drug Industry in India and its Possibilities" in *Scientific Indian* Mr. B. B. Mitter writes:

With regard to the crude drug trade the following remedies are suggested. Drug Herbariums and crude Drug Museums should be started in the different parts of India where specimens of various medicinal plants, mounted in their natural forms for easy recognition, and crude drugs, as they should be prepared for market, should be kept properly displayed and instructions should be given to those who desire to take up the line of collecting crude drug for the market on the (a) identification and recognition of various medicinal plants that are being used for the British Pharmacopoeial preparations as well as Ayurvedic and Yunani medicines (b) the localities where such plants grow wild or could be cultivated (c) the part or parts of the plants that should be collected (d) the methods and the most suitable locality of cultivating such medicinal plants (e) the proper age, season and mode of collecting (f) the method of curing and preserving same according to approved methods\* to prevent decomposition or deterioration of the quality (g) the system of assorting and preparing same according to the requirements of the manufacturers (h) the market where the same could be disposed of.

In this manner a new line of profitable and healthy occupation could be opened for our numerous unemployed educated young men who can learn the business from such centres and go back to their villages, etc. or other suitable localities and start the business with a very small capital.

With regard to the raising of status of the pharmaceutical preparations made in India the first and the foremost requirement is the passing of a proper food and drug law in this country and the opening of food and drug laboratories at central places for the examination of the products of the manufacturers to ascertain if the proper standard is being maintained. Arrangements should also be made for imparting higher training in Pharmaceutical Chemistry in this country and to form an All-India Pharmaceutical Society for looking after the interest of the Pharmacy in this country and for carrying out research work in this line with a view to further improvements, and the preparation of an Indian Pharmacopoeia suited to the country's requirements.

### The Silk Industry in Bengal and its Needs

Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri writes on the above subject in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal* as follows :

The decline in the manufacturing side of the industry has been very serious. In the Census of 1891, the number of silk weavers, dyers and sellers were shown at 23,877, whereas in the departmental survey of 1926, the total number of silk weavers came up to 2,106 only. It appears from Mr. N. G. Mukherjee's monograph of 1913 that the Murshidabad district alone had 2500 silk looms.

Development of the sericultural industry to produce improved breeds of silk worms and increase the output of reeled silk per acre along with extension of the area under mulberry is undoubtedly the first essential. But without a corresponding progress in the methods of reeling of the silk filament from the cocoon it is not possible to compete with the better reeled silk of Japan either for the development of the export trade or for combating the inroad of foreign imports. The bulk of the silk reeled in Bengal is produced on a cottage industry basis. Lack of uniformity is the greatest drawback. With the closing of European concerns, reeling of good quality yarns is being gradually given up by the Indian concerns as the cottage reelers are still in a better position than them in that the margin between cost of production and the selling price is in favour of the cottage reeled silk. The abnormally low price at which Japan is now dumping the silk market with better reeled yarns is a serious menace to the reeling industry.

In view of the fact that the cottage reeled silk (Khamru) is in a better position than the steam reeled Filature silk, it may be said that development of the Khamru trade should be advocated. The great drawback of the Khamru reeled silk is want of uniformity. The cost to the weaver in preparing these yarns for the loom is high. One of the great drawbacks of the hand-loom weaver in this country is the high cost for twisting silk yarns. Silk which is woven in the raw state (grege or kora) is now the only kind of silk woven in Bengal which is able to still command a market. Better quality Pakuan (twisted) silk cloth has to face considerable competition with foreign

silks. To remove this drawback it is necessary to start silk throwing factories for twisting, doubling, etc., in the weaving centres, so that ready twisted silk may be made available to the weavers. The Industrial Commission (1916-18) also recorded the following suggestions for the development of the silk industry. "At the present time, the weakest spots in the Indian Silk Industry, regarded apart from sericulture, are the primitive and inefficient processes used in preparing the silk yarn. It is desirable that attention should be drawn to the necessity for improving these and the establishment of model silk filatures, twisting mills and dye houses seems clearly indicated. To such factories for the preparation of silk yarn, silk-weaving establishments may well be attached, as it not unlikely that the same advantages may accrue therefrom as have resulted from the addition of weaving sheds to cotton mills."

### Children's Teeth

Defective teeth are the cause of many diseases. Parents should be very careful even of the temporary set of their children's teeth. Dr. R. Ahmed writes in *The Teachers' Journal*

Average parents hold the opinion that the temporary set will soon be followed by the permanent set, and hence they are of little account. Let me state, and most emphatically, that temporary teeth are just as important in the part they play as the permanent set, and perhaps more. Here are a few good, sound facts to back up that statement :

(1) Nature gave the child his first set of teeth for a purpose. They are the only means of chewing his food and must last him till the permanent teeth arrive, which is anywhere from the age of six to twelve. If they are lost through decay it means that the child's stomach will suffer, as his food is not properly prepared to be received by that organ. We all know the train of sad results following this abuse.

(2) Would you think it well for your boy or girl to eat poisoned food? Of course not, and you raise your hand in horror at such a thought. Let me state that thousands of children swallow food in that condition every day. You say "how"? By mixing that food with decayed material and pus from teeth that are rotting away. Simple, isn't it?

(3) What are you doing to stop that condition in your own child? Are you waiting until he cries from pain, or do you take him to your family dentist at regular intervals and avoid all these troubles?

(4) We all feel that the permanent teeth are important. If you want good permanent teeth then take care of the "baby set." Did you ever stop to realize that the early loss of the baby teeth is the cause of so many crooked teeth in adults? These little teeth help to guide the new and larger one to their proper position in the jaw. The development of the bones of the face and the nose are directly related to the permanent teeth. In other words, these teeth must be in correct relation with one another to have proper and normal development of the face.

(5) No parents desire their boys and girls to have deformed jaws, peaked faces, and undeveloped nasal bones that bring on mouth breathing. Start right: pay more attention to the temporary teeth.

If one decays, consult your dentist as to filling or extracting. The early neglect of one tooth may be the cause of many evils later on.

### Women and Labour

*The Social Service Quarterly* writes editorially :

The Bombay Provincial Women's Conference on Labour was rendered notable by an excellent address from the President, Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth, who welcomed the Conference as an earnest of the desire of the women associated with the Bombay Presidency women working in factories. In Lady Vidyagauri's view, the principal requirements of labour are fair wages, good housing, medical aid and education. Of these, education is undoubtedly one of the most important, at least it is the one requirement that can be met without less difficulty than the others. Diffusion of education through night schools for adults and the enforcement of compulsion for the children provides a definite programme of work for bodies like the Women's Council, anxious to interest themselves in the welfare of labour; and in this connection Lady Vidyagauri did well to point out that education is the basis of organization without which the worker cannot fight for his rights. Another activity in which organizations interested in social service can participate is the provision of facilities for medical relief, such as hospitals and maternity homes. The working of the system of maternity benefits has to be examined in relation to its effects on the lives of women workers and Lady Vidyagauri held that it was also necessary to secure that all regulations laid down by the Factories Act and the rules framed under it were carried out in respect of matters such as the provision of creches on factory premises. It is a pity, she observed, that in many places the creches were found to be existing in name only, and the babies were neglected while their mothers were at work. Equally important are problems relating to the housing of the workers, the women who carry on household duties being more affected by disabilities in this respect than the men. Lady Vidyagauri criticized the sordid surroundings in which the houses were located, especially the presence in the proximity of the houses of liquor shops and gambling dens. These were social evils, to check which little was being done by the State—local authorities being powerless in this matter. It was no wonder that these conditions bred criminality in the areas and brought misery to the lives of the women and their children. It is a matter for regret that this special conference convened to discuss labour problems confined its attention to the social and moral aspects of the welfare of labour. These aspects are indissolubly connected with the rights of labour and the economic relations between the employers and the employed.

### Things That Demand Our Attention

According to the editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* :

If one looks to the internal affairs of the present-day Hindu society, the sad condition of the time-honoured institution of caste comes out prominent before one's eyes. Nowadays it is known as much for its tyranny as it was once famous for its great utility. The present system of caste is but the

shadow of its former self, and requires to be thoroughly recast. The present evil began when the caste Hindus, though losing their respective qualifications, were particular to retain their privileges and advantages. Though caste in some form or other will remain in every society, none can expect to enjoy privileges without qualification for long. The wheel of time grinds slowly, but it grinds surely. Already signs of revolution are in the air. Symptoms of revolt are visible amongst those who have been put down so long by the rigidity of caste system. The pendulum has rather swung to the opposite extreme. Wherever the backward community has become conscious of its disabilities, its actions are marked by a great destructive spirit. The history of the French Revolution is going to be re-enacted in the Hindu society. There is time as yet for remedy. It lies with the caste Hindus. If they *willingly* forgo the privileges which they have been enjoying so long, if they remove those customs in the society, which are marked even in the least by a spirit of pride, apathy or indifference to the backward communities, in short, if they extend a hand of love and sympathy to their oppressed brethren and thereby remove from their minds all causes of fear and suspicion, the society will have peace. Otherwise constant conflict and turmoil will reign in the society, which will spell ruin to its very life. What ripples of disturbance we see now in the society are but the indication of more disconcerting things which are coming in future. Why are people forced to offer Satyagraha before temples? It is because they have been foolishly and cruelly kept out so long, and now they are goaded to desperation. When a temple becomes the victim of iconoclastic fury, it is often the people of the lower community who come to its protection and offer resistance without caring for their very lives. But it is exactly they who are denied entrance into the temple. Can silliness go further? The radical remedy lies not in the backward people getting entrance into temples through Satyagraha or the like, but in the privileged classes throwing open the doors of temples to all, and that out of genuine love and brotherly feelings. Through such actions only, the impending social revolution and its consequent disasters can be averted.

And castes in future will be determined not by birth but according to merits. Not the Brahmins, but those who have got the Brahminical qualifications and those who are known for their intelligence and character, will rule the society. Already many such examples have occurred. What Brahmin is more honoured than Mahatma Gandhi, who is a Vaisya by caste? His influence is felt not only in the political field, but also in the social and religious life of the country. Swami Vivekananda, though belonging to a caste which made him the subject of criticism from orthodox people as not being fit for taking Sannyasa, has left an indelible impress upon the Hindu society and religion. Instances are not rare that Brahmins become supplicants for money and other favours at the door of those whom they formerly would not even touch. Many high-caste Hindus are now taking to professions which would, even some years back, mean social ostracism for them. If caste Hindus can show examples of those qualifications which made them once the object of honour and reverence, they will be able to retain their position of glory. Otherwise they will go down in the scale of social respect as surely as water finds its level. The Hindu society is now in a melting



pot. It is in the process of reconstruction. If it can be given a wise direction, its future is assured. Otherwise it is sad even to conceive what lies ahead.

### The Christian Attitude to Non-Christian Faiths

The following is taken from *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* :

The first thing we Christians need to remember is that God has manifested Himself to all people. And if this is so, we should try to understand how, under forms that seem strange and unfamiliar to us, light has been given to those who have genuinely searched after God. There is nothing perhaps more wonderful in the story of humanity than this world-wide search after God, this striving to penetrate the mystery of the universe. Religion is one of the universal facts, and we cannot believe that wherever that search has been genuine and sincere there has been no answer from God. Of course God has answered. And God is everywhere and to all men the same God. It is the form in which the experience of God is expressed that differs. It might be argued that in that case the differences between religions do not matter ; but they do, because there are more and there are less perfect expressions of that experience ; or to put it another way, some ways of describing that experience are more true than others, and we may not be content with anything less than the greatest approximation to the truth.

But though that is true we must not despise or treat without sympathy forms that seem to us less perfect than those we have received. Thus idolatry, *i. e.*, the worship of material thing as in some way embodying the Deity, is no mere superstition. For there is first, in what we term idolatry, the genuine movement of the soul that we call worship, the recognition of the spiritual. She worship of the sun, of the sacred river, even of the painted idol, may easily be more spiritual than the incense that is burned at the shrine of the Goddess of Wealth. And, secondly, God is revealed in the material and the physical, and it is better to see Him there than not to see Him at all.

We are less likely to miss the importance of the prophets of the various faiths,—Zoroaster, Confucius, Buddha, Mohammed, Guru Nanak, Tulsi Das, and a host of other religious teachers who have contributed to the world's wealth of spiritual experience. Life is too short for most of us to get at the messages of these men, either at first hand or at second, but we shall be false to the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit if we do not recognize that these men, each in his measure, have been inspired...

I have said enough, I hope, to indicate the guiding principles that should determine the attitude of the Christian to non-Christian faiths. Christians cannot forego their belief that in Jesus Christ we have received a final and supreme revelation of God, and that in Him the truths that all the faiths have found, will find their completion. The Christian cannot therefore regard other faiths as of equal value to his own. And, since what he has received is meant for the ultimate happiness and blessing of all mankind, he cannot cease from trying to propagate his faith.

But (1) he will not proselytize, *i. e.*, try to win converts by depreciating the faith of others, by any kind of pressure, or any kind of bribery, however

subtle,—anything, in a world, that does violence to the personality of others. His true means are a persuasive presentation of the truth as he sees it, and the witness of his life and service.

(2) He must be very humble, recognizing his own failure in discipleship of Jesus Christ, and that he is himself a very poor vehicle of the truth he wishes to commend. The life and faith of many non-Christians puts many of us to shame.

(3) I think the Christians should be keen to learn about and understand other religions, firstly, because they are worthy of study, and because they are the result of a sincere search after God. Secondly, because we can best commend our own faith if we appreciate sympathetically those who differ from us. And, thirdly, because there is a real bond between all those who in these secularised days hold to a spiritual interpretation of the Universe.

(4) I think we should regard the other great faiths as is in their way a preparation for and a means towards a fuller appreciation of Christ. Christianity, as interpreted in the West, has strengths which the East requires and has weaknesses which the East can repair, I believe that each great religion has something to give to the full presentation of Christ to mankind, and that it will only be when men of all races and all faiths acknowledge Him that the earth will see "the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ".

### The Malers of the Rajmahal Hills— Their Ornaments

From an account of the Malers of the Rajmahal Hills in *Man in India*, we quote the following :

The Malers and specially their womenfolk are very fond of ornaments.

**Head** :—The Paharias use comb and hair-pin for tying the hair. These are usually made of bamboo sticks. These combs are largely made by the Paharias of Sakla, a village about 5 miles west of Surajbera, between Kunjbona and Litipara. They always bear nice carvings and decorations. Earrings are also largely used by both the sexes. The males only wear two ear-rings, one in each lobe of the ear but in the females the whole pinna is pierced into several holes to hold four to fifteen ear-rings in each. The females always wear nose-rings on the left ala of the nose but among the Paharias living about Shahebgunge (Karambi, Chota Pachurki) the males too wear a nose-ring on the right ala. In Pakur and eastern Godda the nose-ring is replaced by a small star-shaped ornament and a small ring worn by piercing the septum of the nose although a large silver nose-ring was met with in the nose of the mother of the village headman of Kunjbona.

**Neck** :—Both the sexes use necklaces of glass beads purchased from the market. Another type of neck-ornament is a string of coins, the circular silver four-anna-coins being mounted with a ring on the border. Black threads are also worn in bunches from the neck. These threads usually carry flowers, and other articles of temporary adornment during social functions. Hansli, a neck ornament of zinc is worn by the females only.

**Upper Limbs** :—The males usually wear on the arm and sometimes on the wrist a zinc or bellmetal bangle. The females wear on the forearm a large number of bell-metal bangles, which look like spirals. Circular pieces of shells permanently joined by molten

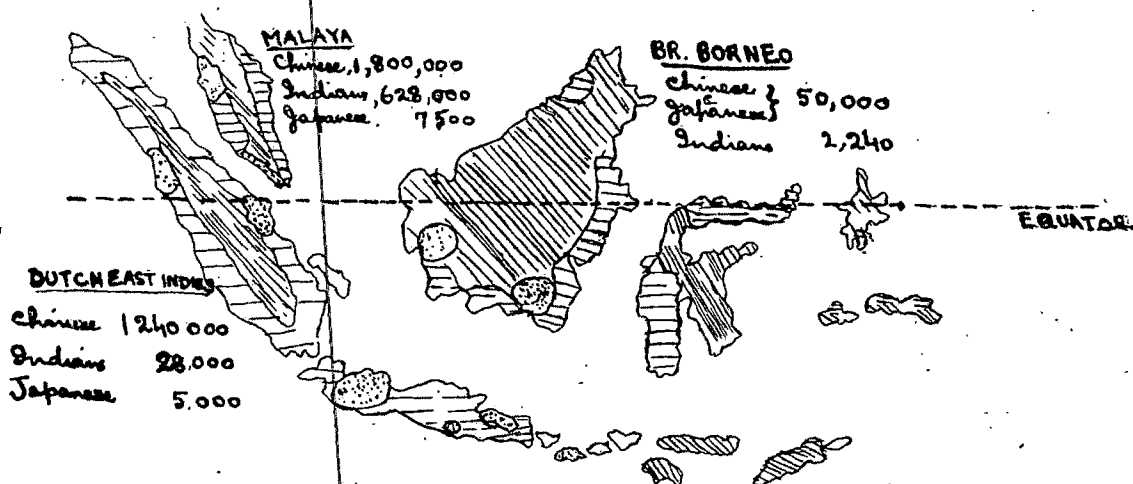
lac, after they have been inserted in the hand, are also worn by the females on the forearm. Armlets and finger-rings of zinc are also worn by the females.

**Lower Limbs** :—The only ornament on the ankle is used by the females and children. The common variety is the solid circular bronze rings. A second type worn by adult women is an inverted shaped ornament, the loop of which is firmly fixed on the back side of the leg. This ornament is also largely used by the women of the plains and the relative absence of this type among the hill-women of the Rajmahal sub-division shows that this has been adopted from the plains. The children also wear another type of anklet, which is made up of two circular brass or bronze rings soldered in the middle line with some red seeds of the wild *kunch* (*Abrus precatorius*) inside.

**Flowers and creepers** :—These are usually worn during festive occasions, market days and other social functions. On the market days when the youths of both sexes come to the market, the strings on the arms and necks, ear slits, flits of the pinna and hair carry various creepers and red flowers with wide corollas. Market is the proper place where mates are courted, with presents, which in particular can be had near at hand. Flowers are exchanged for gifts of necklaces and combs as such; flowers are presented to the intermediary who introduces a girl to a young man or *vice-versa*, flowers are abundantly used in the early stages of courtship of a young pair. The Santals typically excel in this art than any of the neighbouring tribes.

SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE  
AGRICULTURE & FORESTS IN THE UNDEVELOPED TROPICAL LANDS  
IN SOUTH-EASTERN ASIA

[See Article on p. 669]



Dotted portions represent AREAS OF SMALL FARMING RICE, MAIZE, BEANS ETC. introduced chiefly by Asiatic labour from the Mainland.

Diagonally shaded portions represent EQUATORIAL JUNGLE.

Horizontally shaded portions represent AREAS OF PLANTATIONS worked by imported Asiatic labour.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS



### The Class Behind the Nazis

A note in the *Living Age* hints at the relations existing between the Nazis and the leaders of industry :

Now that eight months have passed since Hitler attained supreme power in Germany it is at last possible to discover what is really happening. At no time has there been any doubt that the entire Nazi regime is merely the political arm through which certain industrialists control the country. The essential function of Hitler is to defend capitalism, private property, rugged individualism, production for profit. His movement is Socialist in name only.

But even granting that the Nazis are trying to preserve just as much of the old system as possible, even granting that Hitler is the embodiment of counter-revolution, a new class has emerged and begun to play an active part in world history. This class is not the proletariat that made the Russian Revolution or the bourgeoisie that made the French ; it is an enormous body of white-collar workers whose numbers have steadily increased as mechanical labour has displaced manual labour, especially in Germany, the most highly industrialized nation in Europe. This element is now executing Socialists, Communists, Jews, Liberals, and pacifists precisely as the French revolutionists guillotined the aristocrats and as the Red Russians exterminated the Whites. But there is this immense difference. The revolutionary middle class in France and the revolutionary proletariat in Russia were seizing property from other classes, whereas the Nazis are fighting to keep Fritz Thyssen in control of the Steel Trust.

### The Future of the Nazi Regime

The same paper goes on to explain the future of the Nazi regime in Germany :

The present Government therefore has less to fear from the Communists—who, by the way, are building up a powerful underground organization—than from its own supporters, who are gradually waking up to what has happened. It was fear of an uprising within his own ranks that caused Hitler to forbid any 'Second Revolution' last summer and to declare that as far as the Nazis were concerned the revolution was over. But further trouble is expected this winter, and an anonymous correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* just back from Germany reports a prospect of street fighting, pogroms and finally a monarchist restoration :

"That Hitler has given up all idea of a Socialist revolution is clear from the whole economic policy of the new Minister for Economic Affairs, Schmitt. But suppose that even a conservative policy cannot prevent hunger and cold ? Here is where opinions differ. Some think that then Hitler will be forced by his own masses to carry through the Second

Revolution, which means dividing feudal properties among the peasants particularly the Elban and East Prussian properties, confiscation of large fortunes, beginning with—above all—Jewish fortunes, the slogan being : 'Return to the German people what the bloodsucking Jews have taken from it.'

"But if Hitler is not willing to head the revolution others will, and it is confidently expected that street fighting will take place in Berlin this winter. It is even said that this street fighting will be provoked at such and such streets, and that a definite number of killed and wounded will be reported, and shops (presumably Jewish) looted before—and here comes the Great Unknown—the *Reichswehr* steps in. The *Reichswehr* cannot step in until things have become pretty bad, have passed a given (carefully planned) point. When and if the *Reichswehr* intervenes it will be for the purpose of re-establishing the monarchy. The young monarch is to be Louis Ferdinand, the second son of the Crown Prince. He is said by those who know him to be a fine, intelligent, modest young man, who did not take at first to the part assigned him but who is now undergoing systematic training for his future job.

### Fortification of the French Frontier

Last July the elaborate fortifications on the North-East frontier of France were brought to a completion. They have been planned with a view to resisting a sudden invasion of France by Germany and are a terrifying symptom of the war-fever among European nations. Their description, quoted in the *Volkerbund* from French papers, reads like a chapter from one of Jules Verne's scientific romances :

"The main feature of the new fortifications is their almost complete invisibility," says the *Journal* of August 29th : "How can one guess from seeing two or three cupolas that there is an interconnected network of passages and shafts extending to a depth of 60 metres and that accumulations of explosives only need an electric spark to turn the ground into enormous craters".

The *Petit Parisien* of August 30th describes the extent of these works : "How far is it from Metz to Saargemund ? The speedometer of the car shows 300 kilometres. The miracle of construction extends for a length of 300 kilometres". Another report reads : "Those who in the track of M. Daladier's car visited this extraordinary stronghold, which starts at the gates of Metz and stretches for many hundreds of kilometres have, as an antidote to excessive pessimism, gained the conviction that everything possible, much more than can be expressed, has been done for the defence of France."

"The whole represents a unique, an absolutely fantastic subterranean fortress, in which, starting from



to-morrow, a whole community will be able to live and defend itself against even the most powerfully equipped and most formidable assailant.

"Imagine, along a front of more than one hundred kilometres, at a distance of 12 kilometres from the frontier, a continuous series of separate fortifications, distinguishable only by the somewhat undulating appearance of the ground and the protrusion here and there, like huge Medusa's heads, of gun embrasures and concrete casemates. Countless single forts are ranged alongside one another and interconnected by secondary lines of defence."

"All along this frontier we have the same spectacle. Countless rows of barbed wire sunk deep in concrete show that one is near an unsuspected fortress. Beneath our feet is a fort which according to a highly-ranked officer is capable of resisting the heaviest artillery. Imagine a huge dreadnought deep down in the earth, at a depth usually only inhabited by miners. Over it are scattered thousands and thousands of tons of soil from which there emerge at intervals turrets with the muzzles of guns. Each of these turrets weighs at least 36 tons."

"A hundred metres below the surface we come upon the unknown city; the City of War, with long, brilliantly illuminated streets, beneath which a volcano lies dormant with a crater of such a wide extent that its sudden outburst would destroy huge areas."

"We discover a railway and in carriages that can almost be called comfortable and at the speed of an express train we make a tour of inspection round this astonishing city where everything has been pre-arranged so that whole armies can remain in it for months at a time."

"That is not all. There is no mere soil here. The ground consists of concrete and iron. The uneven surface suddenly ends in a sheer drop so cleverly arranged that tanks at full speed would fail to notice it in time and would be smashed to pieces in it."

"The underground fortress is built here in such a manner that the soldiers who have to inhabit it must be struck by the fact that even the laws of ballistics here are altered."

"Even greater is the deception produced on minds as a result of the curious working of a subterranean canal system. By the turn of a hand a whole area with all its streets and bridges can be flooded in a few hours' time: 'The Ponds' as these works are called."

### The Question of Food

*The New Republic* has an important article on the food requirements of men. The writer deals with American conditions but some of his remarks are of universal application:

In this land of suppressed plenty we listen with equanimity to descriptions of uprooted fruit trees, dumped milk, plowed-under grain and breadlines. Such wastes are unpardonable, we say, but still, in these times of over-production, few people in this country are actually starving for lack of food.

How many people are starving for actual lack of food we have no way of knowing. To the statistician such cases are of small importance compared with the vast numbers of people who are starving for lack of the right kind of food. Quantitative famine is

is spectacular, whereas qualitative famine is concealed. It is, however, terribly undermining to public health. In spite of the convincing and even spectacular results of diet experimentation with animals and human beings, we do not generally recognize the social importance of diet because its effects are hidden and therefore almost impossible to measure. At least we have never tried to measure them on any significant scale.

As a result of their experimental work, nutritionists have set up minimum standards for proper eating. On the other hand, government agricultural experiment stations, home-economics departments, the Children's Bureau and other agencies have begun to survey the food habits of various groups of the population. When the food consumed is measured against the food that should be consumed to meet minimum health requirements—a tough statistical job—it is found that alarming percentages of the families studied do not come up to the minimum standards.

These standard-of-living studies have proved what might seem an obvious fact: that family income is the most determining factor in family diet. One would expect a definite correlation between income and diet from a knowledge of the fact that those foods which are dietetically the most valuable—lean meats, milk, fruits and vegetables—are the most perishable. Though the nutritionists call these the protective foods, economists constantly refer to them as the luxury foods. An adequate income does not guarantee the purchase of an optimum diet; when carelessly spent it does not even ensure an adequate diet. But families with an adequate income are almost certain to meet the minimum standards which have been set up, for adequate income allows variety, always a safeguard, and above all it allows a generous purchase of the more expensive protective foods.

### Organized Christianity and War

People in this country who are frequently surprised and sometimes shocked by the political attitude of British missionaries and clergymen in India forget that organized religion has never been on the side of oppressed and suffering humanity because its worldly interests are inevitably linked up with those of existing Governments. There is no sphere of human activities which illustrates this better than war. As a writer says in the *World Tomorrow* in course of a review of Ray H. Abram's book *Preachers Present Arms*:

It must be recorded that while our churches have a tradition of peace and have continuously given lip service to the cause, they have supported every particular and specific war that this country has fought. They had a large part in the War of the Revolution. They supported the Civil War on both sides of the border. In the Spanish American War one of the Philadelphia pastors said: "More righteous is this war than the war for independence... and the Civil War... because in this war we are fighting for the freedom of those who are bound to us by no other ties than those of common humanity." Thus it is apparent that the churches and their leaders came up to the Great War with a love for peace in general but with a willingness to fight any particular war which the government might declare.

He then goes on to summarize the record of American clergymen during the Great War:

What they said makes sad reading now. Many, I know, would give their right hand could they call back their words. One of my own theological teachers said, "This war, when carried by the Allies and America to the right issue, will be another proof of the divine power of the Sermon on the Mount." A Y. M. C. A. physical director supplied the soldiers with a little manual on hand-to-hand fighting. Among other things, he said: "Never miss an opportunity to destroy the eyes of the enemy... The eye can easily be removed with the finger." And another Y. M. C. A. secretary of great power wrote: "I would not enter this work till I could see Jesus himself sighting down a gun barrel and running a bayonet through an enemy's body." Even such a scholar and teacher as Dr. Bosworth, formerly dean of Oberlin, could write: "The Christian soldier in friendship wounds the enemy. In friendship he kills the enemy." And such a man as the Rev. George F. Pentecost, a Presbyterian pastor in Philadelphia, could say that "no line could be drawn between Christianity and patriotism" and "every Presbyterian church should be a recruiting station." Mr. Abrams' record gives us page after page of these statements. It is a record of apostasy that makes one ashamed and sick at heart.

The fifth part of the record is reserved for those who kept the faith. There was a remnant who did not join the pack. There were a few who did not bow the knee to Baal or throw their children to Moloch. There were a few who kept the faith. John Haynes Holmes was one. Norman Thomas another. And there was "Billy" Fincke, Nevin Sayre, Paul Jones and a few others. Mr. Abrams has listed most of them (not all) and he tells just what happened to them. In a few cases these preachers kept their pulpits and their people stood by them, but these were rare exceptions. These men have a right to be proud of their war record. They worked through the war to lessen the burden of the conscientious objectors. And little help they got from the churches! They worked, too, for civil liberties and for a just peace. Their individual testimony and the organized testimony of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and other groups kept the torch of true religion alight. To their work is due the fact that a new spirit is arising in our clergy. How they must rejoice as they hear Dr. Fosdick, Sherwood Eddy, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and many others declare that they will "never bless or support any war whatsoever again." The list of penitents increases daily.

But what of the future? If we fight again, say against Japan for the honour of the white race, or against England for the freedom of the seas, or against Russia to prevent the spread of atheistic communism, will the preachers be for those wars too? Time alone can answer. Mr. Abrams is most fair and generous. He does not blame the clergy for what they did in the last war. They were the victims, like all the rest, of propaganda, the herd instinct and the munition makers. But this cannot satisfy a sincere preacher of the gospel of Christ. He cannot excuse himself in that way. He believes that the gospel of love can redeem the world. He has nothing to preach if in a time of stress he falls back, and justifies his falling back on the way of the world, the way of hatred and violence and bloodshed. Now is the time for the ministers of America to read their record of 1917 and 1918 and make up their

minds where they will stand when the propaganda machine again cries, "Kill, kill for the glory of God and the American people."

### Foreign Doctors in China

A note in *The People's Tribune* describes the domination of foreign doctors in China irrespective of their professional qualifications. The passage is not without its moral for India:

It is in Shanghai particularly, where foreign culture has come to dominate in such measure, that we find people of high social standing and great political prominence visiting foreign quack and charlatans rather than competent Chinese physicians. This is the more amazing in view of the fact that Shanghai is so notoriously a centre for foreign charlatans, and that these scoundrels usually have even less scruple with regard to their Chinese than to their foreign victims. And yet we hear of a Chinese lady of great prominence politically, whose own husband was a qualified doctor, who, when visiting a highly competent Chinese physician of the modern school, explained that she just wanted to see him before going to a foreign physician—in the sense that the latter could be more fully relied upon. That this extraordinary and quite idiotic prejudice is shared by many Chinese—as well as foreign ignoramuses—is shown by the great success which many foreign quacks and charlatans have achieved here, while many highly qualified Chinese physicians are hard put to it to make both ends meet.

It is necessary to note that this distrust of Chinese medical men's ability is distinctly *not* shared by competent foreigners of the profession out here. In the Peiping Union Medical College, the premier medical institution in China, in the hands of Americans and supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, most departments are actually in the hands of Chinese specialists today. The most competent men the heads of the P. U. M. C. Hospital can find are, in most cases now Chinese. But ignorant and prejudiced foreigners, and even Chinese, sometimes come to this institution and then turn away upon finding that their specialist is a Chinese—actually turning to foreign physicians of much less competence, and graduates of the P. U. M. C. sometimes come to Shanghai and discover themselves passed over in favour of some foreign charlatan.

Cynics, of course, may say that such fools deserve to be swindled. But when men and women are ill and suffering, it is hardly time to take such an attitude. Furthermore, while most of the "quacks" (i. e., persons practising without proper preliminary training) are probably foreigners, there are charlatans among both Chinese and foreigners, men with the proper degrees and training but unscrupulously swindling their patients at every stage. Until there is compulsory registration and organization of physicians, therefore, and supervision of their work and their conduct, all that can be done is to depend upon personal recommendation or advice, or accept the physicians in attendance at the best foreign and Chinese hospitals, when one is in need of medical treatment. No intelligent person, of course, should permit their choice to be guided by a question of nationality.

### The Armament Firms of Great Britain

It is admitted on all hands that the armament manufacturers are the worst promoters of war. How near we are again to a universal conflagration is indicated by the prosperity of the great armament firms. The following summary published by *The Living Age* of a pamphlet issued by the Union of Democratic Control, entitled *Patriotism Ltd.*, deals with the munition manufacturers of Great Britain:

While scientists, acting on the instructions of the politicians, make war more and more deadly, the armament manufacturers and the makers of material essential to this manufacture watch their profits grow. While almost every other form of industry is in the slough of depression, the shares of armament firms improve in value.

The attitude of those who are interested in armaments is well represented by a cynical remark in *The Aeroplane*, a paper which may be fairly described as the unofficial, and sometimes surprisingly outspoken, voice of the Air Ministry and the aircraft industry:—

'The manufacturers of both aeroplanes and engines may hope for increased turnover and profits a year or so hence when the Disarmament Conference has faded out and the programme of expansion is allowed to proceed.'

The British Government itself is pleased at every increase in the sales of British arms overseas, not only because they are good for trade and prestige, but because a high armament export trade enables British firms to keep up-to-date and, by working at a greater capacity than would be possible if they had to rely only on the purchasing power of their own Government, to be always ready for the sudden demands of war.

Mr. H. J. Thomas, chairman of the Society of British Aircraft Constructors, boasted that the Hendon display had 'proved valuable as a means of securing orders,' adding significantly, but obscurely, that it was becoming 'more difficult to trade foreign business except in a vague way through the Government reports of exports. Business in military aeroplanes is still being done, often on condition that no announcement concerning the placing of orders is made.'

The proof of this increased activity in military-aircraft sales can immediately be found in the fact that a firm like the Fairey Aviation Co., which specializes in the manufacture of military aircraft, showed an increase of 12½ per cent in net profits in 1932-33, while the H. G. Hawker Engineering Co., which has sold more military aeroplanes, exclusive of training types, than any other British firm, has now formed a new company, Hawker Aircraft, Ltd., to deal with the increased trade. Mr. Sprigg, the general manager of the H. G. Hawker Engineering Co., recently stated: 'The total number of aeroplanes produced in the past year broke all records in the industry since the latter years of the war.'

The new firm, Hawker Aircraft, Ltd., boasts in its prospectus: 'Hawker aircraft are also in service in Canada, New Zealand, Denmark, Norway, Estonia, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Japan. Further orders are in hand for the Swedish, Danish, and Persian Governments. Certain types of Hawker

aircraft are being manufactured under license in Sweden and Denmark, and the option to purchase manufacturing rights of certain types has been acquired by Norway, Japan, and Persia. The British Air Ministry has also acquired under a royalty agreement the manufacturing rights of the Hawker "Hart" type aircraft, and this machine is in course of quantity production by Vickers (Aviation), Ltd., and Sir W. G. Armstrong Whitworth Aircraft, Ltd., to the order of the Air Ministry.'

Rolls-Royce Ltd., who make the best British aero-engines as well as the best luxury cars, and who are now supplying the engines for a large number of R.A.F. bombing and fighting squadrons, showed an increase of 5½ per cent on their net profits in 1932-33.

De Havilland Aircraft, Ltd., reports: 'There has also been a good deal of activity in the aircraft section, stimulated by the rapidly dwindling prospects of disarmament.'

Mr. O. Short, the managing director of Short Bros., one of the leading seaplane manufacturers, was, no doubt, expressing the legitimate hope of the whole industry when he said: 'This year will see the firm's workshops full again at work both on civil and military aircraft. The coming year will be the busiest since the Armistice.'

In some branches of the armament industry, it is difficult to estimate profits, precisely because armament firms manufacture other things besides armaments. In the case of Vickers, the holding company of Vickers-Armstrongs, which is the largest armament firm in this country, it is clear that the improvement shown in its Annual Report this year, was mainly the result of increased armament orders.

Sir Herbert Lawrence, chairman of Vickers, Ltd., who took the opportunity in his annual speech to refer to the arguments of 'The Secret International,' admitted that Vickers-Armstrongs 'relies very largely on armament orders for its existence, and justified its export trade by the stock argument that 'the safety of the Empire in the event of aggression by some other power also depends on the capacity of the company to increase its production of armaments at short notice.'

Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., which in addition to its other activities is the predominant British producer of high explosives, shells, and materials of chemical warfare, has done astonishingly well during the last years, and its recent success is clearly due in part to the war in the Far East, for which Imperial Chemicals, through their subsidiary, I.C.I. (Metals), Ltd., has supplied very large quantities of munitions. Their net profits in 1932 increased from £3,408,292 to £4,729,072, an increase of 39 per cent.

Their annual report was the model of discretion in dealing with the activities of their metal group. No direct reference was made to the slaughter of Chinese and Japanese on the plains of Manchuria, but it was remarked: 'Sporting-ammunition business was good. Although financial stringency and a poor shooting season combined to render home sales disappointing, export trade substantially increased, the lower sterling exchange having widened markets in which trade was formerly difficult.'



### The Soviets and World Revolution

The fostering of a world revolution used to be one of the cardinal doctrines of Bolshevik foreign policy in its earliest phase and this created the most formidable obstacle in the way of the recognition by of Russia the Governments of the world. This is no longer the case. In an article contributed to *The New Republic* Trotsky shows that the orientation of Soviet foreign policy has become profoundly altered and the Third International no longer stands between Russia and the Powers :

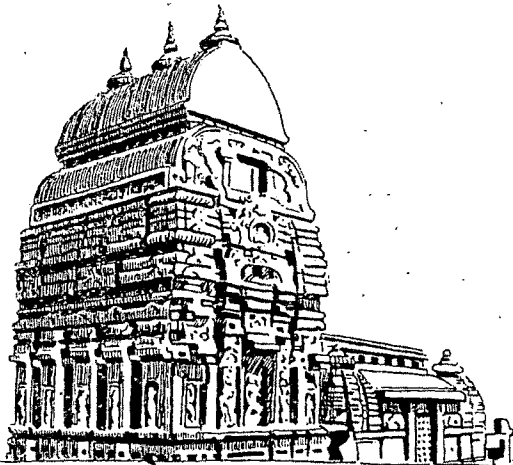
The plan for building socialism in one country alone is in no wise an empty phase ; it is a practical programme, embracing in equal degrees economy, internal policies and diplomacy. The more decisively the Soviet bureaucracy has intrenched itself in its position as to national socialism, the more the questions of international revolution, and with them the Comintern, have been relegated to the background. Every new revolution is an equation with many unknowns, and hence it includes in itself an element of major political risk. The present Soviet government seeks, with might and main, to ensure its internal security against risk connected not only with wars but revolutions. Its internal policies have been transformed from international-revolutionary policies into those which are conservative.

True, the Soviet leadership cannot openly avow the facts as they are, either to its own workers or those of other countries. It is shackled by the ideological heritage of the October revolution, which forms the reservoir for its authority with the working masses. But while the shell of the tradition remains, the content has evaporated. The Soviet government allows the rudimentary organs of the Comintern to maintain their residence in Moscow. But it no longer permits them to convoke international congresses. Since it no longer counts upon the assistance of foreign Commu-

nist parties, it no longer concerns itself in the least with their interests in its own foreign policies. We need only refer to the nature of the reception accorded to the French politicians in Moscow in order to be hit between the eyes by the contradiction between the epoch of Stalin and the epoch of Lenin !

A recent issue of the French official organ, *Le Temps* (September 24), carries a dispatch from Moscow which is most significant. "The platonic hopes for the world revolution are being expressed [among the ruling circles of the U.S. S. R.] all the more fervently the more they are being renounced in practice." *Le Temps* goes on to elucidate, "Since the removal of Trotsky, who with his theory of the permanent revolution represented a genuine international danger, the Soviet rulers, headed by Stalin, have adhered to the policy of building socialism in one country without awaiting the problematic revolution in the rest of the world." The newspaper insistently warns against error those French politicians who still incline to confuse the phantoms of the past with the realities of today. Let us not forget that this involves, not a chance publication but the most influential and utterly conservative organ of the ruling class of France. Jaures once said aptly about *Le Temps*. "It is the bourgeoisie turned into a newspaper."

Of all the world governments, the American government has up to now adhered most irreconcilably, in relation to the Soviets to the principle of capitalistic "Legitimacy." In this, question of the Comintern played the decisive role ; we need only recall the Hamilton Fish Committee ! However, if the honourable member of Congress keeps in touch with living facts, which need no testimony of witnesses—for they speak for themselves—he must come to the conclusion that the foreign policy of the Soviet government no longer creates the slightest hindrance towards its recognition, not only *de facto* but *de jure*.



## NOTES

### *Mahendra Lal Sircar Birth Centenary*

*The Leader* writes with reference to the celebration in Calcutta early last month of the centenary of the birth of the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar

We are glad that good old Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar has been remembered and the centenary of his birth celebrated in the hall of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science in Dr. Sircar's native city of Calcutta. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar was a great physician, a great scientist, a great reformer and a great patriot. He was the first distinguished doctor who avowed preference for homoeopathy over allopathy. This led to trouble. On this account he was removed from the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Calcutta and a great controversy ensued. Such progress has been made since then that now there could be no obscurantist who would think of such preposterous action. Dr. Sircar was so convinced of the necessity of a wide diffusion of a knowledge of science among the people of India that he founded the Association named above. It is a reproach to the philanthropy of Bengal that Dr. Sircar had to turn to the then Maharaja of Vizianagram for a contribution for the foundation of a laboratory. The Maharaja gave fifty thousand rupees. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar carried out a regular crusade against premature marriage and it was a favourite saying of his, repeated many times, that he dated the decline of India from the day when Angira uttered the 'fatal' words that a girl became a *kanya* at the age of ten and must be married forthwith. Mr. Justice Ranade paid a tribute to Dr. Sircar's zeal for social reform by persuading him to accept the presidency of the third session of the Indian Social Conference held at Calcutta in the Christmas of 1890. Dr. Sircar died in 1901 full of years and honours. We join our friends of Calcutta in paying our respectful homage to his honoured memory.

Within a brief compass the extract printed above skilfully gives one a good idea of Dr. Sircar's personality. It may be added that the main credit, as a donor, for the

foundation of the Rajkumari Leper Asylum at Baidyanath, named after his wife, belongs to him. Within the Hindu fold he was also an ardent upholder of the unity of the Godhead. Speaking at the Rammohun Roy Anniversary in the year 1889, which was presided over by Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, he observed :

"In connection with the versatility of the late Raja Rammohun Roy, I hope I shall be permitted to take this opportunity of saying that it is a matter of great rejoicing that he should be claimed by all sections of the community as a man who ought to be admired. Gentlemen, while it is a matter for rejoicing, I must at the same time raise my warning voice that we should not lose sight of the great central truth to the propagation of which the late Raja Rammohun Roy devoted his whole life, and that was, the unity of the Godhead. The great aspiration of the late Raja Rammohun Roy was to enable the human mind to acquire the highest truth which it was capable of acquiring, and that was to have a just, correct, and true idea of the unity of the Godhead. I need not dwell and dilate upon the various reforms which he inaugurated; those reforms are going on rapidly enough. But I must say—and say with the greatest regret—that the greatest reform at which he aimed, namely, to instruct his countrymen in the unity of the Godhead, has not made adequate progress.....when I recollect what the late Raja Rammohun Roy did for the abolition of idolatry, and what we have since been doing towards the same object, I must say that we cannot congratulate ourselves upon our energy."

### *"A Reproach to the Philanthropy of Bengal"*

In the opinion of the Allahabad daily, "It is a reproach to the philanthropy of Bengal that Dr. Sircar had to turn to the then Maharaja of Vizianagram for a contribution for the foundation of a laboratory. The Maharaja gave fifty thousand rupees."

If it be a reproach for any province to receive donations from outside, Bengal may be said to be in good company. For example, in Allahabad the Vizianagram Hall of the Muir Central College was built with money given by the Maharaja of Vizianagram; many, if not most of the big donations received by the Hindu University of Benares came from outside the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; such was perhaps also the case with the Aligarh M. A.-O. College which has developed into the Aligarh University; donations were collected for the Hindu Widows' Home and the Indian Women's University, both of the Bombay Presidency, from America and Africa; donations were collected for the Jalandar Kanya Mahavidyalay from Africa; etc., etc. We are not aware that it was ever said pointedly that these facts were a reproach to the philanthropy of the United Provinces, Bombay, and the Punjab.

As regards Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar's Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, while Bengal is grateful for what non-Bengalis have given to it, one may be permitted to point out that Bengalis also have done a little for it. It was founded on January 16, 1876. The first year's report of its working, published in 1877, contains a complete list of the donations received during 1876, amounting to Rs. 95,746 in the aggregate. Out of this sum the donations received from non-Bengalis were Rs. 500 from Sir Richard Temple, Rs. 5,000 from the Maharaja of Patiala, Rs. 1,000 from the widow of Govinda Prasad Pandit of Raniganj (settled in Bengal), Rs. 100 from Pandit Pran Nath Saraswati of Bhawanipur (settled in Bengal), and Rs. 100 from the Rev. Father E. Lafont, S. J., of St. Xavier's College—total, Rs. 6,700. The balance of Rs. 89,046 came from Bengalis *during the first year of the existence of the institution*. A small book in Bengali and English, entitled, "The Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Its Short History and Urgent Needs," by Trailokya Nath Mukherji and Amrita Lal Sircar, L.M.S., F.C.S., published in 1903, contains an account of the receipts and disbursements from 1876 to 1902. On the credit side are shown Rs. 3,84,470,

comprising Rs. 1,69,278 received from the public, Rs. 40,000 received in 1890 from the Maharaja of Vizianagram for the laboratory (perhaps the Maharaja gave another Rs. 10,000 afterwards), Rs. 25,000 received from Babu Kally Kishen Tagore for scientific instruments, Rs. 15,200 received from the Maharaja of Cooch Behar for Lecturers, Rs. 98,378 as interest on Government securities, Rs. 35,789 from rent of roadside shops, and Rs. 825 miscellaneous. It is stated in the introduction to this book that at the time of its publication the property held by the Association was valued at nearly Rs. 4,50,000.

In recent years the late Babu Bihari Lal Mitra of Calcutta gave Rs. 1,00,000 to the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

Of course, the amounts given to this institution were small compared with the large educational endowments received by universities, etc., in more recent times. That Dr. Sircar did not get more from his Bengali and other countrymen for his Association was because in his days there was little interest in scientific research and education in Bengal and other provinces, because he was not as persuasive a "beggar" as Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, etc., and because of other circumstances which it would do no good to mention now. The time had yet to come when in different provinces Jamshedji Tata, D. Laxminarayana, Rash Behari Ghose and Taraknath Palit were to give millions for science.

It has been necessary to give so much space to what may appear to be a very small matter, because interested propaganda has been carried on to produce the wrong impression that Bengalis have done nothing or little for the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science and that it owed its birth and existence to the donation of the Maharaja of Vizianagram.

### "Caste Nil"

The "India" volume of the Census of India for 1931 is by Dr. J. H. Hutton, who is an anthropologist of distinction. In the



chapter devoted to caste, tribe and race in Part I of this volume it is stated :

"In 1931, a definite return of nil was accepted for caste as distinct from the individuals who on account of ignorance or accident failed to state any caste at all. These returns of 'caste nil' totalled 1,883,464 for India, 98 per cent of which came from Bengal." P. 430.

It is well known that Bengal is among the least caste-ridden regions of India and "untouchability" of the extreme southern India type is entirely unknown here. The sentences extracted above also tend to show that caste has lost its hold to a considerable extent on the Hindu community of Bengal. It is, therefore, an irony of fate and of "anti-untouchability" that the Poona Pact appears to take it for granted that "untouchability" prevails in Bengal as much as in Madras, assigning to "Harijans" in both the provinces an equal number of seats in the councils.

As the "untouchables" or the depressed classes are also Hindus, it is no grievance of other Hindus that persons belonging to those classes may occupy a certain number of seats in the councils. But what are objected to are (i) that a wedge is being driven into the Hindu community by the Communal Decision and the Poona Pact, dividing it into two sections and making them pronouncedly antagonistic to one another, (ii) that "high" caste Hindus are being deprived of the right of representing the "lower" castes and the "lower" castes are being deprived of the advantage of being represented by capable and sympathetic high-caste Hindus on the alleged or assumed ground that the higher castes do not care for or are even hostile to the interests of the lower, which is not universally true, (iii) that the number of capable persons among the depressed classes possessed of a spirit of independence being smaller than among the intelligentsia, the nationalist element in the councils is being weakened, thus strengthening the subservient element and reducing the democratic element to impotence—particularly in Bengal, and (iv) that in Bengal those classes which have worked, suffered and sacrificed most for the attainment of *swaraj* and have been doing most for the uplift of the depressed classes are being practically eliminated from the legislature

by the Communal Decision and the Poona Pact combined. The whole idea of communal representation is not only anti-national but against commonsense and strikes a blow at the electors' freedom of choice of their representatives. In law-suits Musalmans choose both non-Muselman and Musalman counsel, Hindus choose both Hindu and non-Hindu counsel, lower caste Hindus choose both high caste and lower caste counsel, and so on. Why then should it be assumed and enacted that in legislatures the elected must belong to the same sect or caste-group as the electors ?

### *Risley "Built Better than He Knew!"*

In Part I of the "India" volume of the Census of India for 1931, Dr. Hutton writes :

"All subsequent census officers in India must have cursed the day when it occurred to Sir Herbert Risley, no doubt in order to test his admirable theory of the relative nasal index, to attempt to draw up a list of castes according to their rank in society. He failed, but the results of his attempt are almost as troublesome as if he had succeeded, for every census gives rise to a pestiferous deluge of representations, accompanied by highly problematical histories, asking for recognition of some alleged fact or hypothesis of which the census as a department is not legally competent to judge and of which its recognition, if accorded, would be socially valueless. Moreover, as often as not, direct action is requested against the corresponding hypothesis of other castes. For the caste that desires to improve its social position seems to regard the natural attempts of others to go up with it as an infringement of its own prerogative; its standing is in fact to be attained by standing upon others rather than with them. For these reasons an abandonment of the return of caste would be viewed with relief by census officers."

The abandonment of the return of caste might be viewed with relief by census officers but it would not be welcomed by those European and Indian officials and non-officials who are interested in keeping the Hindus socio-politically divided and in minimizing the political power and effectiveness of the Hindu intelligentsia in freedom's battle. Consciously or unconsciously, Sir Herbert Risley has helped these officials and non-officials to gain their object by drawing up a list of castes according to their rank in society. All subsequent similar lists are adaptations or modifications of Risley's list. The natural urge

which leads many castes to improve their social position continues to be strong. So strong is it that in spite of the bribe in the form of reserved seats in councils offered by the Communal Decision and the Poona Pact to many castes to adhere to their real or assumed degraded social position, many of these have objected to being classified as untouchable or depressed castes. In Bengal the bribe has been resisted to such an extent that, according to the Hon'ble Sir William Prentice's reply to a question in the Bengal Council on August 29, 1933,

"Objections were received with respect to the proposed status of the following castes on various grounds :

Bagdi,	Konwar,	Oraon.
Bhumali,	Lodha,	Pod,
Dhoba,	Lohar,	Pundari,
Hadi,	Malla,	Rajbanshi,
Jalia Kaibarta,	Muchi,	Raju,
Jhalo Malo or	Nagar,	Shagirdposha,
Malo,		
Kalwar,	Namasudra,	Sukli,
Kapali,	Nath,	Sunri."
Khandait,	Nuniya,	

It has been shown in our last October number that these castes comprise the bulk of the persons included in the provisional official schedule of socially and politically backward classes. There is a distinct bias perceptible among the officials in favour of including in the schedule as many castes as possible. Even among persons genuinely interested in the uplift of the lower strata of society—persons some of whom are members of the Servants of the Untouchables Society—there is an unconscious tendency to accept the highest or higher figure of "Harijans" in Bengal as against the lowest or any lower figure. Their anxiety is to prove that the 30 seats given to them are really as many as or perhaps less than what their numerical strength warrants. They appear to be unconscious that in trying to justify the reservation of 30 seats in this way, they have been going against their avowed object of the social elevation of "Harijans" and against the emphatic objection of many castes to be called "Harijans."

And all the while the gods are laughing—if they laugh—at the incongruous sight of many a leading member of the national, democratic and non-communal Congress

organization virtually supporting the anti-national, anti-democratic and communalistic Communal Decision of the British Prime Minister in their eager desire to keep the Poona Pact intact !

It is easy to anticipate the official argument that the objections with respect to the officially proposed status of the 26 castes mentioned above were not received from all the persons or most of the persons included in each of these castes, as there was no referendum. The reply is, neither was their proposed degraded status decided upon on the basis of such a referendum. No caste has ever unanimously or by a majority vote chosen to be considered degraded or backward. Neither the Government, nor Dr. Ambedkar, nor Mahatma Gandhi has the moral right to tell even a single man that he is baseborn or included among the degraded or depressed, if he objects to be so styled or included. So, even if the objections were found in some cases to have come only from some sections of some of the above-named castes, they should be considered valid.

### *Whipping and Sterilization for Abduction and Rape*

The observations made by the Khulna People's Association in reply to the Government letter inviting its opinion on the suggestion to extend the provisions of the Whipping Act to offences under sections 354, 366, 366A, 366B, 367, 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code are printed below.

1. In view of the rapid and abnormal increase of offences against women and in view of the organized attempts made to commit and complete these outrages, it must be admitted that severer and more deterrent punishments are necessary.

2. In cases of gang rape and continued and systematic outrages upon a single woman, although the punishment of whipping is provided by the Act, in actual experience it is seen that flogging is inflicted only in rare cases. Efforts should be made that the provision of the Whipping Act are applied in cases of a diabolical nature.

3. In addition to these forms of punishment the provision applicable to bad characters contained in the Criminal Procedure Code and the Police Regulations may be made applicable to these convicted persons.

4. There is a large volume of opinion against the entire abolition of the punishment of whipping and so it is doubtful if an unanimity of opinion in favour of the extension of the punishment of

whipping will be obtained. But the growing evil and menace have to be checked and society protected from these ruffians. I, therefore, venture to suggest that that power may be acquired through legislation by which it may be made possible to sterilize convicted persons before their release from jail, so that their future activities may be entirely checked. Unless such drastic measures are taken, society will suffer immensely.

5. It has also been suggested that in addition to the forms of punishment prescribed by law other punishments, *e.g.*, bar-fetters, standing handcuffs, night fetters, solitary cell, etc., provided in the Jail Code, may be advantageously adopted.

6. There is a further suggestion from many quarters that corporal punishment to be deterrent should be inflicted locally, *i.e.*, at the place of the commission of the offence or at the village of the outraged woman or other convenient places.

Flogging is a barbarous punishment, and we are not generally in favour of its retention or extension. But if it be retained, it ought to be inflicted in cases of rape, and certainly in cases of gang rape. We are emphatically and unequivocally in favour of the sterilization of persons guilty of rape and specially of gang rape. Cases are not rare in which persons accused of abduction and rape are found guilty and punished but in which the girls or women outraged cannot be found. In such cases the property of the offenders should be confiscated. Sometimes the partners or accomplices of the culprits abscond and succeed in evading detection. Their property also should be confiscated.

### *Allahabad University Music Conference*

The promoters and organizers of the Allahabad University Music Conference have made an enlightened and progressive move. As Mr. Justice Niamatullah observed in opening the recent fourth annual session of the conference:

He assumed that the reason for selecting a person of his class, for the purpose, might be that conviction might be carried to the minds of some of those, who might still be suspected of harbouring a lingering prejudice against the art of music and his object in performing the opening ceremony of the conference, was to carry conviction to the minds of the organizers that even those employed in very serious pursuits of life greatly appreciated their efforts in promoting the art of music, the social and spiritual effects of which were no longer in controversy.

Proceeding, he observed:

they found in these days every educational institution aspiring to have means to provide itself with a competent staff to impart instruction in music. Among the pioneers in favour of

making music popular in these provinces, the Bengali community domiciled in this province was entitled to very great credit. It was they through whom music was introduced through our girls, with whom it was now very popular. It was a very brilliant idea conceived by some devotees of music to introduce it in the life of the University. It was probably to achieve that end that the present conference was founded a little over three years ago during which short period it had made very rapid progress. It had attracted not only competitors from different places but had also attracted public attention to its growing usefulness.

Dr. D. R. Bhattacharyya was entitled to their thanks for the very great efforts he had made to make the conference a success. He also congratulated the organizers for selecting Major Ranjit Singh to preside over this year's session.

Major Ranjit Singh delivered an instructive address. He has subsequently expressed the opinions that:

Amongst the instrumental musicians professors Hafiz Ali Khan of Gwalior, Inayat Khan of Gauripur, and J. C. Chatterji of violin fame, were listened to with rapt attention. Prof. Molvi Ram (Muktagachha) and Hirendra Ganguli of Calcutta carried the largest approbation amongst the *tabla* players, while Prof. Parbat Singh was easily the best amongst the *pakhawaj* artists. Dancing of Kartic Ram of Raipur was very highly appreciated.

Amongst the amateurs, Miss Binapani Mukerji of Calcutta easily topped the list amongst girl-musicians, while Miss Ojha and Miss Maya Bhattacharyya carried the largest approbation amongst the amateur girls. Little Miss Mukerji of Calcutta kept the audience spell-bound and may be looked upon almost as a musical prodigy.

Dr. Ranjit Singh rightly condemns the harmonium.

From the classical point of Indian music the inevitable harmonium should have been easily kept outside the conference, as according to the verdict of authorities on Indian music, this instrument, instead of having helped that art, has really retarded the progress of real music and is by no means a worthy accompaniment of Indian classical music. The Marris College of Hindustani Music at Lucknow are very right in having excluded this detestable instrument from its list.

It was a pity there was no professor of *Bina*. Dr. Bhattacharyya's children carried most of the prizes and deservedly.

### *Modern Indian Music should be Cultivated*

In times past India had made great progress in painting, sculpture, architecture, and the arts of writing plays, epics, stories, as well as in the arts of music and dancing. The specimens of old Indian paintings, sculpture and architecture which have come down to our day are admired and discriminatingly imitated. But such admiration and



imitation have not stood in the way of our modern painters, sculptors and architects independently following the respective bents of their genius and talents. Similarly, in the literatures of the progressive vernaculars of India, the dramas, novels, epics, lyrics, short-stories, etc., do not slavishly follow the technique and styles of similar productions in Sanskrit literature, though these latter deserve and continue to receive high praise and serious attention. Rabindranath Tagore, the greatest author in Bengali literature, has struck out a new path in its various departments. At the same time there is not a more earnest advocate of Sanskritic studies.

So there is no antagonism between reverence for and study of past achievements and the cultivation of the ancient arts, wherever necessary and practicable, and giving free scope to creative genius in all directions in modern times, including music.

We do not know whether in the United Provinces there has been any successful creative effort in our day in the sphere of music. If there has been, it ought to receive recognition and encouragement. In Bengal, there have been the great musical creations of Rabindranath Tagore. Here the devotees of classical music may fight shy of them, but the people have given their verdict in their favour, without at all slighting classical music. There is no function in Bengal of which music forms a part in which the songs of Rabindranath Tagore are not sung. Their poetry moves, stirs, inspires; their music enthral. Even illiterate peasants and boatmen sing them—a fact which attracted the notice of even a political tourist like E. S. Montagu.

We do not know whether in the Allahabad University Music Conference the dances were different from those of the voluptuous and sensual type practised by professional *danceuses* which have come down from Muhammadan times. The *garba* of Gujarat and the folk dances of Bengal are decent and enjoyable. Similar are the dances of Manipur and some South Indian dances. The various new dances introduced in Rabindranath Tagore's school at Santiniketan are expressive, charming and free from any objection.

### *All-India This and That*

It is to be regretted that there is a rage for "All-India" functions in some places where there is no probability of persons from "All-India" taking part in them or even getting to know about them. It would be better, therefore, to use the pretentious name of "All-India" as sparingly as practicable.

### *"Protection of the Cow a National Asset"*

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's appeal for the protection of the cow ought to be responded to even by those who, unlike orthodox Hindus, do not have any religious veneration for that very useful animal. He quotes in it scientific opinion to show the great importance which milk has for man particularly for vegetarians. His recommendation is quoted below.

During the cow week celebration six years ago, the Sanatan Dharma Sabha, over which I had the honour to preside, recommended to the country that every year from Govardhan Puja to the Gopashtami Day, a week should be observed as "Go Saptaha," in which special efforts should be made by lectures, pamphlets, leaflets, *bhajans*, meetings, processions, *kathas*, conferences and other educative propaganda to remind the people how great a benefactor of man the cow is, and to bring home to them the duty of treating her with kindness and tender care and protecting her from injury and also of increasing and cheapening the supply of milk for the people.

### *Terrorism in Japan*

Last year there were many terrorist murders and other outrages in Japan. It would be instructive and useful to learn what special measures were taken by the State there to deal and deal successfully with terrorism. The latest incident connected therewith has been thus related by *Reuter* :

Tokio (By Mail)

Nine blood-stained fingers in a box accompanied a petition, which has been received by General Araki, the Japanese War Minister, in connection with the court-martial of the eleven army cadets, accused of complicity in the assassination of the 77 year-old Prime Minister, M. Inuzuki, on May 15 last year. Each of the nine petitioners, whose ages varied between 27 and 37, had cut off his little finger at the third joint as an earnest that he was ready to lay down his life for the accused men. Army officers have decided to preserve these grim tokens in alcohol. The incident serves to emphasize the fanatical interest, which the trial

has aroused, throughout the country, in nationalist circles. Petitions for leniency signed by 12000 people were received by the Army and Navy Departments on one day alone. Ten naval cadets and 20 civilians are also on trial in connection with the affair, which was the central incident of a startling series of terrorist outrages in Tokio last year.

### *Wanted More Babies*

The practice of birth control has so reduced the birth rates in several European countries that a cry has been raised there for more babies—particularly babies belonging to the intellectual classes. It may be that the cry has originated from the anticipation of military needs. But cultural, industrial and agricultural requirements also would create a demand for more babies from the more capable classes. Moreover, there is the fear that the Slav races of Europe may outnumber the other races. There is again the argument of Professor Hersch of Geneva, according to whom fewer births mean more unemployment. Says *The Herald* :

"Briefly the Professor's argument is that children and young people belong essentially to the consuming class, and not to the producing one, and any restriction in their number must have the same effect as the loss of a market, and its consequent unemployment."

The following is from the Wales correspondent of *The Christian World* :

The Board of Education estimates that there would be a million fewer children in the schools of England and Wales in fifteen years. School attendances in North Wales had declined by 15,000 in 25 years and in the rural areas of South Wales—Cardiganshire, Brecon, Radnor and Pembroke—the decrease was about 9000. The births in Swansea, in 1920 numbered 4,100, in 1929, 2,830. In Aberdar the births in 1931 were almost exactly one half the 1913 figure. Caernarvonshire showed a drop of 5,500 in 25 years, and Cardiganshire over 3,000 in the same period.

### *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the Hindu Mahasabha*

On the 12th November last Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting of Benares Hindu University Students, strongly condemned the Hindu Mahasabha. He spoke of it as a small reactionary group, etc. Small and large are relative terms. Compared with the vast Hindu population of India Congress itself may be said to represent a small section of it. Hence, the epithet small need not be commented upon. Socially the Mahasabha is not reactionary, as its resolu-

tions and practical work embrace the usual social reform items. Politically, it is not reactionary, as its following manifesto, adopted at a meeting of its working committee at Birla House, Delhi, under the chairmanship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, on March 23, 1931 previous to the last Karachi session of the Congress, clearly shows :

The Hindu Mahasabha desires to point out that it has throughout and consistently taken up a position which is strictly national on the communal issue. It believes that no form of national responsible self-government which India is struggling to achieve, and which England is pledged to agree to, is compatible with separate communal electorate or representation in the legislature and administration, which function for the general good and secular well-being of the country as a whole. It is prepared to sacrifice, and expects all other communities to sacrifice, communal considerations to build up such responsible governments, which can be worked only by a ministry of persons belonging to the same political party and not necessarily to the same creed, so that agreement on public questions, economic social and political, should be the basis of mutual confidence and co-operation.

The position of the Mahasabha is embodied in the following propositions :

(1) There should be one common electoral roll consisting of voters of all communities and creeds as citizens and nationals of the same State.

(2) There should not be any separate communal electorate, that is, grouping of voters by religion in community constituencies.

(3) There should not be any reservation of seats for any religious community as such in the legislature.

(4) There should not be any weightage given to any community, as it can be done only at the expense of another.

(5) The franchise should be uniform for all communities in the same province.

(6) The franchise should be uniform all over India for the Central or Federal Legislature.

(7) There should be statutory safe-guards for the protection of minorities in regard to their language, religion, and racial laws and customs as framed by the League of Nations on the proposals of its original members, including India and His Majesty's Government, and now enforced in many a State of reconstructed Europe, including Turkey.

(8) There should be no question of the protection of majorities in any form.

(9) There should not be any alteration of existing boundaries of provinces without expert examination of linguistic, administrative, financial, strategic and other considerations involved, by a Boundaries Commission to be specially appointed for the purpose.

(10) In the proposed Federation, residuary powers should rest with the Central or Federal Government for the unity and well-being of India as a whole.

(11) Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Indian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance, admission to public employment,

functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

This manifesto was subsequently confirmed at more than one plenary session of the Mahasabha and has neither been withdrawn nor modified. It is thoroughly nationalistic and democratic, and, as we have at various times repeatedly observed, more so than the views of the Congress on some of the points covered by it. If any Mahasabha member or leader writes or says anything which is in conflict with the manifesto in any respect, it is he who ought to be criticized, not the Mahasabha. We have criticized such persons on several occasions.

Mr. Nehru's criticism of the resolutions passed at the Ajmer session of the Mahasabha may be considered one by one.

Going a few steps further the Arya Kumar Sabha which was *presumably* an off-shoot of the Hindu Mahasabha, had proclaimed its policy to be one of elimination of Muslims and Christians from India and the establishment of a Hindu-*raj*. This statement makes clear what the pretensions of the Mahasabha about Indian nationalism amount to. [Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*]

As the Arya Kumar Sabha is *not* an off-shoot of the Hindu Mahasabha, the latter cannot be held responsible for any resolution alleged to have been passed by the former, regarding which *The Leader* of November 20 last contains the following :

CAVNPORE, NOV. 18.

The general secretary, Arya Kumar Sabha, has issued the following statement with reference to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech at Benares :

"The Arya Kumar Sabha is not an offshoot of the Hindu Mahasabha nor identified with the same. A special session of the All-India Arya Kumar Sammelan was held at Ajmer and resolutions exhorting the young Aryan generation to take to village uplift work, to break the fetters of the present caste system and strictly adhere to the Vedic rites regarding *shiksha sutra* were passed. It is really very surprising how by any stretch of imagination one could squeeze the spirit of the resolution and say it was to eliminate Muslims and Christians from India to establish a Hindu-*raj*. I fail to understand the source of the baseless information. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should acquaint himself with the facts before passing remarks about the Arya Kumar Sabha, which is the training ground for preparing devotees to God and Vedic Dharma."

If Mr. Nehru and Mr. Mahomed Ullah S. Jung received any such resolution purporting to come from the president of the Arya Kumar Sabha, the very silly character of it ought to have roused their suspicion as to its

authenticity—they ought to have tried to ascertain whether it was not a hoax. In any case, as the Hindu Mahasabha did not pass any such resolution and as the Arya Kumar Sabha is not an offshoot of the Mahasabha, a responsible leader of the position of Mr. Nehru ought not to have been in a hurry to condemn the Mahasabha in unmeasured terms on the strength of an unverified presumption.

Under cover of seeming nationalism, the Mahasabha not only hides the rankest and narrowest communalism but also desires to preserve the vested interests of a group of big Hindu landlords and the princes.

The Mahasabha showed its attachment to vested interests by openly condemning every form of socialism and social change.

Those who live in glass-houses ought to be chary of throwing stones at others. Congress also may, not unjustifiably, be accused of acting "under cover of seeming nationalism," since it favours surrender to Muslims on the part of Hindus. No Congress leader of the eminence of Mahatma Gandhi has ever enunciated such a policy of surrender to Sikhs, Christians, or any other minority. Surrender only to Muslims may be a good and justifiable *policy*, pursued with a view to the future evolution of Indian nationalism, but in itself it is not nationalism, but only a form of communalism.

But assuming, without admitting, that the Mahasabha has been guilty of rank and narrow communalism, is its communalism ranker and narrower than that of the Muhammadan communalists? Mr. Nehru's use of the superlative provokes the question.

The resolution of the Mahasabha which relates to labour and capital—"the princes" are not mentioned in it—runs as follows :

"While disunion and class conflicts exist in Hindusthan, this session of the Hindu Mahasabha, expressing its fullest sympathy with the need for the amelioration of the condition of Labour and the tenantry, strongly disapproves of any movement, such as extinction of the capitalists and landlords as a class, inasmuch as such movements will further accentuate divisions and sub-divisions, bringing about class-war, which will ultimately retard all progress and make redemption of Hindusthan impossible."

The resolution does certainly disapprove of any movement for the *extinction* of the capitalists and landlords as a class. Mr. Nehru may seek such extinction, but does the Congress do so? Does Mahatmaji do so? If it does



and he does, why has the Congress sought and obtained, why does it seek and obtain, the financial help of landlords and capitalists, and why has the Mahatma accepted and why does he still accept the hospitality of such wealthy persons, if they are such vermin?

The Mahasabha disapproves only of movements for their extirpation, it does not advocate the perpetuation of all their vested interests. In fact, "the amelioration of the condition of Labour and the tenantry" with which the Mahasabha fully sympathizes, cannot be brought about unless the wealthier classes are divested of some of their vested interests.

The resolution does not mention the princes at all. But since Mr. Nehru has brought them in, he requires to be reminded that hitherto Congress has avoided openly interfering in the affairs of the Indian States on the very ground suggested in the Mahasabha resolution, namely, that there ought to be now a united effort on the part of all Indians to wrest power from the hands of aliens and bureaucrats. He also requires to be reminded that in the course of Mahatma Gandhi's correspondence with him the Mahatma wrote that he would not go so far as Mr. Nehru as regards the princes, etc. Mr. Nehru may not also be unaware that at the Round Table Conference Gandhiji said with reference to the landlords:

"There has been no desire on the part of the Congress to dispossess the landlords of their possessions, but to act as the trustees of their tenants. I pride so much that the landlords should be their candidates or representatives."

As regards the princes, whenever Gandhiji spoke about them, he spoke with great consideration, deference, and politeness. For example, on October 23, 1932, he made "a humble but fervent appeal" to them that they should "come forth with some scheme whereby their subjects also may feel that, though they were not directly represented at this table, their voices will find adequate expression through these noble princes themselves."

It is not true to say that the Mahasabha openly condemns every form of socialism and social change. It pronounces no opinion whatever on socialism as a theory or a creed.

It only says that landlords and capitalists should not be extinguished. As regards social change, it advocates the amelioration of the condition of labourers and tenants, and

"declares that the so-called untouchables have equal rights with other Hindus to study in public schools, to take water from public wells and other sources of drinking water, to sit with others in public meetings and to walk on public roads. The Mahasabha calls upon all Hindus to remove such restrictions as may be existing anywhere at present in the way of the so-called untouchable Hindus exercising their rights."

"The Mahasabha appeals to Hindus that facilities for worship be offered equally to the so-called untouchables in all temples and places of worship open to the public."

"The Mahasabha calls upon *purohits* (priests), barbers and washermen to offer their services to all Hindus irrespective of any caste."

"The Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that every Hindu, to whatever caste he may belong, has equal social and political rights."

So runs resolution 22 adopted at the Ajmer session of the Mahasabha. It undoubtedly shows that the Hindu Mahasabha desires many social changes in the right direction. And Hindu Sabhas have been working to bring about such changes.

The next count in Mr. Nehru's indictment of the Hindu Mahasabha is worded thus in the newspaper report of his speech:

The policy of the Mahasabha, as declared by its responsible leaders, is one of co-operation with the foreign Government so that their favouring (fawning on?) it and abasing themselves before it might result in a few crumbs coming in their way. This is betrayal of the freedom struggle, denial of every vestige of nationalism and suppression of every manly instinct in the Hindus.

The policy of an organization should be inferred from its constitution and rules, the resolutions adopted at its plenary sessions and the manifestoes issued by it or its authorized committees and confirmed by the organization at full meetings. The Hindu Mahasabha manifesto has been already quoted. Some extracts from its constitution, giving its aims and objects, are printed below:

(1) To promote greater union and solidarity among all sections of the Hindu community and to unite them more closely as parts of one organic whole:

(2) To promote good feelings between Hindus and other communities in India and to act in a friendly way with them with a view to evolving a united and self-governing Indian nation:

(3) To ameliorate and improve the conditions of the so-called low castes of the Hindu community:

(4) To protest and promote Hindu interests and Hindu rights, whenever and wherever necessary."

It may be noted that the constitution of the Mahasabha was drawn up by political leaders who have been prominent members of the Congress.

What any "responsible leader" says, if it runs counter to any fundamental rule or authoritative manifesto, cannot be considered authoritative. However, assuming, without admitting, that the policy of the Mahasabha is to be inferred from the speeches of any of its leaders, let us see what Bhai Parmanand said at Ajmer in the course of his presidential address. We print below what we wrote about it in our last number (November, 1933, pp. 588-589).

Bhai Parmanand says in the course of his address:

"I feel an impulse in me that the Hindus would willingly co-operate with Great Britain if their status and responsible position as the premier community in India is recognized in the political institutions of new India."

This passage has been construed by the speaker's critics to mean that in his opinion the Hindus would co-operate with Englishmen in working any constitution, *e.g.*, the White Paper one, provided they were installed in the position of "the favourite wife" instead of the Muslims. The passage does not necessarily bear this interpretation as the only possible one; but it is capable of being so understood. From Bhai Parmanand's past record and his well-known love of liberty, we would fain understand him to mean that he would be willing to co-operate with Britain in working a democratic constitution which would automatically lead to Indian political autonomy, provided the Hindus were not deliberately and artificially deprived of the place in it to which they were entitled by their numbers, intelligence, capacity, public spirit, enterprise, contributions to the state revenues and achievements. But it cannot be said that the passage does and must mean all this. So the Hindu Mahasabha president owes it to himself and its members and sympathizers to make his meaning quite clear.

It is not a sin to declare willingness to co-operate with the British Government if certain conditions were fulfilled. Mahatma Gandhi has repeatedly said, he was dying to co-operate. Everything depends on the conditions. Let Bhai Parmanand say what conditions he has in view. It would then be for the members of the Hindu Mahasabha to declare whether he rightly represented their attitude. The Hindu Mahasabha has not made or accepted anybody as its dictator.

Many members of the Hindu Mahasabha are also members of the Congress and have been sent to jail more than once for taking part in civil disobedience, *e.g.*, its general secretaries. If Mr. Nehru is right, they must have, as members of the Congress, upheld the cause of freedom, made an avowal of all the vestiges of nationalism and given proofs of all manly instincts in the Hindus, and as members of the Hindu Mahasabha betrayed "the freedom struggle," denied every vestige of nationalism and suppressed every manly instinct in the Hindus. It must also be true that the Congress leaders' doctrine of Hindu surrender to Muslim is the perfection of nationalism and a full expression of all the manly instincts of the Hindus—assuming that they possess any.

The newspaper report of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's address concludes thus :

Anything more degrading, reactionary, anti-national, anti-progressive and harmful than the present policy of the Hindu Mahasabha it was difficult to imagine. The leaders of the Mahasabha must realize that the inevitable consequence of this policy of their lining up with the enemies of Indian freedom and most reactionary elements in the country is for the rest of India, Hindu and non-Hindu, to face them squarely and oppose them and treat them as enemies of freedom and all we are striving for. It is not a mere matter of condemnation and disassociation, though of course there must be both these, but one of active and persistent opposition to the most opportunist and stupid policies.

We have already said that the policy of an organization should not and cannot be inferred from what some members or leading members of it may have said; and we have also shown that the relevant passage in Bhai Parmanand's presidential address may or may not admit of a particular interpretation. But supposing Mr. Nehru's interpretation of it is correct, why should he have singled out the Hindu Mahasabha alone for such strong condemnation? Communalist Mussalmans have deserved condemnation for their sayings and doings. They began the communal game. It was for defending themselves against the tactics that the Hindu Mahasabha had to begin paying so much attention to politics, seeing that the Congress would not and could not make any efforts to protect them from injustice. Yet Mr. Nehru never criticized the Moslem communalists before

the date of his Benares address—so far as our knowledge and memory go.

### *Pandit Jawaharlal's Defence*

In the course of an interview given to a press representative Pandit Jawaharlal has attempted a defence of his attack on the Hindu Mahasabha and also a defence against his critics. To the criticism that he has singled out the Hindu Mahasabha for condemnation, ignoring the communal organizations of other communities, his reply is :

"My remarks chiefly related to the Hindu Mahasabha because I was addressing a Hindu audience. My remarks against communalism and anti-national activities apply in an equal measure to all communal organizations in India, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, etc. There seems to be a race between them as to which can be more communal than the other."

He has addressed numerous mixed Hindu and non-Hindu gatherings in his political career, but so far as we know, never thought it necessary to condemn any non-Hindu communal organization, its policy and activities. It is very good of him *now* to say that his remarks apply to all communal organizations. Why did he keep this impartiality to himself until cornered by his critics? Moreover, the Hindu Mahasabha has been acting in self-defence, it did not start the race, it is not for separate representation as the Muslims are even in provinces where the Hindus are a minority, and even in Bengal the Hindus have not demanded any weightage or other special favour. Yet Mr. Nehru says, "there is a misapprehension that the Hindu communalists are greyer in colour and not so black as others. This notion is thoroughly unjustified." Indeed!

Pandit Jawaharlal then referred to the statements and evidence before the select committee and the numerous speeches made chiefly in the Panjab in which leading members of the Hindu Mahasabha deliberately advocated co-operation with British Imperialism for getting some odd favours. "This attitude," he declared "is both anti-national, reactionary and even from the narrow point of view of Hindus, foolish and short-sighted."

But Mr. Nehru has been so careless in his violent attack on the Hindu Mahasabha that unless he names "the leading members," gives extracts from their statements, evidence and

speeches, with exact references, he cannot expect his assertions to be taken on trust.

Regarding his remarks about the resolution of the Arya Kumar Sabha Pandit Nehru says, "there seems to be some mystery about the resolution passed by the Sabha. I received a copy of that resolution apparently from an official of the Sabha. This resolution has also been received by others. If it can be proved I have been the victim of a hoax I shall gladly express my regret to the Kumar Sabha."

The letter of the secretary of the Arya-kumar Sabha denies that any such resolution was passed. If that has not satisfied Mr. Nehru, it is for him to explain why. But he attacked the Hindu Mahasabha on the presumption that the Aryakumar Sabha was an offshoot of the Mahasabha. Both the Mahasabha and the Aryakumar Sabha have publicly denied any such connection. It is strange that he has not thought fit to make any *amende honorable* to the Mahasabha so far as this part of his attack was concerned.

We have noticed only two of the criticisms levelled against him which he has attempted to answer. Other and somewhat more numerous criticisms he has not noticed. Is it because they are unanswerable?

It should be added in conclusion, in fairness to Mr. Nehru, that he might have been provoked by attacks on the Congress at the Ajmer Mahasabha Session to retaliate. That was perhaps a sufficient justification for a counter-attack, but not for an unjust counter-attack.

### *Maharaja of Mysore Lays Foundation Stone of St. Philomena's Church*

On the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of St. Philomena's Church at Mysore by him His Highness the Maharaja, who is a Hindu, made the following observations in the course of his speech :

I believe with deep conviction that religion is fundamental to the richest and strongest life of the nation. There are diverse religions in this land of ours, and frequently there exists a most irreligious hostility between them. But we have gradually been coming to understand that the unity is much deeper than the differences, that while in creed and custom we are far enough apart, in worship and in aspiration we are one. This being so, the creed and custom of each religion among us is surely worthy of reverent study by the followers of every other.



### *"Persecution of the Labour Movement in Spain"*

Such is the heading of Bulletin No. 165 of the International Working-Men's Association of Madrid, dated October 31, 1933. Its first two paragraphs are subjoined :

The Republican-Social-Democratic regime in Spain has concentrated its energies during the 29 months of its rule on the suppression of the labour movement of the country. The following statistics sum up the results of the Governmental efforts in that direction: 331 working men have been murdered by the Civil Guard and the local police; 9,000 workers were doomed to prison, most of them to very long terms and without the least proof of guilt.

The Spanish monarchy was surely a corrupt and brutal institution that deserved to be annihilated long ago. But reactionary and rotten as the monarchy was, we may say without straining the truth that the Social-Democrats and Republicans have during the comparatively short time of their rule, perpetrated more outrages and atrocities upon labour than the monarchy had done within half a century.

We have no means of ascertaining how far these and other similar charges are true.

### *Amenities of Midnapur*

*The Bombay Chronicle* writes :

A Midnapur pleader has been asked to vacate his house, for housing the special Police within 48 hours. Now he won't have to report to the Police the arrival of his Hindu guests! So kind and considerate!

Perhaps, too, he won't have to pay the special Hindu house tax since he will be living in the open now. Every cloud has its silver lining, even in Midnapur.

The *C. & M. Gazette* is pained that Midnapore Hindus should complain about their house searches. In Britain an Englishman's house is considered to be his castle, but in India it is apt to be a favourite haunt of C. I. D. search parties.

### *Some Muslim J. P. C. Assessors*

*The Bombay Chronicle* perceives pleasant things out of the gloaming. As for instance :

Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan told an interviewer that the J. P. C. members were impressed with the Indian case. That seems to be the reason why they put in more safe-guards. The impression was rather overdone.

In the meantime, the Professor swore, the "constitutional agitation for substantial changes" will continue. He began the campaign with a dinner to Sir Samuel Hoare, and will no doubt carry it on with the same constitutional methods.

The Lucknow. (Allabad?) Professor told Sir Samuel that "He went on with the task of restoring law and order, and establishing peace, a task which was almost impossible, etc." Not almost but quite impossible.

Sir Abdur Rahim was not very hopeful, perhaps due to his experience on the Bengal Executive Council. He said the W. P. constitution might be worked with advantage. But he knows it can't be.

Mr. A. H. Ghaznavi with his warlike traditions behind him praised Lord Willingdon's "statesmanship in maintaining a calm atmosphere in India." But Haig has been left out! It is this fear of injustice which makes the I. C. S. demand more pay and safe-guards!

### *Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker at the Bengal National Chamber*

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker's presidential address at the Bengal National Chamber's third quarterly general meeting last month dealt with the political situation, problems of Bengal industries, the problem of jute, and the ratio question. Regarding the problems of Bengal industries he said in part :—

Gentlemen, one of the most striking features of the economic development of Bengal is the fact that we have been far too slow in taking advantages of the opportunities hitherto provided by the Government by the grant of protection to specific industries. In as far as other provinces have taken greater advantage of them we cannot advance any reason in exoneration of our inactivity. The phenomenon has rather a great object lesson for us and the concern we feel for our own province should rouse among us a profound sense of our own shortcomings and responsibilities and urge us to emulate the example of the more enterprising provinces.

I should not say that the people of Bengal have not been attracted to industry and trade or that they were attracted too late. As a matter of fact the Swadeshi movement in Bengal in the early years of this century gave an extraordinary impetus to the industrial renaissance of the whole of India, and in the wake of this movement we have witnessed quite a large number of industrial, commercial and financial concerns started in this province, some of which have attained remarkable success. But the movement has not been sustained by a healthy expansion and while the number of success has been exceptionally few, that of failures has been depressingly large, and has indeed retarded the cause of industrialization by diminishing the confidence of investors. It would not however be correct to say that the effort to start industries and business organizations have slackened in recent years in Bengal; on the contrary, the statistics relating to joint-stock companies in the province taken over a period of years point to the opposite conclusion. Within ten years from 1920-21 to 1929-30 the number of joint-stock companies in Bengal has increased

from 2,148 to 3,432 against a corresponding increase in Bombay from 872 to 913 and in Madras from 517 to 746. The principle of corporate finance on a joint-stock basis may thus be said to have grown more popular in Bengal than in the other two Presidency Provinces having the largest number of companies next to Bengal. But the number is not to be taken as a true index of the industrial or commercial development of Bengal, nor does it necessarily indicate that the commercial enterprises of Bengal are progressing steadily. As a matter of fact, although the increase of the total paid-up capital of joint-stock companies is likewise the largest in Bengal, the average capital per unit is low. In 1929-30 the paid-up capital of 3,432 companies in Bengal, was 109 crores as against about 103 crores for only 913 companies in Bombay. These figures unerringly point to the basic weakness of the capital structure of our newer enterprises. The surmise is at least very strongly supported by the much larger number of companies liquidated or otherwise dissolved in Bengal annually as compared with either Madras or Bombay. To quote some recent figures the number of companies thus closed in 1932-33 was 103 in Bengal against 59 in Madras and 66 in Bombay, the corresponding figures for 1931-32 being 62 in Bengal, 52 in Madras and 42 in Bombay.

He was right in observing :

In these days of fierce international competition success is not easy to attain, and in Bengal it is vastly more difficult to achieve on account of pre-existing competitors in the field, who are either Europeans or enterprising immigrants from other provinces. The narrowing down of the scope for fresh enterprise and the competition which such enterprise must encounter at the present moment necessitate great care and investigation in the selection of industries and a general plan of development. Such planned action is needed no less for improving the entire commercial outlook of the province than for the benefit of individual ventures, as by this means alone can the support of the investing public be effectively secured on a wide scale. This is a problem which should engage the serious attention of the business men of the province. If by their joint efforts they could establish a few model concerns and run them successfully, the whole outlook of our people could be changed, a larger number of people could be attracted to invest their money in industry and trade, the Capital and support necessary for their success would be secured, and the desire of the people to embark on such ventures considerably stimulated.

On the ratio question he had already

issued a full statement. In the address under notice, he said in part :—

My study has convinced me that the present ratio has worked to the detriment of our economic well-being, depressed prices, forced an alarming export of gold, bestowed a premium on imports and acted as a hindrance to our industries.

A change in the ratio cannot be an end in itself, it is necessary primarily to remove a positive obstacle in our way to attain the object of raising the price-level from the depths it has reached threatening ruin to our commercial and agricultural interests—particularly to the latter. The price-level in India is anchored to the over-valued rupee, and unless you lift the anchor the ship cannot move. Yet, the prices must be raised, or the cultivators will be ruined. We must adopt a currency and exchange policy that will cheapen our exports to our foreign buyers and help to remove the impediment that now prevents an upward move in prices. The devaluation of the rupee is needed to serve these two urgent requirements and this is what gives point to the demand for a lower ratio.

Apart from this prime necessity of raising internal prices, a devaluation of the rupee is at this moment needed, as I have already said, even to safeguard our industrial and agricultural interests with a view to counteract the inroads of other depreciated currencies against India not only in the world market but also in the markets of India herself.

But the Finance Member of the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India are both adamant. They will not allow the rupee to be divorced from the pound sterling.

### *Tagore on Domination of the West Over the East*

Under the auspices of the Young Men's Parsi Association Dr. Rabindranath Tagore delivered a public address on the 26th November at the Regal Theatre, Bombay, with Mr. F. H. Talyar Khan in the chair.

In the course of the address Dr. Tagore strongly disapproved of the physical and cultural domination of the West over the East. He suggested that Europeans' connection with Asiatic countries was not personal. Europeans considered their culture to be superior to that of the East. The monster organization of the power of the West led to political injustice and economic exploitation. He concluded, "We have submitted to the West not because we respect it but because it is mighty and strong."

*Prof. Abhyankar's Address at  
Kathiawad States' People's  
Convention*

Presiding over the Kathiawar States' People's Convention on the 5th of November last at Amreli, Professor G. R. Abhyankar severely criticized the forthcoming federation constitution as envisaged in the White Paper, devoting the major portion of his 60 pages' presidential address to a detailed criticism of the question of division of paramountcy.

After referring to the fact that the States' people's representatives had been excluded from the Round Table Conferences, the Consultative Committee, and the Joint Parliamentary Committee, he wondered how a constitution, forged behind the back of 80 millions of the Indian States' peoples who owed allegiance to his Majesty along with their allegiance to their respective rulers, was going to become binding upon them.

He next traced the history of the question of division of paramountcy and declared that the British Government started this as they wanted to maintain their hold over the Assembly even after the disappearance of the official bloc. Unless paramountcy was divided it was not possible to keep the Political department irresponsible and irresponsible, as it was today, and in order to secure that end the vesting of paramountcy in the Viceroy who was different from the Governor-General, has been suggested. The princes on the other hand were afraid of the spread of democracy and therefore wanted to entrench themselves behind the alien bureaucracy of the political department controlled by a Viceroy. Thus there was a bilateral understanding between the princes and the Political department whereunder each would look after the interests of the other. With the perpetuation of diarchy in the centre by a division of a paramountcy and with the help of the nominees of Indian princes, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and loyalists the Federal Government in British India would be worked without the least difficulty.

Dealing with the gains of the princes under the proposed federal constitution, Professor Abhyankar said that the princes could be entirely saved from any interference in their internal affairs and they had been assured that their present system of Government would remain intact. He, however, pointed out that a division of paramountcy would not prevent the Viceroy from interfering in cases of misrule and, therefore, they would gain nothing by such a division. By desiring separation from British India and insisting on a division of paramountcy, continued Professor Abhyankar, the princes had betrayed a lamentable distrust of their own countrymen.

He made a strong plea for the inclusion of fundamental rights in the Constitution Act and the abolition of Foreigners Act.

Discussing the proposed safe-guards for the princes in detail, he criticized them severely.

He urged on the States' people to organize their forces well and not to depend upon others to help them.

He strongly criticized the Princes' Protection

Bill and the Bikaner conspiracy case. He concluded his address after paying a tribute of respect and admiration to Mr. V. J. Patel who, he said, was a former president of the Kathiawar Political Conference.

*Dynamic Scenes at Delhi Muslim  
League Meeting*

The Mussalmans are a dynamic community. For gaining their object they do not feel bound by their traditions to confine themselves exclusively to soul force, enjoined by Mahatma Gandhi. Hence, readers of *The Hindustan Times* were not perhaps surprised to learn from its columns that

the ugly tradition of using physical force at Muslim League meetings was maintained at to-night's (25th November) meeting of the so-called Muslim League meeting, held at the Arabic College Hall.

Khan Sahib Haji Rashid Ahmad, Chairman of the Reception Committee, while reading his address left the dais and rushed to push out Mr. Mohammad Usman Azad, who had questioned the representative character of the meeting.

When the Haji was beginning to read his address Mr. Azad requested permission to speak and declared that the gathering was not a session of the All-India Muslim League, which had been murdered in Delhi long ago and that the Muslims of Delhi had no faith in the show.

Hardly had he uttered these words when several volunteers fell on him and a commotion was caused. The volunteers were dragging him out, when Haji Rashid Ahmad personally rushed to the scene and roughly handled Mr. Azad and pushed him out.

Thereupon Nawab Mumtaz Hussain remarked : "Haji Sahib, why should you use force, when volunteers were there to deal with him?"

Two Police Sub-Inspectors sitting in the Hall also rushed to the scene and soon quiet was restored. This ominous and ugly scene was followed by the Chairman's speech and the presidential address.

Besides the local Khan Sahibs, half a dozen other gentlemen were also present, amongst whom was Maulvi Shafi Daudi, M.L.A.

The benches in the hall were empty and very few persons came from outside Delhi. Most of the audience consisted of students of the Arabic School and the total audience numbered about 200.

A resolution of condolence at the murder of Nadir Shah was passed. The session will be continued to-morrow.

Mr. Usman is taking legal advice in the matter because he feels that he was invited by the League and should not have been ill-treated and turned out by the Chairman by force.

The report in *The National Call* is substantially the same, though perhaps a little more poetic, as the following extract will show :

When Khan Sahib Haji Rashid Ahmed, Chairman of the Reception Committee was reading the



welcome address, Mr. Mohd. Usman Azad, President of the Jamiat Shaban-ae-Musslameen, requested for permission to speak and challenged the representative character of the meeting. He was set upon by volunteers and the Haji Sahib leaving his address is reputed to have indulged in a little boxing. There were cries of resentment and cat-calls from the audience and two police sub-inspectors rushed to the help of volunteers and Mr. Mohd. Usman Azad was pushed out of the meeting.

While the Haji Sahib was giving a boxing demonstration Nawab Mumtaz Hussain who was sitting on the dais was heard saying, "Haji Sahib, why should you give blows, the volunteers are enough."

#### *The National Call report proceeds :*

"The safe-guards must be made definite and beyond doubt and the sphere of interference of the Governor-General and Governors should be very strictly defined so that the Legislature and the country might know in the circumstances of a given case as to who was right and who was wrong," said Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, C.I.E., M.L.C. of Cawnpore, in the course his presidential address.

Pleading for rallying together of Muslims of all shades of opinion under the banner of the League, he emphasized the imperative necessity of spreading its ramifications throughout the country to ensure the safety of the community.

He repudiated the charges levelled against Muslims that they were pursuing a policy of segregation in internal politics and exhibiting pan-Islamic tendencies and deplored the attempts which were being made by a certain section of people to seek the reversal of the Communal Award and refer the question of the adjustment of communal differences to the League of Nations. The League of Nations, he held, was incompetent to tackle the problem which was a national and not international one and hence did not come within the sphere of its activities and also because the League of Nations had no executive authority to enforce its decisions. Moreover the League of Nations had so far failed to solve the minority problems of the other countries to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned.

Efforts are being made by the Hindus to get the Communal "Award" reversed or modified, because it would establish sectional rule instead of national self-government and because even as a communal division of seats in the Legislatures it is glaringly unjust to the Hindus. As regards the Hindu Mahasabha's proposal to seek the help of the League of Nations to obtain for India a solution of her minority problems according to the principles underlying the League of Nations Minority Treaties, we have discussed the subject editorially in our last issue, pp. 594-596. Bhai Parmanand also has recently dealt with the subject.

The Muslim League President reiterated

the main Muslim demands and urged the Government to accept them *en bloc*.

Proceeding, he expressed his profound dissatisfaction at some of the provisions of the constitutional schemes as embodied in the White Paper, though he conceded that it constituted a great step forward towards the achievement of responsible Government. He particularly criticized the sweeping nature of the safe-guards provided in the scheme and the excessive powers vested in the Governor-General, and provincial Governors.

As regards the services, he was of opinion that all of them should be provincialized but at the same time classified into two categories, certain exclusive privileges attaching to one of them. He asked the Government to increase the percentage of Muslims in the Army and the Police.

Referring to the present political situation in Palestine, he maintained that the British imperial interests themselves demanded that the Balfour Declaration should be immediately scrapped.

He also condemned the diabolical crime committed recently in Afghanistan.

#### *Bhai Parmanand on Mahasabha's Representation to the League of Nations*

"The Hindu Mahasabha never approached the Secretary of State for permission to put the Hindu case before the League of Nations, nor was any such permission necessary," says Bhai Parmanand, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in the course of a statement to the "Associated Press" with reference to press comments on the subject.

Bhai Parmanand adds that the Mahasabha did pass a resolution that the case of the Hindus should be placed before the League of Nations. This resolution was cabled to the League and a copy was also sent to the Secretary of State. No one expected that the Secretary of State would give permission or approval to such a course. The object of the resolution simply was that the outside world through a well-organized international organization claiming to be impartial like the League should know that the British Government had made an unholy alliance with the Muslim community and was proposing a constitution which would result in gross injustice to the Hindu community.

Bhai Parmanand adds that if the Hindus cannot get justice it will at least expose the injustice sought to be perpetrated on them.

#### *The So-called "Award" Examined*

It has been shown from documentary evidence by Sir N. N. Sircar, Advocate-General of Bengal, and others that the Premier's communal decision was not an arbitrator's award and that the so-called representatives of different Indian communities at the Round Table Conference never agreed to ask him to arbitrate. Bhai Parmanand has recently discussed the question thus :

The statement made by the Secretary of State that His Majesty's Government was forced to give this Award, does not carry conviction. Assuming that it was so, did it mean that the Government was entirely absolved from all obligations of equity and justice and was through the inability of the Hindus and Muslims forced to come to a settlement, any ground for converting the overwhelming Hindu majority into a minority in the proposed Federal Assembly?

Then again the Secretary of State cannot be ignorant of the fact that even at the time of the Simon Commission, the Hindus and Muslims did not come to an agreed settlement and it was with the full knowledge of this fact that the Simon Commission made its recommendations regarding the communal problem. What justification do the Government have to disregard the recommendations of the Commission which is a statutory body having the mandate of the Parliament behind it?—A. P. I.

### *The "Temporary-Permanent" Communal "Award"*

In a brief pamphlet sent to the members and assessors of the Joint Parliamentary committee Sir N. N. Sircar, Advocate-General of Bengal, has shown how the British Government were "coerced" by Mahatma Gandhi's fast to accept and some Bengal Hindus were "coerced" to acquiesce in the Poona Pact. He has questioned the legal validity of what was obtained by coercion. He followed up that pamphlet with another, also sent to the J. P. C., in which he has exposed the "temporary-permanent" (!) character of the communal decision. Though a little too long for inclusion in a note in this *Review*, we print it below in full:

When parties were failing to settle their communal dispute—the Prime Minister when concluding the second R. T. C. gave the following warning:

"If you cannot present us with a settlement acceptable to all parties, His Majesty's Government would be compelled to apply a provisional scheme."

"If the Government have to supply even temporarily this part of your constitution it will not be a satisfactory way of dealing with this problem."

The warning was of a provisional temporary arrangement. When one turns to the decision, if he is unwary he will believe that nothing more has been done—because the decision purports to be for ten years only.

The decision, however, provided (now reproduced in para 49 of the introduction) that "modification might be made after ten years with the assent of the communities affected."

I put a question to the Secretary of State (Q. 7,223, p. 818):

Q. "I was going to ask the Secretary of State, if he will permit me: As the communal decision stands it means this: Assuming for the sake of

argument one party has got more than it ought to have it, must assent to that being given away before there can be any change at any time. You have got to get the assent of somebody who has got more than he ought to have?"

Ans. If Sir N. Sircar makes that hypothesis, it is so.

Purporting to make a decision, which holds good for ten years only the authors have shown remarkable ingenuity in making it in effect, and in fact, good for all time.

In Bengal the Muslims will have an irremovable majority—a majority sent in by votes of a particular community. They have got more than what can be justified on any logic,—and unless they are guilty of unexpected generosity in giving up their undeserved advantage, "there cannot be any change at any time."

Each party is contending that it has not got, what it ought to—but the unfortunate Bengal Hindu is in this position, that when he complains of 31 seats out of 250 being allotted to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, who form a fraction of one per cent of the population—he is told it is not a question of quantity but of quality. The interest of Europeans in trade, commerce, mining, etc., and their general importance justify their getting 31 seats.

Quality and interest count. Be it so.

Let the special interests be represented, according to the quantum of interest—and not on quantitative basis of population.

On this argument, in dividing the 51 seats for special interests the population ratio does not come in at all: Again be it so.

\* If the 51 seats are separated, 199 seats only are left for division—and Muslims can get only 109 as representing their percentage of 55 in the population.

Why do they get 119—an excess of ten? The only possible answer is—Quality for Europeans, Quantity for Muslims (not only in ordinary seats but in seats for special interest as well—but in case of Bengal Hindus, neither quantity nor quality matters.

When reports were required from Bengal and India Government, they reported that the fair way is to divide the ordinary seats, according to population. Even the separate note of the Muslim members of the Government of Bengal did not ask for division of special seats on population basis. They limited the claim to the ordinary seats.

The communal decision after giving Bengal Muslims ten seats more than what they had even claimed, provides, that this cannot be changed without the assent of the Muslims.

Is any comment necessary?

If His Majesty's Government will frankly tell the Bengal Hindus, that it is dangerous to allow Bengal Hindus their legitimate share—because terrorists come from their community, and further that it may enable them to create deadlocks (which however will be impossible with 31 Europeans, with members of depressed classes, and with even only 109 ordinary Muslim seats)—the sole and possible argument for justifying the communal decision may be understood.\*

They can legitimately say that a section of Bengali Hindu community has behaved in a way which has antagonized everybody.

The Bengal Hindus will then be told, what they

now only suspect—millions are being punished for the crime and defection of hundreds. Otherwise no amount of arithmetical puzzles, or specious reasonings can justify the communal decision, which is so often called the "communal award"—though the Muslim members of the Delhi Consultative Committee, expressly stated that they do not want any 'award' and they reserved the right to challenge the decision if they considered it unsatisfactory from their point of view, and Sikhs and Hindus agreed that there was not going to be any 'award.'

If I am told that I am giving a temporary lease I would object to the expression, if it was a condition that the lease cannot be terminated at any time unless the tenant agreed.

But then I am merely a lawyer and not one of the statesmen who have the destiny of a community of 22 millions in their hands.

Some British statesmen have succeeded in drafting a lease of Bengal for ten years to a community insisting on special electorates—and after ten years the lease cannot be terminated without magnanimous renunciation on their part.

Who can say that this is not a remarkable achievement?

### *Mahatma Gandhi's Tour*

Mahatma Gandhi's tour all over India in furtherance of the cause of the elevation of the poor, illiterate and ignorant mass of the people cannot but result in great good. The only regret which we, whose ideal and aspiration is the worship of the Supreme Being in spirit and in truth, feel in this connection is that his advocacy of temple-entry for the "Harijans" indirectly confirms them in idolatry, which he himself perhaps does not practise, as he wrote in an article in *Young India* of October 12, 1921, "An idol does not excite any feeling of veneration in me." No doubt, he wrote in the same article, "I do not disbelieve in idol worship," and "I think idol worship is part of human nature." We can only humbly hope that Gandhiji's followers will evolve "Gandhian nature," instead of what he calls "human nature," and then "an idol [will] not excite any feeling of veneration in [them]," too.

One reason why Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Gandhi have numerous followers is that the two former worshipped and supported the worship of idols, and the latter, though not positively enjoining idol worship, does not disbelieve in it. As regards Ramakrishna, we have read in two books by two credible witnesses that he sometimes spoke against the worship of the goddess Kali. Nevertheless, we think it is correct to make the general

statement that the Paramahansa did not discountenance idol worship and himself practised it.

### *Lahore High Court on "Long Live Revolution"*

A person of the name of Desraj Bharati came within the mischief section of the press law by the use of the words "Long Live Revolution" in a pamphlet published by him. Mr. Justice Agha Haider of the Lahore High Court has observed on the use of these words:

"A revolution even in political matters could not necessarily mean a revolution accomplished by bloodshed. A revolution may be absolutely bloodless. There was no reason to believe that the revolution intended by the author of the leaflet was a sanguinary or violent revolution."

### *Council Entry*

It has been assumed by the opponents of council entry that those who advocate it are job-hunters, honours-hunters, and are in favour of working the coming constitution, whatever its nature may be. This is not universally true. When the leaders and some other members of the Congress Swarajya party entered the councils, they did not go there in search of jobs and honours and in order to work the existing constitution. Whenever necessary, they adopted obstructionist tactics in order to prevent injury to the cause of the country. There may be many Congressmen now, and persons of other groups also, whose opinions and policy are similar to those of the Congress Swarajya party. It cannot be said that the Swarajists did not succeed in doing some good work in the legislatures.

The foreign bureaucracy have been strengthening their position through the legislatures. Of course, even if the police and the executive do not sometimes act within the four corners of the law, they can seldom be brought to book. But, if for whatever they want to do, they can invoke the authority and sanction of some law, it is all the better for them. During the last dozen years of Non-Co-operation, various laws of this description have been enacted. On some occasions at least, if Swarajist and other really Nationalist members had been



returned to the councils in full force and were present during the debates, they could have prevented the passage of some such laws. But even if it was impossible for them to succeed, and in future also if the opponents of anti-democratic legislation succeed rarely or never at all, even then the attempt to prevent autocratic legislation ought to be made. It is something to be able to expose the real character of such legislation and to enter a protest.

Congressmen want to oppose autocracy on all fronts. Why leave the Councils, entirely to those who are subservient to the bureaucracy?

It cannot be said that if some or even all the seats in council open to election were to be filled by Congressmen, a sufficient number of Congress workers would not be left to do Congress work outside the councils in the country at large. All workers do not possess the same kind of talent, temperament and inclination. There are workers who are particularly fit for Council work; others have special fitness for other kinds of work. So, if some workers successfully contest seats in councils, there will not be paucity of workers for other kinds of activity.

### *Future of Secondary Education in Bengal*

Recently a conference has been held at Government House under the auspices of the Bengal Government to consider the problem of education in Bengal. As the Government of Bengal have been famous more for their anxiety to maintain law and order than for educational improvement and expansion, people would be naturally anxious to know the immediate and the final outcome of this conference. The final outcome can be known in the indefinite future.

Before briefly mentioning and commenting on its immediate outcome, some peculiarities of the personnel of the conference has to be noted. Our information is derived from *The Amritabazar Patrika* of the 24th November last. The Conference was attended by delegates representing the three authorities concerned in the problem of university, secondary and primary education in Bengal,

namely, the Government of Bengal, the University of Calcutta and the University of Dacca. Every Government Department or section of such department concerned was represented by its head, and the Government Colleges represented were represented by their principals, with the sole exception of the Presidency College which was represented by a professor of that college, not by its principal. What was the reason for this exception? The principal of this college is a high Cambridge wrangler and one of India's very few Smith's Prize men. The principal of an Islamic college was there, but not the principal of the Sanskrit College. The principals of two missionary colleges which are aided, were among those present. No non-missionary aided college appears to have been represented. The principals of unaided colleges were conspicuous by their absence, the only unaided college represented was Vidyasagar College, which was represented by one of its professors, Mr. J. L. Banerji. There ought also to have been some headmasters of unaided high schools which perhaps form the majority of high schools. They went unrepresented. It will thus be seen that the Conference was not a fully representative one and could not, therefore, have all points of view placed before it.

The immediate outcome of the conference may be now noted.

The first resolution adopted by the conference runs as follows:

"Whereas it is essential to make provision for better regulation and control of secondary education in Bengal, this Conference is of opinion that a Statutory Board of secondary education in which the educational interests should be adequately represented, be established at an early date. The Board should have full authority to exercise such powers necessary for its purpose as may be entrusted to it by the Statute, provided the consequent arrangements shall not be permitted to prejudicially affect the financial position of the Calcutta University."

In order to understand what the establishment of a statutory board of secondary education may lead to, the reader should note what some official spokesmen said at the Conference.

When the conference re-assembled the Hon'ble Minister of Education said one of the main causes of the deterioration of secondary education in Bengal was the large number of schools and their

bad financial position. It was not possible for Government to make grants to all these schools. If they could reduce this number to a reasonable proportion, it would then be possible for Government to consider the question of making grants in respect of efficient and well managed schools. The Hon'ble Minister asked if the Conference were prepared to accept as general principle that reduction of the number of high schools was desirable.

Dr. Jenkin's scheme which was placed before the Conference for discussion suggested that high schools would be situated only in the more important centres and would be so geographically distributed as to cover the whole province without overlapping. Hostel accommodation would be necessary in practically all these schools in order to provide for the residence of scholars whose homes were not within easy reach of high schools. In all probability 400 schools, properly organized and controlled, would ensure far more efficient education than was at present possible.

Some supported and some opposed the suggestion to reduce the number of schools, some wanted redistribution, and some wanted a survey. Ultimately the following resolution was passed :—

"This Conference is of opinion that immediate steps be taken to make an educational survey of the province with a view to seeing whether amalgamation, reduction, redistribution or addition to the number of high schools is desirable, in order that the fullest benefit might be obtained from the available resources; any such re-arrangement, that might be found desirable, should be so planned as to permit of the extension of educational facilities with the expansion of the resources."

Now, for the first resolution.

The report of the discussions at the conference shows that the word "control" was used many times and by several speakers. That reminded us of the horse in *Æsop's* fables who complained that he had had more than enough of that sort of grooming which consists of rubbing down and the like and so wanted more feeding. As regards schools and schoolboys, it is not that they do not require control; but they require a sufficient supply of good and well-paid teachers, libraries, books, scientific apparatus, and a sufficiency of nourishing food for both teachers and pupils. All this requires money, which is not forthcoming.

More of our boys and girls require high school education, not less. In any case the present number of boys and girls must continue to receive high school education; none of those who are receiving it should be allowed to remain idle at home or sent adrift. Better control or improvement should not be made

an excuse for reducing the number of schools and pupils of high schools. If present type of high schools is not good at all, let other types of schools be established such for example as would impart technical education up to an equally high standard.

We are afraid the setting up of a Secondary Education Board, distinct from the University, would lead to the narrowing the field of education. That Board would be under the thumb of the Education Department. From the speeches of the Education Minister and Mr. Jenkins, it is clear the Government wants a drastic reduction in the number of schools—reduction from 1200 to 400. The Board is sure to frame rules and standards, the observance of which would be necessary for recognition. And the rules and standards can be easily made such as it would be difficult for most schools to observe and come up to. Hence, most schools or at least a large number of schools may disappear.

We are of the opinion that the control and regulation of high school education should be in the hands of the University. The money which the Government may spend for the proposed Secondary Board should be given to the University for appointing controlling and inspecting officers and official staff.

The resolution stipulates that the establishment of the Secondary Education Board must not lead to the University's financial loss. But finance is not everything. Government may agree to give the University the net income it at present derives from examination fees and the sale of text-books. But there is not and cannot be any stipulation that the affiliated colleges are to receive as many fresh students as they do at present. It can be easily anticipated that the Secondary Education Board will manage to have a much smaller number of candidates for matriculation examination, and to a much smaller percentage of them, than at present. That would mean narrowing down the field of education, closing the portals of college and university education to large numbers of students, and starving the colleges—particularly the unaided ones. Would that be desirable?

The Education Minister says that if the

number of high schools be reduced considerably, they can all be given grants-in-

But the prospect of getting money would not blind the public to the fact that high schools mean full departmental control. Even in free and independent countries requiring a national government, independent schools are necessary and are maintained by public in order that education, educational experimenting, educational development, and the growth of various types of schools may be unfettered.

For these and many other reasons, we are opposed to the establishment of a Secondary Education Board independent of the University. Of course, if the proposed board can be made as free from official control as the Calcutta University, if not better, it would be another matter. But that cannot be expected. Some Government officer, say Mr. Jenkins, would be its head, and it would be practically an official board.

Mr. Jenkins has spoken of the need for hostel accommodation in practically in all the 400 schools, which would be allowed to remain according to his scheme, in order to provide for the residence of scholars whose homes were not within easy reach of these schools. But a large number of poor boys are able to read in high schools only because they can attend them from their village homes or town homes. Who will find money for the board and lodging of these boys in hostels? Not unoften they are very intelligent students.

As for the survey contemplated in the second resolution, whatever it may show, the public will never agree to a reduction in the total number of high schools, which would mean a reduction in the total number of pupils. Here and there a few schools may be amalgamated and the location of some schools may be made more central. But if there is not to be a denial of education to large numbers of would-be pupils, the number of high schools (whether mainly literary as now, or technical and vocational) must remain at least as large as now. What is really required is that they should be increased. The proviso that there is to be expansion of

education with the expansion of resources may be mere eyewash.

The Conference threw out a proposal for separating the high schools from their primary and middle classes and adopted a resolution urging the continuance of the system prevailing at present.

The proposal, if carried out, would mean more school-buildings and more headmasters for more middle schools and more headmasters for more primary schools, more clerks and libraries. Who will find the money? This would be decentralization and disintegration with a vengeance. Loyalty to and pride in particular institutions and *esprit de corps* must not be allowed time to grow up. The official ideal—for India, of course—is that boys and girls are to read for a few years in a primary school, then for a few years in a middle school, then for a few years in a high school, all separate from one another, and when they enter college, they are to be in an intermediate college for two years, in a separate B. A. or B. Sc. college for two years, and last of all in a separate post-graduate department for some years! Wonderful!!

It is lucky that the conference has adopted the resolution that "there should be no ban on the high schools maintaining their primary and middle classes."

The Conference then discussed the question of the age of matriculation and recommended that there should be no age limit.

We are glad the following resolution has been adopted:—

"This Conference is of opinion that immediate steps be taken for increasing the supply of trained teachers for work in secondary schools.

The public will wait to see whether Government opens more training colleges or allows more training colleges to be opened.

It is good news that the conference passed a resolution requesting the Government for restoring the grant of one lakh and twenty-nine thousands of rupees to the private colleges. But will the Government comply with the request?

The last thing which the conference did was the appointment of a Committee.

The Conference appointed a Committee of 8 members, three nominees of the Calcutta University, three of the Dacca University and two nominees of Government to consider the following:—

(1) Possibility of restriction of courses of study



at the two universities, more particularly in the Post-graduate Departments, to avoid duplication of work and waste of resources.

(2) Combination of law studies with other post-graduate studies.

(3) Comparative failure in recent years of Bengal students in All-India Service examinations.

There should have been some members entirely unconnected with Universities and Government departments. As regards (1), we do not see why there should or must be such restrictions. In Great Britain, do not the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Edinburgh, etc., teach many courses of study common to them? Is not that the case in many other small civilized countries also where the number of universities is greater than in Bengal? As regards (3), to make this enquiry thorough, it would be necessary to ascertain not only the comparative intellectual capacity of Bengali students and the education received by them, but also the nature of the examination, whether the *viva voce* is held after the examination in all the subjects is over, and whether Bengalis are generally considered by the examiners to be politically infected and therefore undesirable.

At the close of the proceedings the Education Minister read a communication from His Excellency the Governor, from which we make the following extract.

There may be some who think that the opportunity of the Conference might have been taken to discuss a matter of great importance to all educationalists in this province—I refer to the spread of subversive doctrines amongst students in schools and colleges. The infection of the minds of the youth of the country by such doctrines is, as I am sure you will all recognize, a great menace to the true interests of the rising generation itself as it is to Government and to the established order, social and economic, in this province. The subject is one which Government cannot and do not intend to neglect. But it was decided, when the agenda for this conference was being drawn up, that it was hardly germane to a discussion of the framework of our educational system which is the purpose for which this gathering has been convened.

This extract perhaps shows one of the objects, if not the main object, for the attainment of which the Conference was called. Though the spread of subversive doctrines amongst students in "schools and colleges" was not discussed in the conference, that object will be certainly attempted to be gained through the establishment of the Secondary Education Board and other means.

We are not interested in the spread of "subversive doctrines" amongst students for their main object should in our opinion be study—the study of contemporary events and movements being included among the things to be studied. But what we apprehend is that on the pretext of rooting out subversive doctrines strenuous attempts may be made to eradicate patriotism and the love of liberty natural to man and to inculcate servility.

### "Wasteful" Higher Educational Expenditure!

In the previous note, we have commented on the "possibility of restriction of courses of study at the two universities, more particularly in the Post-graduate Departments, to avoid duplication of work and waste of resources," to be enquired into by a committee appointed at the recent officially organized and conducted educational conference in Calcutta. We find that earlier last month Sir George Anderson, educational commissioner with the Government of India, was harping on the same string at Aligarh on which the Bengal Governor Sir John Anderson's conference harped in Calcutta a week or so later. Was this accidental coincidence, or was some higher authority calling the tune?

In the course of the convocation address which Sir George Anderson delivered at the Aligarh University last month he referred to "the tendency (of Indian Universities) to provide for higher studies and research in almost every conceivable subject." If the subjects in which universities in India provide for higher studies and research are really conterminous with almost all subjects which are "conceivable" by Sir George Anderson we are afraid he would be taken to be an ignorant and unimaginative person of an uncommon variety. But he is not. Compared with the wide and large variety of subjects in which the famous European and American universities provide for research and higher training our universities have a very restricted range of subjects indeed.

In consequence of the alleged ambitious mentality of our universities, Sir George Anderson told his audience that

university and the Government which supports it is fast heading towards bankruptcy, while the money sorely needed for general training is being used as ammunition for this break-neck competition."

Literacy, literature, civilization and culture are in India several thousand years old, and India has been under the rule of a civilized people for nearly two centuries. Yet in this country only 8 per cent of the people are literate. Does this show that the proposed anxiety for "general training," which broadly speaking stands for universal primary education, is genuine and sincere? Or may it be only a pretext for further circumscribing the far too restricted facilities for higher education and research provided in India? To show that there has not been any earnest effort on the part of the custodians of India's public life to spread education one has only to take note of the extent of literacy among the Indians of America. Their ancestors originally came to Africa, where they had no literature of their own. They were captured there, brought over to America and sold into slavery. Until the year 1865 it was a crime, punishable with imprisonment, to teach a Negro or for a Negro to acquire literacy. So American Negro education is not even a century old. But at present more than 84 per cent of American Negroes are literate, as against India's 8 per cent!

Some Indian universities may be on the verge of bankruptcy—we do not know. If so, it is not because they spend too much on higher studies and research, but because they do not get enough money from the Government and the wealthy sojourners and natives of India. As for the Government heading for bankruptcy, Sir George Gordon himself unwittingly suggests the principal cause by using the word "ammunition." The military expenditure of the Government of India has been excessive for a long series of years. Even now it is some two hundred millions of rupees more than it was just before the war, in 1913. There are many other directions in which Government expenditure is excessive and wasteful, but certainly not that on education, higher or lower.

Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Principal of

Calcutta's Scottish Church College, has been intimately connected with education in India for a long period. He has been Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University and is a scholar and a man of balanced judgment. His college is an *aided* missionary college and not anti-Government. Addressing the Rotary Club in Calcutta the other day on the subject of education, he exposed the true character of "the common allegation" that higher education was "involving us in a colossal and wasteful expenditure" and observed that "the colossal character of the expenditure is often grossly exaggerated as is immediately obviously when it is compared with other forms of public expenditure at the present time which I need not particularize." He also said that the money spent on university education was not wasted. What is spent on education in India elementary, secondary or high, is as nothing compared with similar expenditure in the West even in small countries.

### *Bengal Muslim League President on the White Paper*

Presiding over the annual session of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League last month Maulvi Abdul Karim, M. L. C., said in the course of his presidential speech:

Of all the questions that at present require serious consideration of the country, the constitution forecasted in the White Paper is the most important. Notwithstanding some improvement on the present constitution in certain respects, the proposed constitution has such fundamental defects that it would not be altogether incorrect to characterize it as a reactionary measure. The scheme adumbrated in the White Paper seems to have its birth in suspicion and distrust rather than to be based on confidence and good-will. Otherwise so many restrictions and reservations would not have been thought necessary. It envisages a government which is neither akin to Dominion Status nor to any kind of real self-government. In fact the White Paper contains no commitment that Dominion Status could ever be secured or that defence and finance would ever be handed over to Indians. Unless the outlined scheme undergoes radical alteration at the hands of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in the direction of the removal of the various checks on the freedom of the legislature and guaranteeing of an appreciable measure of genuine responsibility (of this there seems to be little probability) the political discontent in India cannot be allayed to any great extent.

It seems to have been so arranged that responsibility in the Central Government without which

provincial autonomy would be an anomaly and a misnomer, might not come into operation within any measurable distance of time. I am not quite certain why the federation of the States is to be regarded as so very essential. I am afraid it may serve as a ballast against Indian nationalism and the hesitation of the States to join the federation may be an excuse for putting off indefinitely the introduction of responsibility at the Centre.

As indicated by the numerous restrictions, reservations and so-called 'safe-guards,' India under the proposed constitution is not likely to get a substantial measure of genuine self-government. That the alien grip will be further tightened rather than relaxed in certain essential matters, may be realized by a reference to the extensive powers and prerogatives proposed to be vested in the irresponsible Executive Heads of the Provincial and Federal Governments. The constitution will be practically at the mercy of an Executive Head, who can bring about by his wide and loosely-defined overriding powers a deadlock at any time, if he be so inclined, his ultimate responsibility being not to the people of India but to the British Parliament through the Secretary of State. The Legislature will be absolutely powerless to make its own will operative against his wishes. I think there is no parallel to this anomalous state of things in the history of self-governing constitutions.

#### *Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri on India's Prospects*

In the course of his reply to an address of welcome presented to him by the Chittor and Tattamangalam municipalities the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said :

"You all know how the present Government in Great Britain is trying to check the progress of democracy in this country by putting all the political power in the hands of classes that are similar to themselves in their outlook, ambitions and ideas of government. That is, the Conservatives of Great Britain have now struck upon an intimate alliance with the Conservatives of India. To the titled and propertied classes and the Princes was being given a great weightage and in other ways as well their interests are being safe-guarded with all the ingenuity which the experience of an imperialistic Government has given to the people of Great Britain.

#### *An M. P. on Subhas Chandra Bose*

A certain Sir Walter Smiles, Unionist M. P. for Blackburn, urged in the British House of Commons the other day that, as Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was guilty of "disloyal and hostile conduct" during the period of his release from detention, he should be re-arrested on his return to India! It is taken for granted that Mr. Bose was actually guilty of disloyal and hostile conduct—we are not aware of any such conduct on his part, judged

even according to the ordinance-laws of India and Bengal. But as he was arrested and detained for an indefinite period without charge and trial, the M. P. cannot be blamed for asking for the re-arrest of such a person. This M. P.'s demand shows that British imperialists want that Indians even when they are in free countries must behave like slaves. The Secretary of State's reply to the demand was, "The Government retained complete freedom of action." What addition to our knowledge!

But Mr. Bose is not yet contemplating return to India.

#### *Viceroy and Secretary of State on Dominion Status*

No intelligent and unguillible Indian attaches any importance at present to an British statesman's promise, pledge, "declaration of intention" relating to India or any assurance given by him. But lest the following words used by the present Viceroy in a recent speech of his should be taken at their face value by any Indian, British imperialists have taken care to prevent any guillibility on the part of Indians :

"The policy of the Government was to push on the Reforms as far as they could go, as to help India towards Responsible Government, Home rule or Dominion Status. It was not afraid of any of those expressions. He wanted to push India on to an absolute equal position with other Dominions under the Crown. The other part of the policy was to insist upon obedience to the law of the land."

In the House of Commons last month,

Referring to Mr. Churchill's criticism of the recent speech of the Viceroy in which he referred to Dominion Status, Sir Samuel Hoare pointed out the Viceroy's words did not go beyond what many others had already said. He said that they did not treat Dominion Status as the next step or the next but one, and did not bring Dominion Status nearer than at present, but stated the obvious truth that unless the state of subordination was to continue permanently and to be maintained if necessary by force, full responsible government and all that it involved was the ultimate objective. *There was no misunderstanding on this subject in India and every Indian knew the limits.*



which the Government were prepared to go. The White Paper made the Government's intentions perfectly clear.

Sir Samuel Hoare's honesty shines out in the sentences which we have italicized above. Perhaps he wants it to be understood that the Viceroy's words were diplomatic, though in India it was thought that His Excellency wanted people to understand that his object was to assure Indians that Government were working for India's attainment of Dominion as at as early a date as practicable.

### *Secretary of State's Three Facts*

The following passage occurs in Sir Samuel Hoare's speech at the dinner given in honour by Sir Akbar Hydari :

Three facts had emerged from the discussions in the last few years apart from any constitutional results. Firstly, better relations had been established between the Secretary of State and his Indian friends. Secondly, it had been recognized that Whitehall was no longer an enemy of India. Thirdly, the British public was realizing more fully the great part which the Princes might play in the future Government of India."

The Secretary of State's Indian friends were chosen by him and the Government of India. It is no wonder that "better relations" have been established between them. It means very little, for the relations between them and the Government on the one hand and the vast Hindu population, the vast male population and the great Sikh community are much bitterer than ever before.

His second fact, if it be a fact, shows that according to him Whitehall was hitherto an enemy of India and has recently ceased to be such. But the real fact is that Whitehall is not even now recognized as friendly to India. At the third Round Table conference Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to whom Sir Samuel Hoare paid a glowing tribute, said that ever during his thirty years' experience as a public man had he known so much bitterness, so much hostile feeling in Indian homes towards Britain as he had witnessed during recent times. And the position has worsened since then.

The third fact is true, not in the sense in which Indians would wish it to be true,

but true in the sense that they were to be used to counteract the influence of the Indian intelligentsia and to prevent the advent of democracy as observed by Mr. V. S. Sastri in the words from his speech quoted in a previous note.

### *Murder of King Nadir Shah*

It would be of no practical use to discuss whether if ex-King Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan had been allowed or able to rule his country for the natural term of his life, it would have been for the good of his people. A bloody rebellion forced him into exile.



Photo : Devara and Co., Bombay

King Nadir and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at Bombay

A mere pretender succeeded him. He was dethroned by Nadir Khan, who, though related to the ex-royal family, was not a natural or legal heir. It was hoped, however, that as he had succeeded in re-establishing order in the country, his reign would continue and would result in prosperity and progress for his subjects. But he has been

murdered and his young son has succeeded him. Whether he would prove strong enough to keep his seat cannot be predicted.

### *Nazi Victory at the German Elections*

Berlin, Nov. 13.

The official provisional final figures of the Reichstag votes are 42,975,009 of which 39,626,647 are for Nazis and 3,348,366 invalid.

The plebiscite votes are 43,439,046 of which 40,538,804 are 'yes' and 2,100,181 'no' and 750,061 invalid.

The overwhelming Nazi victory is significant. It shows that, for reasons which Germans know, practically the whole of Germany is at the back of Herr Hitler.

### *Weakness and Strength of Education in U. P.*

The presidential address of Prof. A. C. Banerji at the U. P. Secondary Education Conference ought to make U. P. patriots think. We shall refer only to one or two of his observations, in relation to the percentage of female and male scholars to total population. Adverting to the percentage of female scholars, he finds it is the lowest in India, being only 0.64. The percentage of male scholars under instruction is also lower than that in all provinces except the Central Provinces and Baluchistan. He derives solace from the strength of the United Provinces in higher education. Says he :

Our young men who have received University education have enhanced the reputation of the province and the country as a whole by producing original work of real merit which has received recognition from competent authorities. They have also shown their mettle by coming out successful in various All-India competitive examinations. It is therefore an irony of fate that this province which has so much good material, is found to be very backward in primary and secondary education; if the number receiving such education is reckoned.

### *All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health*

Appointments to the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta Medical Research Department were announced from New Delhi on October 30 last. Selections were made in an irregular manner and most of the appointments cannot be approved. With regard to the majority of the appointments, it cannot be said that the Institute has got the best men for the salaries offered. We intend to revert to this subject.

### *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Rejoinder*

Our note on "Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Hindu Mahasabha" was printed before we saw in the dailies of Nov. 30 that he had issued a lengthy rejoinder, which we have still to see.

